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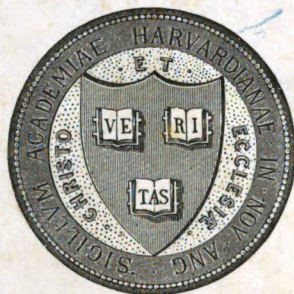
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PRINCIPLES
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ENGLISH ETYMOLOGY

BY THE
REV. WALTER W. SKEAT, LITT.D.
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*Elrington and Bosworth Professor of Anglo-Saxon
in the University of Cambridge*

SECOND SERIES
THE FOREIGN ELEMENT

'And who, in time, knows whither we may vent
The treasure of our tongue? To what strange shores
This gain of our best glory shall be sent
T' enrich unknowing nations with our stores?
What worlds in th' yet unformed occident
May come refin'd with th' accents that are ours?'

DANIEL, *Musophilus*

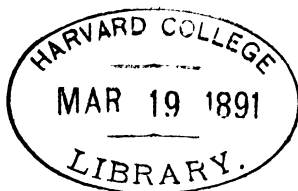
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P R E F A C E.

MY former volume, entitled 'Principles of English Etymology, First Series,' was published in 1887, and dealt mainly with 'The Native Element' in English. In that volume I endeavoured to explain the principal phonetic changes that have taken place in the pronunciation of English since 'Anglo-Saxon' times, and to discuss the etymologies of a large number of native English words.

It was also convenient to consider, at the same time, such Latin and Greek words as found their way into Anglo-Saxon; words from Scandinavian sources; the comparatively slight Celtic element (exclusive of such words as came to us through the medium of French); and the Teutonic element generally (but again excluding such as came to us through the same medium).

The present companion volume to the former treats solely of what may well be called 'The Foreign Element' in our language; although here again it is not possible to use the word 'foreign' in any very exact sense. For I have shown below (in § 13, &c.) that the highly important 'Anglo-French' element is, for all practical purposes, as necessary a part of our language as the 'native English' element of Anglo-Saxon origin. But it is obvious that, for the purpose of clearly explaining the etymology of English words, it must be dealt with separately; and I have therefore endeavoured to deal with it here.

The exact contents of this book may best be learnt from the very full 'Table of Contents' which follows this Preface. I may here say, briefly, that, after a short Introductory Chapter, I consider the history of the introduction of French words as a consequence of the Norman Conquest. I then describe what is meant by the term 'Anglo-French,' and discuss fully its probable pronunciation during the Middle English period. In Chapter IV, I give some specimens of the language from important sources. In Chapter V, I discuss the effects of the English accent in modifying the pronunciation of Anglo-French words. Chapter VI deals, in detail, with the history of the development of the sounds of the Anglo-French vowels and consonants, with a profusion of examples in every instance; still later changes in such sounds are noticed in Chapter VII.

Chapter VIII deals with the history of our borrowings from 'Central' or continental French, with special reference to the names of imported articles; with a discussion of the language employed by Chaucer, Lydgate, Caxton, Shakespeare, and Dryden. Chapter IX deals with the introduction into English of French words of the modern period, beginning with Dryden in particular; and shows how widely the pronunciation of such words differs from that of words borrowed at earlier dates.

In Chapters X and XI the enquiry is pushed back to a still earlier stage, and the origin of French itself is fully considered. Here again, the principal phonetic changes that have taken place in the development of the original Latin vowels and consonants are fully discussed; with a large number of examples, most of which are so chosen as to throw light upon words still in use in English.

Chapter XII relates to the origin of such French words as

are not derived from Latin, but rather from Greek, Celtic, or Teutonic sources.

In Chapter XIII, the French element is at last dismissed, and we are concerned with such words as were borrowed from Latin immediately, without intervention. I here take occasion to explain the pronunciation of Latin, and to give a good deal of information regarding its phonology which is seldom to be found in elementary books; especially as relates to the 'sonant liquids,' the accentuation, the 'vowel-gradation,' the mode of combining consonants, and the like. I must apologise for entering here upon the domain of the specialist in Latin philology; I trust that he will forgive me if I assure him that my main object is to indicate the high value of what he has to teach, and to draw more general attention to the importance of his subject. And it will of course be understood that my own poor remarks do not pretend to be always accurate; indeed, I fear the same apology must be pleaded for all the subjects touched upon throughout the work. I am, as Chaucer says, but 'a lewd compilatour of the labour' of others; and I trust the specialists, in their various departments, will forgive my temerity in attempting the work at all.

Chapter XIV deals with the Italian element in English; and here, again, I give an account of Italian pronunciation, and of the phonetic changes that have taken place in the course of the development of Italian from Latin. The chapter concludes with an 'Italian Word-list,' that is to say, with a list of all English words, in common or well-known literary use, which have been borrowed by us from that language.

Chapter XV deals, in like manner, with the Spanish element, and gives some account of Spanish pronunciation,

and of the phonetic changes noticeable in the development of Spanish from Latin; the whole concluded, in like manner, with a 'Spanish Word-list.'

Chapter XVI deals with the Portuguese element in the same way; and, at this point, my investigation of all words derived from Latin, whether directly or through the medium of some Romance language, is at last concluded.

In Chapter XVII a new source is entered upon, viz. Greek; and I again take occasion to explain the probable pronunciation of ancient Greek, and the known pronunciation of modern Greek; with remarks upon the importance and value of the Greek system of accentuation. Here I once more trespass upon the domain of the classical specialist; and, once more, I ask him to pardon it.

Chapter XVIII deals with Prefixes and Suffixes. A complete list of 'foreign' prefixes in English is given; and an attempt is made to grapple with the difficult, Protean, and bewildering list of Latin suffixes. Examples of Greek suffixes are added.

The foreign elements treated of in the rest of the book are readily perceived. I there attempt to deal, consecutively, with the contributions afforded to English from Slavonic (Ch. XIX); Persian and Sanskrit (Ch. XX); Semitic, especially Hebrew and Arabic (Ch. XXI); Finno-Tataric, especially Turkish and Hungarian; the Dravidian languages of Southern India, Malay, and other Asiatic languages (Ch. XXII); various African languages (Ch. XXIII); and various American languages (Ch. XXIV).

Chapter XXV gives some illustrations of 'False Etymologies,' showing what we should really endeavour to avoid; and Chapter XXVI gives a few simple but sound 'Canons for Etymology,' which we should really endeavour to bear in

mind. The way in which such canons are daily ignored (in England, but not in Germany) is simply a national disgrace.

I have taken the opportunity of adding an Appendix on a subject which strictly belongs to the former volume, viz. a more exact explanation of the development of vowel-gradation, as exhibited in the conjugation of the Anglo-Saxon strong verbs. This explanation, really due to the researches of Brugmann, sets the whole matter in a clearer light, and it is better to give it here, than to pass it over.

I beg leave to repeat here, what I have already said in my former volume, that 'to the advanced student I can only apologise for handling the subject at all; being conscious that he will find some unfortunate slips and imperfections, which I should have avoided if I had been better trained, or, indeed, trained at all.' I have had so much to unlearn, during the endeavour to teach myself, owing to the extreme folly and badness of much of the English etymological literature current in my earlier days, that the avoidance of errors has been impossible. We have made great advances since the days of Horne Tooke's *Diversions of Purley*, which I once so long and diligently studied, and since the playful days of Webster's Dictionary, before it was revised by Dr. Mahn, when the derivation of native English words from Ethiopic and Coptic was a common thing; and when I carefully learnt by heart, and shall remember whilst memory lasts, that the E. word *catch* is derived 'from the Spanish *coger*.'¹

I now conclude my fourth (and probably my last) book upon the subject of English Etymology; for I include among

¹ See the old edition (in 1854) of Ogilvie's *Imperial Dictionary*. The later edition (in 1883) gives the correct derivation.

such my larger and smaller Dictionaries. In taking leave, as it were, of many unknown friends, I for once make bold to say that I hope I have been largely instrumental in introducing much more rigorous methods into our investigation of the subject. It is really high time that scientific arrangement should take the place of mere guesswork and chaos.

I do not append here a list of books consulted, both because I have given one in the former volume, and because it was found more convenient to mention the names of many from time to time, in different chapters, in connexion with the context. I draw attention, in particular, to the list of Anglo-French Texts given in pp. 28-30, though it is by no means exhaustive, and even omits some texts of prime importance, such as *La Vie de S. Grégoire*, edited by Prof. P. Meyer.

In conclusion, I beg leave to acknowledge my great and sincere obligations to the kind and generous assistance afforded me by friends from whom it is a privilege to learn. Especially am I indebted to Mr. E. Braunholtz, University Lecturer in French, who gave me many useful hints for the chapters on the Romance Languages, and took, altogether, a good deal of trouble in the endeavour to help me to greater accuracy; to Professor Postgate, who assisted me in some points relating to Latin etymology; and to Dr. Peile, master of Christ's College, and Reader in Comparative Philology. I have also received kindly advice, as regards Slavonic, from Mr. Morfill, Reader in Slavonic at Oxford; and, as regards Hebrew, Arabic, and Sanskrit, from Professor Kirkpatrick, Professor Bensly, and Professor Cowell. I have also received some corrections from Mr. Mayhew. But I hope it may be clearly understood, in justice to these distinguished scholars,

that the sole responsibility for the statements in the following pages rests upon myself. Many good hints are theirs; but the blunders are all my own.

For the copious Index of Words, which I have carefully revised, I am indebted to my daughters, Clara L. Skeat and Ethel G. Skeat.

ABBREVIATIONS AND SIGNS.

A. F.—Anglo-French; the ‘Norman’ dialect as it was developed in England. (I am obliged to reject the usual term ‘Anglo-Norman,’ because I find that Englishmen confuse ‘Anglo-Norman’ with the dialect of Normandy itself. Dr. Murray has adopted the same term for the same reason; see p. x of the General Explanations prefixed to the New English Dictionary. And see p. 5 below.)

A. S.—Anglo-Saxon; the Wessex or Southern dialect of the oldest English.

M. E.—Middle-English; chiefly of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

E.—Modern English.

F.—French; O. F.—Old French. Other abbreviations, such as Lat. (Latin), Gk. (Greek), Ital. (Italian), Span. or S. (Spanish), Port. (Portuguese), and the like, will be readily understood.

The following signs are introduced to save space:—

< is to be read as ‘is derived from,’ or ‘derived from,’ or ‘is a later form than.’ (Compare its ordinary algebraical meaning of ‘is less than.’)

> is to be read as ‘produces’ or ‘becomes,’ or ‘is the original form of,’ or ‘is an earlier form than.’ (Compare its usual algebraical meaning of ‘is greater than.’)

* prefixed to a word signifies that it is a theoretical form, evolved by known principles of development.

✓ signifies 'Aryan (i. e. Indo-European) root.'

PRONUNCIATION.

The pronunciation of Anglo-French, Italian, Spanish Portuguese, Latin, and Greek is approximately indicated by the use of the same 'broad romic' symbols as were used in the former volume (p. 336). Most of the symbols for the vowel-sounds are explained at p. 37; and other symbols can be readily understood from the list of Modern English words given at p. 126, and from the notes on the pronunciation of Latin at p. 269, and of Italian at p. 302. I here repeat the list of symbols, for the reader's convenience:—

a represents the sound of short <i>a</i> in <i>aha</i> !		
aa	<i>as in</i>	<i>father.</i>
æ	"	<i>man.</i>
æc	"	<i>hair, Mary.</i>
ai	"	<i>fly.</i>
ao	"	<i>fall.</i>
au	"	<i>now.</i>
e	"	<i>bed, met.</i>
ee	"	<i>e in vein.</i>
ei	"	<i>vein.</i>
ə (unaccented)	"	<i>China.</i>
əə	"	<i>burn.</i>
i	"	<i>sit.</i>
ii	"	<i>ween.</i>
o	"	<i>not.</i>
oi	"	<i>boil.</i>
ou	"	<i>no.</i>
u	"	<i>full.</i>
uu	"	<i>fool.</i>
y	"	<i>G. schützen.</i>
yy	"	<i>G. grün.</i>

Whenever these symbols are used to represent pronunciation, they are enclosed between marks of parenthesis. Thus the E. word *queen* is pronounced as (kwiin). The symbols (b, d, f, j, k, l, m, n, p, t, v, w, z) denote the usual modern E. sounds. (g) is always hard, as in *game, get, gig, go, gun*. (kw) denotes the sound of *qu* in *queen*. (s) is always voiceless, as in *sin*. I also use (ch) for *ch* in *church*; (sh) for *sh* in *shall*; (th) for *th* in *thin*; (dh) for *th* in *thine*; (wh) for *wh* in Northern E. *what*; (zh) for *z* in *azure*; (ng) for *ng* in *sing*; (ngg) for *ng* in *linger*.

We may arrange the consonants as follows:

Voiceless consonants: (k, ch, t, th, p, f, s, sh, wh.)

Voiced consonants: (g, j, d, dh, b, v, z, zh, w.)

The following simple rules are often useful.

RULE 1. Voiceless consonants combine with voiceless ones, and voiced with voiced. Exx. *cats* (kæts), where *t* and *s* are voiceless; *dogs* (dogz), where *g* and *z* are voiced.

RULE 2. In such combinations, the latter sound is usually unchanged in compounds, but the former often gives way. Ex. *cupboard* (kəb'æəd); where the dot denotes the position of the accent. But the latter sound gives way when it is a mere suffix; as in *dogs* (dogz), *looked* (lukt).

RULE 3. A voiceless sound often changes to the corresponding voiced one, as when *s* becomes *z* in *dogs* (dogz), from A. S. *dogas* (dog-gas). This is called 'voicing.'

RULE 4. When one consonant is pronounced instead of another, a voiceless consonant is replaced by a voiceless one or a voiced one by a voiced one; and not otherwise. Ex. *the thing* (dhə thing) is sometimes pronounced by foreigners as (zii sing). This is called 'substitution'; (z) being substituted for (dh), and (s) for (th). No one says (sii zing).

According to the above symbols, (æ) denotes the Italian

long 'open' *e*, and (ao) denotes the Italian long 'open' *o*; the corresponding 'close' sounds are denoted by (ee) and (oo). But it is sometimes convenient to denote the open sounds by (ɛ) and (ɔ), or by (è) and (ò); and the close ones by (e) and (o), or by (é) and (ó); as these can be used singly for short sounds, and can be doubled, or followed by a mark of accentuation, for long ones. See pp. 132, 193 (8), 198, and 302.

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ERRATA.

- P. 31, l. 9 from bottom. For *sasentir* read *assentir*.
- P. 35, ll. 22, 23. For a slight sound read a slight nasal sound.
- P. 43, l. 5 from bottom. For in to read into.
- P. 84, § 56 (2). Note that *gredil* is not an example of the change from *el* to *il*, but only of a change from *e* to *i*.
- P. 114, last line but one. For *slæn'dee* read *slæn'dæ*.
- P. 127, middle column, l. 6. For (jyge, juja) read (jyjə, juja).
- P. 154, l. 10. For *phthysic* read *phthisic*.
- P. 235, l. 16. For *capasm* read *capsam*.
- P. 277, l. 10 from bottom. For the *e*-series read the *ē*-series.
- P. 283, l. 3 from bottom. For *πασων* read *πράσων*.
- P. 286, l. 4 from bottom. For set (3) read set (c).
- P. 360, l. 9. Omit comma after But. In l. 12, omit But.
- P. 367, l. 4 from bottom. For $\gamma\gamma = \xi$ read $\gamma\gamma = \zeta$.
- P. 369, l. 15. For *pharanx* read *pharynx*.
- P. 371, l. 1. For *vék-eiv* read *vém-eiv*.
- P. 378, ll. 4 and 8. Insert commas after *neglect* and *Oc*.
- P. 386, l. 16. For *matr-io* read **matr-io*.
- P. 386, l. 4 from bottom. For *n-eo* read *-n-eo*.
- P. 389, last line. For all oblique read most of the oblique.
- P. 392. Under I, dele *is-to*. Under M, dele *min* and *mn*.
- P. 395, l. 6 from bottom. For dat. pl. read dat. du. or dat. dual.
- P. 405, l. 4. For gutturals read gutturals.
- P. 412, l. 11. For *mascadine* read *muscadine*.
- P. 429, last line. For 1628 read 1688.
- P. 437, l. 8. For *gwcyavo* read *guayavo*.

ERRATA IN SERIES I:

WITH OTHER CORRECTIONS.

* * For some of the following notes I am indebted to many friendly, and a few rather captious criticisms. I do not notice every point. Thus, at p. 380, I am bidden to say that '*s* is intrusive in the spelling of *island*'; but surely '*s* is intrusive in *island*' is enough for all who can pronounce the word.

P. xv. CH. II. § 7. For languages *read* language.

P. xxvi. CH. XV (first section). For § 246 *read* § 264.

P. 4, l. 3. For adopted *read* accepted.

P. 21, l. 3. *Read* whilst *Katharine* was supposed to be formed from a Greek adjective.

P. 23, footnote, last line. For this *read* our pronunciation, and given to some of our symbols such values as they have nowhere else.

P. 25, l. 18. For plural *read* plural suffix.

P. 27, l. 3. Note—the symbol *v* had sometimes a graphic value, as when, e. g. *vnto* was written for *unto*; here *vn* is not easily misread, whereas *un* (in MSS.) is indistinct. But we also find *vs* for *us*, *vse* for *use*, where nothing was gained by employing *v*.

P. 29, l. 14. For have been saying *read* be now saying.

P. 29, note 4. For is now written *read* is now usually written. (Suggested exception: M. E. *hoȝ*, a hill, is now spelt *how*.) But where does *hoȝ* occur? *Hogh* is in Cursor Mundi, 15826; and *ho* in Anturs of Arthur, § V. Of course *hoȝ* is a possible M. E. spelling; but let us have the reference.

P. 32, last line. For There were *read* There was.

P. 38, l. 17. *Read* A. S. *hand-a*, *hand-e*, *hond-e*, dat., &c. (Cf. Mark xiv. 41.)

P. 44, col. 3, l. 11. For *fēoh* *read* *feoh*. Last line; for *geōguð* *read* *geoguð*.

P. 52, note 2, last line; for '*as* *ē* in F. *bête*' *read* '*as* *é* in F. *lité*, but longer.

- P. 57, l. 5 from bottom. Add—Cf. *pole*, A. S. *pāl*; Lat. *pālus* (p. 437).
- P. 58, l. 2. For difficulty *read* difficulty. L. 10 from bottom; *dele* *quean*.
- P. 59, l. 16. For our *ee* really *read* our modern *ee* really. L. 20; *read* became M. E. *reek* (reek), later *reek* (riik), as in note 1, which &c.
- P. 60, l. 13. *Read* A. S. *ī* = Lat. *ī*.
- P. 63, l. 8. *Read* represent (even unrounded) short *u*.
- P. 71, l. 5. For due to *read* all with an.
- P. 79, l. 9. For usually *read* usually.
- P. 89, l. 18. For G. *Boót* read G. *Boot*.
- P. 102, l. 16. For extinct it *read* extinct in.
- P. 108, l. 15. For *fweir* read *tveir*.
- P. 110, l. 5. Add—But compare the examples *apple*, *clip*, *thorp*, *deep*, at p. 137.
- P. 117, l. 11. For *fader* (not **father*) read *fadar* (not **fathar*).
- P. 147, l. 5. For *patar* read *pitar*.
- P. 148, l. 14. For but if it precedes the position of the accent, *read* otherwise.
- P. 151, l. 9 from bottom. For weakening *read* change.
- P. 153, l. 3. For 'pl. *lid-on*' read 'pl. *lid-en*, also *lid-on*, *lid-an* (see Sievers, A. S. Gram. § 365).
- P. 155, l. 16. For **lisan* read **leisan*.
- P. 158, l. 11. Add—*Sleep* occurs as a weak verb in O. Mercian; see p. 44.
- P. 168, l. 9. For 'Danish *Infin. far-en*' read 'Danish *Infin. far-e*.' In note 2, for 'the vowels *i*, *u*' read 'the vowels *e*, *o*.' [See p. 163, § 143]
- P. 169, l. 1, coll. 3, 4. For DRONK-UM, DRONK-ANO read DRUNK-UM, DRUNK-ANO.
- P. 173, l. 2 is correct. I am asked to explain the irregularity. It may suffice to point out that G. *ei* has two values. E. g. A. S. *stān*, G. *Stein*; A. S. *wīn*, G. *Wein*. See p. 170.
- P. 183, l. 4 from bottom. For pt. t. *read* pp.
- P. 203, l. 17. Her we might add—'E. *sully*, A. S. *sylian*, from A. S. *sol*, mire.'
- P. 208, l. 18. *Dele* precise. [In fact the Lat. *cūtis*, with short *u*, differs in gradation.]
- P. 212, l. 4 from bottom. For *cūtis* read *cūtis*.

P. 228, l. 3. For LEK-YA read LÊK-YA.

P. 231, l. 21. For HLI read HLEI.

P. 232 l. 4. For Aryan MAD read Teut. MA.

P. 232, l. 6. Add—So also *lêz*, a meadow, Tudor E. *leese*, *lees*, mod. E. *lee* (with dropped *s*), as being confused with *lea* (A.S. *lēah*); dat. *lêzwe*, prov. E. *leasowe*, a pasture.

P. 268, ll. 12–16. *Dele* from *Bo-th* to *bei-de*. [See p. 456, l. 19.]

P. 273, l. 6. *Dele* for YONS-TO.

P. 289, l. 4. For *-it-er* read *-it-*.

P. 291, l. 11. *Dele shire*.

P. 304, l. 1. For *pah* read *páh*.

P. 310, l. 7. For it is read the form *stone* is.

P. 312, l. 6. For *brether-en* read *brethr-en*, formerly *brether-en*.

P. 325, last three lines. For ‘prefix *a-*’ read ‘prefix *av-*’; for ‘F. *a*’ read ‘F. *av-*’; and for ‘Unfortunately, it’ read ‘Unfortunately, the *a-*’.

P. 326, ll. 2–4. Read—‘If then the prefix *adv-* in *adv-ance* can be said to represent anything, it must be taken to represent a Latin prefix *adb-*.’ [In fact, there is such confusion that it can hardly be put clearly.]

P. 336, l. 9 from bottom; col. 2. For ‘fly’ read ‘fly.’

P. 339, l. 7. [I ought to say ‘Aizə,’ with (z), as the word is German. But I was *especially taught*, when young, to say ‘Aisə’; and now I do it from habit. So there is no misprint here, as cavillers suggest.] In l. 13, read *haoesmæn*.

P. 340: coll. 1 and 2, l. 21. In this line read—(OLD ENGLISH) *hol* (hol)—(MIDDLE ENGLISH) *hool* (haol).

P. 352. For 13. *Vowel influence* read 13. *Consonantal influence*.

P. 363, l. 15. For distinct values read distinct origins.

P. 364, l. 12. *Dele g > j* (*ge*).

P. 368, l. 13. For *nóshyrl* read *noshpyrl*.

P. 371, l. 8 from bottom. *Dele* A. S. *agnagl*, E. *agnail*. [For here is no ‘loss of *n*,’ but a change from (simple) *ng* to *g*.]

P. 374, note 2, last line. *Dele* Indeed, the latter form, &c.

P. 375, l. 14. *Dele lamb* [for cf. Goth. *lamb*]. And in l. 16 *dele climb*, *comb* [see *klimmen*, *Kamm* in Kluge].

P. 385, l. 19. N. B. In *acre* the metathesis is only in the written form.

P. 385, l. 10 from bottom. For letter or syllable *read* vowel.

P. 385, l. 6 from bottom. For accented *read* unaccented.

P. 386, ll. 2, 3. N.B. '*drake*; for *andrake*' is an example, not of *aphesis*, but of *aphæresis*; the former word only refers to the loss of a single initial vowel.

P. 386, l. 10 from bottom. Dele *agnail*. [See correction for p. 371 above.]

P. 392, l. 11 from bottom. Read *purse*, a word of Latin origin, from Lat. *bursa*; it occurs as *purs* in A. S.

P. 395, ll. 17, 18. N.B. The inserted *h* in *whelk*, *whortleberry* is merely in the *spelling* of the word; there is no difference made in the pronunciation.

P. 397, last line. N.B. It is meant that 'the *ȝ* is then often ignorantly pronounced as *z*.' Scotchmen commonly know better.

P. 399, ll. 1, 2. NOTE. But the crowning point of the story is this; that, on examination of the MS., it turns out that the scribe actually wrote *chek matyde* after all! It was, then, *not* any fault of his; but the result of an almost incredible exhibition of perversest ignorance on the part of the editor (Henry Weber).

P. 403, ll. 12, 13. The sb. *wind* is pronounced (*waind*) in poetry, in order to get a rhyme.

P. 403, l. 7 from bottom. I am told that stage-tradition renders the *i* in *Rosalind* as the diphthong (ai).

P. 406, l. 8 from bottom. Dele *would*.

P. 423, l. 5 from bottom. NOTE. But some suppose that *gōd-spell*, 'good tidings,' was merely due to popular etymology, and that the *o* was short from the first.

P. 424, l. 5 from bottom. Cf. A. S. *fearr*, a bull.

P. 427, ll. 2, 16. For *nōsþyri* read *nosþyri*; for *ordel* read *ordél*.

P. 428, l. 3. The right derivation of A. S. *stælwyrðe* is, that it is short for *staðol-wyrðe*, i. e. firmly founded, or fixed, steadfast, excellent; we also find A. S. *stélan*, short for *staðelian*, to found, fix; see Sievers, O. E. Grammar, ed. Cook, § 202 (3, note 2).

P. 440, l. 6. For *raðs* read *raðs*.

P. 444, last two lines. The words *galloglass*, spelt *galoglass*, and *kerne*, occur in 'Gardner's Letters of Rich. III. and Hen. VII.,' ii. 67 (Oliphant). See also Oliphant, The New English, i. 363, for examples of *catherine* (*cateran*) and *caronach*.

P. 445, notes, last line. For *suce* read *usce*.

P. 463, ll. 23 and 31. Perhaps dele *hale*; it is rather O. Northum-

brian than Icelandic; O. North. *hál*, Matt. ix. 12; M. E. *hale*, Bruce, i. 137 (but also *haill*, id. xv. 514).

P. 465, l. 16 should end with a full stop; l. 27, with a comma.

P. 470, notes, last line. For *seiri* read *ciris*.

P. 472, ll. 18, 19. Dele *ill* *evil*.

P. 477, ll. 22-25. Dele Flotsam, &c. (It is of A. F. origin.)

P. 478, ll. 21-23. Dele Jetsam, &c. (It is of A. F. origin.)

P. 525, col. 2. For lice, 67, 378 read lice, 67, 195, 378.

ENGLISH ETYMOLOGY.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY.

§ 1. IN the Introductory Chapter to my former volume on English Etymology¹, I explained that my object was to consider the ETYMOLOGY OF WORDS CURRENT IN MODERN ENGLISH. I next drew attention (in § 4) to the COMPOSITE NATURE of the English language; owing to which I had to divide the language roughly into two parts. The former of these I called THE NATIVE ELEMENT, with which I have sufficiently dealt in the former volume. The latter I shall call THE FOREIGN ELEMENT, with which I now propose to deal. I must explain, however, that these names are merely assumed for present convenience, and that, as a matter of fact, neither of them is to be considered as being exact. Amongst the words comprised in the NATIVE ELEMENT, it was convenient to include, not merely words of native or Anglo-Saxon (or rather of Old Mercian) origin, but several other classes of words, viz. (1) such Latin and Greek words as were already borrowed by us before the Norman Conquest; (2) words of Scandian origin, which were also introduced before that time, though they at first remained in obscurity, as being merely dialectal words, and only found a place in our literature gradually, especially in such compositions as the *Ormulum*, *Havelok*, the *Cursor Mundi*, the works of Robert of Brunne

¹ Principles of English Etymology. First Series. The Native Element. Oxford (Clarendon Press), 1887. As I shall have frequent opportunity to refer to this, I shall call it 'vol. i.'

and Richard Rolle de Hampole, and the like; and (3) the scanty remains of Celtic. It was further found convenient to treat of the words borrowed from other foreign Teutonic sources besides the Scandian, such as Dutch, Friesic, and German. In this way the **NATIVE ELEMENT** was extended so as to include all the **TEUTONIC ELEMENT**, together with such Latin and Greek words as were absorbed into that element at an early period, as well as the not very numerous Celtic words, which were introduced at various dates. I know of no better way of dividing the subject, so as to render the investigation of it practically manageable.

§ 2. From what has been said in the last section, it will be easy to deduce the classes of words to be considered in the present volume, which I shall here collect into one rather miscellaneous group, at the same time giving it the title of **THE FOREIGN ELEMENT**. It will necessarily contain: (1) words of French origin; (2) words derived immediately from Latin and Greek, later than the Norman Conquest; (3) words borrowed from the various Romance languages exclusive of French, viz. the Italian, Spanish, and Portuguese; (4) words borrowed from other Aryan languages besides Latin and Greek; and (5) the miscellaneous words borrowed from various non-Aryan tongues. Of course the words in the fourth and fifth classes can easily be separated into numerous sets, but we can do that when we come to deal with them. The above classification is quite sufficient for the present, and I shall deal with the various classes nearly in the above order. A sufficient list of the main words included in the **FOREIGN ELEMENT** is given in my larger *Etymological Dictionary*, 2nd ed., pp. 752-761. Now that I have thus sketched out the general plan of the volume in a way which can easily be apprehended, I at once proceed to deal with the first of the above classes, viz. that which includes the very numerous and useful words which came to us, at various times, from the **FRENCH**.

CHAPTER II.

ON THE INTRODUCTION OF FRENCH WORDS.

§ 3. **Chronology.** In vol. i. § 5, I have already observed that, 'in considering the various sources from which the vocabulary of modern English has been drawn, our most important help is *chronology*'; and I proceeded to illustrate what was meant by this. The same remark applies to our various borrowings from French, inasmuch as there has been an almost continual, but not constant, influx of French words into English for more than eight centuries. During that period, both the English and French languages have suffered considerable alteration, both in inflexion and pronunciation; and, unless we can first of all approximately ascertain the date at which a given word is introduced, we shall wholly fail to gain any clear knowledge of the matter. This caution applies pre-eminently to words of French origin, as a moment's consideration will shew. For, during the same period, Latin and Greek have been nearly at a stand-still, since we have only borrowed words from the literary forms of those languages, which have remained almost unvaried; and again, our loan-words from Italian, Spanish, &c., are mostly taken from the modern forms of those languages, later than A.D. 1500 (vol. i. § 10). But, when we are dealing with French, it may make a great difference whether we borrowed a word in the thirteenth century or in the nineteenth; and that, too, in more ways than one. We have, in fact, to consider differences of dialect as well as changes of pronunciation in the same dialect from time to time. In

order to see why such care is needed, it will be necessary to take a rapid survey of the history of the whole matter.

§ 4. **History.** The introduction into England of men who could speak French had already taken place before the Conquest, viz. in the time of Edward the Confessor. Not satisfied with promoting the Norman Robert, who had been abbot of Jumièges by the Seine, to the bishopric of London, king Edward again promoted him, in 1050, to be Archbishop of Canterbury¹. This and other similar favours shewn to the Normans might soon have had a considerable influence upon English, had it not been for the decree of the English Witan (counsellors), who, about a year later, outlawed the Norman archbishop and all the so-called 'Frenchmen,' and so kept the French language out of the island till the famous year 1066. It is highly necessary to remember that the Normans or Northmen were really Danes, who first took possession of Normandy about 150 years before their conquest of England, and in a very short time forgot their Danish and took to speaking French. In the course of about three centuries these same Danes gradually forgot their French, and took to speaking English, a language with which, curiously enough, their original tongue had an extremely close alliance. The way in which the French-speaking Dane was so long kept apart, by the mere accident of language, from his English cousin, is one of the most curious facts in history. But when the fusion of the races at last took place, it was complete; the close kinship in blood and the acceptance of a common language produced, in due course of time, that indistinguishably consolidated people which has achieved such wonders, and now wields so vast an empire.

§ 5. Immediately after the Norman Conquest, the Northern dialect of the French languages, as acquired by the

¹ Freeman, *Old Eng. History*, 1875, p. 258. In the *Annals of England*, the date given is 1051, as in the *A.S. Chronicle*.

Normans, became the language of the court and of the upper classes of society, and so remained for about three centuries. In consequence of its isolation from France, this particular dialect was developed in a manner peculiarly its own. It has been variously named Norman, Anglo-Norman, and (loosely enough) French, but it is absolutely necessary to have an exact and scientific title for it, and I have found it most convenient to call it **ANGLO-FRENCH**. It is a mistake to call it 'Norman,' because that might mean the language of Normandy, with which it only coincided in the reign of William the Conqueror, and at no other time; and even 'Anglo-Norman' is sure to be shortened to 'Norman,' and misunderstood. To call it 'French' or 'Old French' is not sufficiently distinctive; for there were many dialects of French in France itself. But, if we call it 'Anglo-French' (conveniently denoted by 'A. F.,' corresponding to 'A. S.' for Anglo-Saxon), we then know precisely what we mean. Anglo-French is the dialect, or the language (it matters little which we consider it) which was introduced into England in 1066, and was there developed, *in a manner that was largely, but not altogether, independent of foreign influence*, so that in the course of a century or two, it varied more or less from *every* form of French as spoken in France, inclusive even of the dialect of Normandy with which it had, at the outset, coincided. Unless this fundamental fact is clearly comprehended and remembered, it is hopeless to understand the matter aright. It is the more important, because MSS. in Anglo-French are really numerous, and furnish sufficient material for a history of the development of this important variety. I am not aware that any real progress has been made towards such a study of the subject as shall enable us to date Anglo-French MSS. by the spellings employed in them, with at least as much precision and certainty as we can date English MSS. by the same means. Yet such an attempt ought certainly to be made; here, indeed, is a

new field for a student who takes a pleasure in philological work.

§ 6. The history of the career of Anglo-French may be briefly told. Not only did it become the court-language immediately upon its introduction, but (what was still more important) it was the language of the law-courts. The early Statutes of the Realm are sometimes written in Latin, but many are in Anglo-French. The first thing that rendered its isolation from the dialects of France almost complete was the loss of Normandy in 1206. In 1242, Henry III lost Poitou, and in 1259 he definitely relinquished all claim to Normandy, which had been practically abandoned fifty-three years before. In 1307, Edward II made an ill-advised attempt to place Piers Gaveston, the son of a Gascon knight, and other foreigners who were his friends, at the head of the administration of affairs. This doubtless brought home to the barons of England the important reflection that, however much they might speak Anglo-French, they were *not Frenchmen themselves*; and the next year they were successful in securing the banishment of Gaveston and his companions. In 1337, Edward III assumed the title of king of France; in 1338, the French burnt Portsmouth and attacked Southampton, and open war raged between England and France for some thirty years. By this time the difference between Anglo-French and all the forms of continental French was well marked; but Anglo-French was rapidly losing its vogue in England, and English was gaining ground with ever increasing success. In 1362, the triumph of English was secured by the direction of Edward III, that the laws should thenceforth be pleaded in English; and in 1385, the teaching of French (by which we must understand Anglo-French) was definitely abandoned in grammar-schools, as we are informed by Trevisa.¹ I suppose that a great change came in with the accession of Richard II in 1377. In all probability, Edward III

¹ See the passage quoted in vol. i. § 26.

spoke Anglo-French only, and the language lingered at the court till his death.¹ But Richard II was probably bi-lingual, having some English and speaking French perfectly well, in the estimation of Froissart (*Chron.* bk. iv. c. 64), which means, doubtless, that his French was of the continental type, or, as Froissart calls it, *La Langue d'Oïl* (bk. iv. c. 62). In 1483, Richard III introduced a sensible reform, whereby even the Statutes of Parliament were, for the first time, drawn up in English. After 1385, or at any rate after 1400, Anglo-French was practically dead as a spoken language, and could never be revived.² It has bequeathed to us certain law-phrases and legal words, which survive with a traditional or wholly modern pronunciation; but the only part of it that has a real vitality, consists of the words which were saved from extinction by being incorporated into the English language. These words are very numerous and important, and full of interest.

§ 7. As for the time when Anglo-French words found their way into English, we may roughly date it as being from about A.D. 1100 to about A.D. 1400. During these three centuries they were continually drifting into English, but by no means at a uniform rate. The number of words known to have been introduced into English writings during the former half of the twelfth century is only about a dozen. If Dr. Morris is right in considering the 'Lambeth Homilies' and the 'Trinity College Homilies' as older than A.D. 1200, then the influx of

¹ Some of his letters are preserved by Robert of Avesbury. See Warton, *Hist. E. Poetry*, sect. 7, first footnote, for the anecdote of his use of an English motto, obviously quite an exceptional circumstance.

² See Craik, *Eng. Lit.* i. 182 (ed. 1864). He notes that the earliest known indenture in English is dated 1343 (*Charlton, Hist. of Whitby*, p. 247); and the oldest English instrument in Rymer (vii. 526) is dated 1368. The earliest example of English in parliamentary proceedings is the petition of the mercers of London, in 1388 (*Rot. Parl.* iii. 225). The only English proclamation of Henry III is dated Oct. 18, 1258; and is quite exceptional.

such words during the latter half of the twelfth century is represented by more than a hundred words. In the two texts of Layamon's 'Brut,' written early in the thirteenth century, and amounting in all to more than 56,000 short lines, the number of words of Anglo-French origin is only about 150. But as the century advanced, the facility with which such words were admitted rapidly increased, and we may probably consider the latter half of the thirteenth century and the former half of the fourteenth century (or from about 1250-1350) as the period when A. F. words were introduced into English by hundreds, and were readily adopted; after which the stream again gradually slackened, as the want was felt to be more or less supplied. By the end of the century it had nearly ceased to flow, inasmuch as the source itself was running low. At this point we are confronted by a fresh phenomenon. In the reigns of Edward III and Richard II (or from about 1340-1400), the war with France, and the study of continental French literature by such authors as Chaucer¹ and Lydgate, opened the fountain of a fresh supply; although the chief writer through whom continental forms began to influence the language to quite an appreciable extent, was the celebrated William Caxton. Just as the Anglo-French source was failing, the continental source was resorted to, and English has ever since been increased by an influx of such words, mostly belonging to the Central French dialect (which includes the Parisian), from the fifteenth century, especially after 1470, down to the present day. It is manifest that these words really belong to a different category, and to a later period. The Anglo-French was developed from the old Northern or Norman dialect of France, and is of an archaic character, having been originally introduced before A.D. 1100; its nearest relationship is to the continental French of the oldest period, or what is generally called Old French. But the borrowings from Central French mainly belong

¹ See note at end of the chapter.

to later periods, viz. to the periods known as Middle French and Modern French. Modern French is usually taken to begin with Villon and Philippe de Comines, whose works belong to the close of the fifteenth century, and immediately preceded the period usually called the Renaissance, in the time of Francis the First (1515-47).¹ This agrees so nearly with the date 1500, which I have taken as the beginning of the Modern Period of English, that I shall, for the purposes of the present work, take the same date to represent the beginning of Modern French. From all this it follows that we may, with sufficient exactness, consider the borrowings from France, at least during the fifteenth century, as having been made from the *Central French* dialect of the *Middle French* period, and all later borrowings as being made from the same dialect of the *Modern French* period, i. e. from what is, in common parlance, loosely called by the simple name of 'French.' The symbols for these respectively may be simply taken to be 'M. F.' and 'F.' These symbols are descriptive of the period, the dialect being understood to be Parisian. At the same time, we have to keep in mind the fact that *some* M. F. words were imported quite early in the fourteenth century, or even earlier, owing to continental trade, and to the study of such sciences as medicine, astrology, and alchemy. See Trench, *English Past and Present*, Lect. III. Lastly, the modern French has itself suffered slight alterations, and it may sometimes be convenient to denote the earlier stage of it by 'Tudor French,' i. e. French in use during the Tudor period of English, or, roughly speaking, during the sixteenth century.

§ 8. I have endeavoured to make this matter as clear as possible, because until it is apprehended, no satisfactory progress can be made; and I am not aware that the usual treatises on the history of our language are sufficiently

¹ See Saintsbury's *Short History of French Literature*, Book II, ch. 1.

explicit on this point. It will not do, in practice, to jumble all our borrowings from the language of France under the indiscriminate name of 'French'; but we must rather be guided by historical and chronological considerations, and be thankful that we have such guidance. If I have succeeded in making myself understood, it appears that we must carefully separate our 'French' words into two classes. The former of these contains the Anglo-French (A. F.) words, mostly borrowed before 1400, and related to the 'Old French' (O. F.) of various dialects on the continent. The latter of these contains the Middle-French (M. F.), mostly borrowed during the fifteenth century, and the modern French (F.) words, mostly borrowed during the modern period; all (in general) belonging to the Central French or Parisian dialect. The reason why they are to be separated is that the pronunciation, accentuation, and phonetic laws of the A. F. words are often quite different from those of the M. F. and F. words. The explanations which exactly apply to one class often fail when applied to the other. And now that this separation has been made, it will be possible to treat one class at a time, in separate chapters. Moreover, since the A. F. words are at once the older and the more important, they will be considered first, viz. in Chapters III-VI.

§ 9. A few examples will emphasize the above statement, and put the whole matter in a clearer light. We may take such a pair of words as *feast* and *fête*, and proceed to investigate them. *Fête* belongs to the modern E. period, and does not even appear in Johnson's Dictionary. It precisely coincides with the mod. F. *fête*, and even preserves the mod. F. circumflex and pronunciation¹. But *feast* answers to M. E. *feste*, in Chaucer's Squires Tale, l. 61, and is identical with the A. F. *feste*, occurring in the Statutes of the Realm,

¹ But it is often pronounced as *feet*, naturally enough, by such as know no French. I have heard it so pronounced by country people.

vol. i. p. 162; A.D. 1311. The mod. F. *fête* is a modification of the O. F. *feste*, so that the two words are merely variants of one and the same word, and may be called doublets, as in vol. i. § 389. Their difference in form is solely due to the different ways in which they have passed into English, at widely different dates. Or, suppose that we have to enquire into the origin of *oyster*, which appears as *oistre* in Chaucer's Prologue, l. 182. This is simply identical with the A. F. *oistre*, in the Liber Custumarum, p. 407, which is even spelt *oyster*, as at present, in the Liber Albus, p. 244. But surely the mod. F. *huître* exhibits a startling difference in form and sound.

§ 10. Some of the differences in pronunciation between A. F. and F. are so clear and well-defined, that a knowledge of them will often (but not always) enable us to guess at once to which class a given word is to be referred. The pronunciation of A. F. will be dealt with more fully in Chapter III, but I may here draw attention to a few of its peculiarities, by way of shewing the kind of phenomena which we may expect to find. The letters *j* (formerly written *i*) and *w*, and the compound symbols *ch* and *qu* had the same sounds in A. F., and in some (at least) of the dialects of O. F., as in M. E. and modern English. Greatly as the pronunciation of English has changed from time to time, it has faithfully preserved these old sounds, whereas modern F. has failed to do so. The old *j*, as in English *judge*, has become *zh* (*z* in *azure*) in F. The old *ch*, as in English *chamber*, has become *sh* in F., as in F. *chose*, pronounced with the *sh* of the E. *shows*. The old *qu*, as in E. *quit*, has become *k* in F., as in F. *qui* (pronounced as E. *key*). The old *w*, as in E. *warden*, has disappeared in F., its place being supplied by *g*, as in F. *gardien*. Hence it is obvious, on the face of it, that our words *judge*, *chamber*, *quit*, *warden*, cannot possibly be derived from the F. *juge*, *chambre*, *quitte*, or *gardien*, but must be old words of the M. E. period, and of A. F. origin. In fact, the M. E. forms were,

respectively, *iuge*, *chambre*, *quit*, and *warden*; and the A. F. forms were precisely the same. The examples *judge* and *chamber* are particularly instructive, because the facts about their etymology cannot be detected by the *eye*, i. e. by the spelling, but only by the *ear*, i. e. by the pronunciation. Indeed, a further consideration of the word *judge* may teach us one more fact. For the symbol *dge* denotes precisely the same sound as the symbol *j*, and precisely the same sound as the M. E. and A. F. *g*, when followed by *e*. This is because the A. F. and O. F. and M. E. *g*, when followed by *e* or *i*, is in the same case as *j*; it was formerly sounded as *j*, but in mod. F. has become *zh* (or *z* in *azure*). Hence many E. words beginning with *ge* or *gi* (where *g=j*) are of A. F. origin; such words are *general*, *gentle*, *jest* (formerly *geste*), *giant*, *gist*. The rule is not universal, because a late word may be made to conform, as regards its initial sound, with the majority; still we see a striking exception in a word so obviously modern as E. *gendarme*¹ (pronounced as romic *zhondaam*). By way of further illustration, I here throw together a few examples, taken almost at random, of words in which the true source is correctly indicated by the modern English pronunciation.

WORDS OF A. F. ORIGIN.
(Note the peculiarities.)

chandler (E. *ch*).
chapel (E. *ch*).
broach (E. *ch*).
message (E. *-age*).
rage (E. *-ge*).
quart (E. *qu*).

WORDS OF LATE F. ORIGIN.
(Note the peculiarities.)

chandelier (F. *ch*).
chaperon (F. *ch*).
brochure (F. *ch*).
mirage (F. *i*, *-age*).
rouge (F. *-ge*).
quadrille (F. *qu*).

¹ It is, however, not *quite* so modern as might be expected. It was probably introduced by Dryden. 'A *Gendarme* struck on his Head-piece with the Truncheon of his Lance'; History of the League, tr. by Mr. Dryden, London, 1684, 8vo., p. 222. Perhaps it went out of use, and has been re-introduced more recently.

WORDS OF A.F. ORIGIN.

(Note the peculiarities.)

corpse (*ps* kept).
 hostel (*s* kept).
 flourish (*sh* for *ss*).
 medley (*d* for *sd*).¹
 roundel (O. F. *-el*).
 fame (E. *a*).
 feeble (E. *ee*).
 chine (E. *chi*).
 nice (E. *i*).
 vine (E. *i*).
 beauty (E. *eau* = *ew*).
 cause (E. *au*).
 boil, *verb* (E. *oi*).
 hour (E. *ou*).
 suit (E. *ui*).

WORDS OF LATE F. ORIGIN.

(Note the peculiarities.)

corps (*ps* lost).
 hotel (*s* lost).
 pelisse (*ss* kept).
 mêlée (*s* lost).
 rondeau (F. *-eau*).
 vase (*a* doubtful).
 foible (E. *oi*, for F. *oi*).
 machine (F. *chi*).
 police (F. *i*).
 ravine (F. *i*).
 beau (F. *eau*).
 mauve (F. *au*).
 patois (F. *oi*).
 tour (F. *ou*).
 suite (F. *ui*).

I much regret to find that some Dictionaries mark the old word *chivalry* with *ch=sh*, which is detestable. It has obviously been influenced, to its disadvantage, by the late word *chevalier*. When we observe the great varieties of pronunciation in the same collocation of symbols, as e.g. in *vine* and *ravine*, *hour* and *tour*, *suit* and *suite*, &c., it becomes plain that, in teaching children to read, they should be made to understand how necessary it is to learn the sounds of the French alphabet as well as those of the English one. If our teachers are unequal to this task, they might at any rate acquire such French sounds as are of constant occurrence, viz. those represented by such symbols as *ch*, *ge*, *qu*, *au*, *ê*, *eau*, *ou*, *ui*. Children would then understand that they must be prepared to treat such a combination as *chine* (when standing alone, or in the word *ma-chine*) from either an English or a French point of view; and that there is some sort of reason for such variable treatment. I fear

¹ The *d* is excrement; A. F. *meslee* (with *s=x*) became *mesdlee*, and then *medlee*.

this savours too much of common sense to be at all generally adopted. I suspect that the worshippers of our 'spelling as it is' will neither allow our spelling to be altered, nor permit it, while adhered to, to be explained. Precisely on the same principle, I was made, when at school, to accentuate Greek words correctly, whilst carefully kept in ignorance as to what the accents *meant*. But I now suspect that my masters did not know themselves.

§ 11. There is one other point about the words of Anglo-French origin that is far too important to be omitted, viz. the usefulness of such words as constituting part of our vocabulary. The usual views as to the value of the 'native element' of our language are well expressed in an admirable passage in Dr. Bosworth's Preface to his smaller A. S. Dictionary, a passage founded upon and epitomised from an able article which appeared in the Quarterly Review for October, 1839, pp. 222-232.

'Not only in the number of words, but in their peculiar character and importance, as well as their influence on grammatical forms, it must be universally acknowledged that Anglo-Saxon constitutes its principal strength. At the same time that our chief peculiarities of structure and idiom are essentially Anglo-Saxon, from the same copious fountain have sprung—words designating the greater part of objects of sense—the terms which occur most frequently in discourse, and which recall the most vivid conceptions, as, *sun, moon, earth, fire, spring, day, night, heat, cold, sea, land, &c.*,—words expressive of the dearest connexions, the strongest and most powerful feelings of nature, from our earliest days, as, *mother, father, sister, brother, wife, home, childhood, play, &c.*,—the language of business, of the shop, the market, the street, the farm, and of everyday life,—our national proverbs,—our language of humour, satire, and colloquial pleasantry,—the most energetic words we can employ whether of kindness or invective,—in short, words expressive of our strongest emotions

and actions, in all the most stirring scenes of life, from the cradle to the grave. Every speaker or writer then, who would not only convince the understanding but touch the heart, must avoid Latinised expressions, and adopt Anglo-Saxon, which from early use and the dearest associations excite emotion and affect the heart. Though a word of Latin or Anglo-Saxon origin may be equally well understood, "the one" (says the Reviewer) "shall impart the most vivid, and the other the most frigid conception of the meaning. The difference is as that between the winter's and the summer's sun. The light of the former may be as clear and dazzling as that of the latter, but the genial warmth is gone." There can be little doubt as to the general soundness of the above advice, but I wish to point out that it is easy to exaggerate it; for it would be absurd for us to restrict our choice of words to those of Anglo-Saxon origin exclusively. Hundreds of words of Anglo-French origin, owing to their early introduction into the language, and the thoroughness with which they have become incorporated in it, have quite as strong a claim to our attention, and are found, in practice, to be quite as useful in their way, as are those of truly native origin. In Lecture VI of Marsh's Lectures on the English Language, a work of great merit, numerous extracts from various authors are analysed, in order to exhibit 'the numerical percentage of words from different sources.' We thus learn, for example, that Shakespeare uses, on an average, about 85 per cent of Anglo-Saxon, and about 15 per cent of other words, whilst in the Authorised Version of the Bible the proportion of Anglo-Saxon words rises to about 97 per cent of the whole. This is certainly a good initial way of estimating the style of a given author; but the value of the test will be greatly enhanced if, in a *second* estimate, the number of words of Anglo-French origin can also be computed, and carried to the writer's credit. It makes a good deal of difference in an

author's style, whether he supplements his 'Anglo-Saxon' words from the Anglo-French source only, or from other sources as well; and I throw out this hint for the guidance of such critics as are curious in these matters. A good writer who wishes to be generally understood and has some self-respect, will naturally and unconsciously so choose his vocabulary that it will be mainly composed of words of Anglo-Saxon¹ and Anglo-French origin; he will only adopt Latinisms or modern French words when he has to express ideas so modern that the two former sources fail him; which will not, or should not, be very often. The following extract sets the common-sense view of the matter in a clear light, and is deserving of attention. 'To know how to employ, in the due degree and on the proper occasions, either the Saxon or the classical elements of our language,—when to aim at strength, and when at refinement of expression—to be energetic without coarseness and polished without affectation—is the most conclusive proof of a highly cultivated taste.'²

§ 12. By way of example, let us consider the language of that exquisite lyric poem by Tennyson, entitled 'The Sea-Fairies.' It might be objected by a purist who merely regarded the words in it as 'native' or 'foreign,' that it contains no less than twenty-four 'foreign' words. But let us look at the matter a little more closely, and enquire into the precise nature of such 'foreign' words. We at once find that no less than eighteen of these are excellent M.E. and A.F. words, that were in use before 1400. These are: *mariner, faces, rounded*³, *prest* (=pressed), *mused, music, fountain, carol, dances, forms, poising, colour, cave, pleasure,*

¹ Anglo-Saxon must here be taken to include the closely related words of Scandian origin, of the Early English period.

² Edinburgh Review, Oct. 1839, p. 239.

³ *Round*, as an adjective, is M. E. and A. F.; the addition of the suffix *-ed* is quite legitimate.

jubilee, *clear*, *chords*¹, *stay*; and there are but six words left. Of the remaining six, *gambolling*, *crimson*, *-toned*, and *frolic* (which is borrowed from Dutch) all belong to pure Elizabethan English; whilst the two latest words, viz. *furl* and *curve*, were both in use before 1700, and are about two centuries old. If then we cast in the Anglo-French words amongst the 'native' ones, the number of foreign words is really only *six*. What the six words are, provided they do not strike the ear as strange or affected, does not greatly matter; but even here we find that none of them is later than 1700; so that the poem is absolutely free from all 'neologisms,' which is the modern word for newfangled terms. From a linguistic point of view, its 'English' is absolutely pure; and this fact, taken in conjunction with its exquisite melody, accounts for the faultlessness of its form. We here recognise, in fact, the hand of a master.

§ 13. The fact is, that many of the Anglo-French words are as necessary and as useful as the Anglo-Saxon ones; there are even cases where they are indispensable. The word *hour*, for example, cannot be replaced by any other term, because the A. S. *tid*, mod. E. *tide*, is now used with another meaning. Amongst the ordinal numbers, we have one, the word *second*, which is at once Anglo-French and indispensable, because the A. S. *oðer*, mod. E. *other*, is useful in other ways. Further illustrations of this truth will readily be found, and need not be added here. By way of specimens of Anglo-French words, take the following handful of monosyllables, which are amongst the commonest words in the language, viz. *art*, *bar*, *beak*, *beast*, *beef*, *bill* (as in hotel-bill), *blame*, *blue*, *boil* (verb), *boot*, *brief*, *butt* (verb), *cage*, *cap*, *catch*, *cause*, *chain*, *chair*, *change*, *chase*, *cheer*, *chief*, *choice*, *clear*, *clerk*, *coat*, *coin*, *cost*, *count* (verb), *course*, *court*, *crown*, *cry*, *cure*, *dance*, *dean*, *debt*, *doubt*, *due*, *duke*, *ease*. It is need-

¹ *Chords* is a later spelling of the M.E. *cordes*, which was used at times like the mod. E. *chords*.

less to go further. It is certainly *possible* to write whole sentences, or even whole books, without using a single word of French origin, but this can only be done by avoiding certain subjects and phrases which are really necessary to completeness. In order to illustrate this part of the subject more explicitly, I append below two 'Specimens of English'; in the former of them no word of French origin is allowed to appear, whilst the latter is crowded with French words to such a degree that the proportion of them rises to thirty-three per cent, or a third of the whole.¹ The 'Specimens' are taken from ch. xxi. of the 'Outlines of Comparative Philology,' by Schele de Vere, published at New York in 1853. I have, however, modified them in my own way, and made numerous alterations, in order to remove such inaccuracies as occur when the author claims the words *flail*, *tanner*, *warrior*, *hauled*, *plied*, *launched*, *market*, etc., as native, which they certainly are not. I am not the less indebted to him for the excellent way in which he has seized the salient characteristics of the languages.²

§ 14. Specimen of pure English, in which no foreign words occur. (From Schele de Vere; as above).

The might of the Norman hardly made its way into the home of the Saxon, but drew back at the threshold of his house. There, beside the fire in the kitchen³ and the hearth in his hall, he met his beloved kindred. The bride, the wife, and the husband, sons and daughters, brothers and sisters, tied to each other by love, friendship, and all kindly feelings, knew nothing dearer than their own sweet home. The Englishman's cows and sheep, still grazing in his fields and meadows, gave him milk and meat, and fleeces of wool. The herds-

¹ The proportion of 'foreign' words in the Preface to Johnson's Dictionary amounts, according to Marsh, to 28 per cent, which is much above the average.

² See Notes and Queries, 7 S. vi. 405, 465.

³ A. S. *cycen*; borrowed from Lat. *coquina*.

man watched them in spring and summer; the ploughman drew his furrows with help of oxen or horses, and afterwards harrowed them. At the time of harvest, the busy reaper was at work with his scythe, whilst others gathered and bound up the sheaves; and with all gladness the harvestmen drove the wain, laden with wheat, or oats, or rye, from the field to the barn. The wain had its wheels, each with its nave and spokes and felloes; and the team bent heavily beneath the yoke. In his trade by sea and land, the Englishman still sold and bought; in the small shop, or at the road-side stall, he shewed his goods and had all his dealings. Whether weaver or clothier, baker or miller, saddler or smith, each made his own living in his own way. He lent or borrowed, took his neighbour's word, and with skill and care throve and grew wealthy. Later, when he longed once more for freedom, he readily grasped his weapons, whether axe, or sword, or bill, or spear, or his much-dreaded bow and arrow. The horseman leaped without stirrup into the saddle, and slew the foe with deadly swing of sword or the sway of the mighty ax. At sea, the sailors thronged the well-built boats and ships, each of which was thoroughly English, from the keel to the board,¹ and from the helm of the rudder to the top of the mast. They spread the sail to the wind, or rowed with strong long oar. As his fathers had done before him in the land of his birth, the Englishman would not only eat, drink, sleep, play upon the harp or sing his song or glee; but by walking, riding, fishing, and hunting, he still lasted strong and healthy; whilst his lady with her children were busily teaching or learning how to read and to write, to sing and to draw. Even needlework was not forgotten, as the old writers say that by this they shone most in the world. The wisdom of later times was then unknown, but they had their homespun saws, which are still looked upon as wise and true by all mankind; such as—God helps

¹ Not *deck*; for this was a later term, and borrowed from Dutch.

them that help themselves; lost time is never found again; when sorrow is asleep, wake it not!

It is needless to moralise upon the above passage; we recognise here many of the sterling qualities which help to make the life of the Englishman a life worth living.

§ 15. Specimen of English, crowded with words of French origin. (From Schele de Vere; as above.)

To defend his conquest, the Norman gained possession of the country; and, master of the soil, erected fortresses and castles, and attempted to introduce novel terms. The universe and the seasons, the planets and comets, and even the ocean, attest how much was impressed with the seal of the conqueror. Hills became mountains, and dales valleys, streams were called rivers, and woods forests. The deer, the ox, the calf, the swine, the sheep appeared on the table of the noble as venison, beef, veal, pork, and mutton. Salmon, sturgeon, lamprey, and bream became notable as delicacies; serpents and lizards, squirrels and conies, falcons and herons, quails and pigeons, stallions and hackneys were novel names in the list of the contents of the animal kingdom; whilst the old worts became herbs or vegetables, and included onion and borage, lettuce and sage; together with such flowers as the primrose and violet, peony and gentian, columbine and centaury. New titles of rank and dignity appeared in duke and marquis, count and viscount, baron and baronet, squire and master. The mayor presided at the council above the Saxon alderman. The list of the offices of the government comprised chancellor and peer, chamberlain and ambassador, general and admiral. The king indeed retained his title, but the state and the court became French; the administration was carried on according to the constitution; treaties were concluded by ministers and submitted for approval to the sovereign; the privy council was consulted on the affairs of the empire, and loyal subjects sent representatives to parliament. There the members debated on matters of grave

importance, on peace or war; ordered the army and navy, disposed of the national treasury, contracted debts, and had their sessions and their parties. At brilliant feasts and splendid tournaments the flower of chivalry was assembled; heraldry abounded with its foreign terms, emblazoning the shield with pale and fess, chevron and saltire, disposed upon or, argent, gules, azure, vert, sable, or ermine, and covering it with a miscellaneous and marvellous array of heraldic charges, from the lion rampant to the diminutive roundel. At magnificent assemblies beauty and delicious music enchanted the multitude of dancers. A new splendour was added to society, and foreign customs polished the manners and excited the admiration of the ancient inhabitants, who, charmed by such elegance, recognised in their conquerors persons of a superior intelligence; and admiringly endeavoured to imitate their peculiarities and fashions, and even introduced numerous strange terms into a language which was thus rendered singularly complex.

Truly these old Danes were a masterful and many-sided people, with a passion for horses and a capacity for government; and they stayed in France just long enough to acquire an eye for colour and a certain love of gaiety, together with (it must be admitted) a fondness for what, in their own peculiar phrase, was called 'the pleasures of the table.'

§ 16. NOTE ON CHAUCER'S PROLOGUE, LINES 124-6.

Chaucer says of the Prioress:—

'And French she spak ful faire and fetisly,
After the scole of Stratford atte Bowe,
For French of Paris was to her unknowe.'

I believe that these lines are usually misunderstood. Chaucer is merely stating a linguistic fact, viz. that the Prioress, being one 'of the old school,' naturally spoke such Anglo-French as was usually spoken and taught in her nunnery at Stratford, a French excellent in its kind, and

in some respects more archaic and truer to the Latin original than the French of Paris, which had but lately risen into importance on the continent as a literary language. And this is all. It is difficult to have patience with the newspaper-writers to whom this is a perennial jest, and who are utterly incapable of distinguishing between the language of the English court under a king who claimed to be *also king of France*, and the poor jargon taught by the second-rate governesses of the last century, who pretended to teach 'a French never spoken in France,' nor indeed anywhere else. It is charitable to suppose that those to whom this is a joke for ever have no idea what nonsense they are talking. Chaucer must have known—indeed no one knew better—that Anglo-French could boast a literature of its own. His own *Man of Lawes Tale* is taken from the Anglo-French Chronicle of Nicholas Trivet.

CHAPTER III.

SOME DESCRIPTION OF ANGLO-FRENCH.

§ 17. WE have already seen, in § 7, that there are certain essential differences between Anglo-French and Central (or Parisian) French which render it absolutely necessary to treat them separately. The Anglo-French will be first considered, both because it is of more importance for our purpose and because English borrowings from it took place at an earlier period. It is also necessary to remark here that there is one fundamental difference between Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-French which must be borne in mind. Anglo-Saxon is, practically, an *original* language, and incapable of being derived from anything else. We can often construct, theoretically, the original Teutonic form of an Anglo-Saxon word; but this is only done by inference, and by a comparison of Anglo-Saxon with other cognate Teutonic dialects. We can sometimes even construct, theoretically, the original Aryan form of the same; but this, again, is only by inference, and by a comparison of primitive Teutonic forms with the cognate Aryan languages. We cannot, in general, trace Anglo-Saxon words back to earlier historical forms; they are as original, in their way, as are Latin, or Greek, or Slavonic, or Sanskrit. We can only derive Anglo-Saxon words from older historical forms when they are actually *borrowed* from Latin or Greek; as when, for example, the borrowed A. S. *cycen*, E. *kitchen*, is derived immediately from the Lat. *coquina*. But with Anglo-French the case is totally

different. Like all other Romance languages, it is *non-original*; all the words in it are due to some other language, though the derivations of them are not always known. By far the greatest part of Anglo-French is derived from Latin; but there is a small portion which is of Teutonic origin, and a still smaller portion that is Celtic. When we have traced the E. word *land* back to the A.S. *land*, we have practically come to the beginning; any earlier form is a matter of inference. But when we have traced the E. *beast* back to the A. F. *beste*, we have not come to the beginning; for the well-known and historical Lat. *bestia* lies behind it. In the latter case, we have to go through *two* processes; and, since the laws which regulate the passage of a word from Latin into Anglo-French, and those which regulate the passage of the same word from Anglo-French into modern English, are very different, it will obviously be convenient to keep the two processes apart, and to consider them separately. I shall therefore first of all treat the Anglo-French forms *as if* they were ultimate and original; it will be easy to find out or to discuss their origin at a later period, when we have already learnt how modern English forms are derived from them.

§ 18. The first thing to be done is to gain a clear idea as to what Anglo-French is like. I have already drawn attention, in § 10, to some striking differences, especially as regards the pronunciation, between this dialect or language and the modern Central French; and perhaps the best way of gaining a clear general notion of the subject is to remember that modern French is quite a different thing from that with which we have now to do, and that we can hardly do worse than allow such knowledge of modern French as we happen to possess to guide, or rather to mislead us in this matter. Just as I have constantly to repeat that Anglo-Saxon is *not* derived from modern German, so it is necessary to insist that Anglo-French is *not* derived from modern French. It will be

further necessary to give some specimens of the language, and to explain the chief peculiarities of its pronunciation. This can only be done here to a partial, though perhaps a sufficient extent, because the study of the subject is by no means far advanced. We require to know much more than we do at present before all difficulties can be cleared up. I cannot find that any one has attempted, even in a rough way, anything like a sufficient *history* of this most interesting language. We can readily understand that, in the time of the Conqueror, and for some indefinite time afterwards, the language coincided with that spoken in Normandy; but, being cut off from contact with France by the English Channel,¹ whilst it was at the same time in constant contact with Anglo-Saxon, it was developed in a peculiar way of its own, until at length, in the time of Edward III, it was quite distinct from continental French. We require, therefore, to know the exact changes which its forms and pronunciation underwent from time to time; but this problem still remains unsolved, and, I believe, almost unattempted. Yet it must make a considerable difference; for a word borrowed in the time of Edward III might easily yield, in English, a different form to that which it would have given if borrowed in the time of Henry III, and we may thus be entirely misled, especially as to a vowel-sound, if our chronology is in error. I believe I can point out a distinct case of this kind, sufficient to illustrate the point. The original Anglo-French had the remarkable diphthong *ei* (pronounced probably as *ei* in *vein*, or perhaps more distinctly, as in Ital. *sei*) in places where modern French has *oi* or *oy*. Thus the A. F. word for 'law' (F. *loi*) is *lei*; for 'king'

¹ Not altogether. Dr. Murray describes it (Dict. p. x) as being 'in its origin a mixture of various Norman and other Northern French dialects, afterwards mixed with and greatly modified by Angevin, Parisian, Poitevin, and other elements, and more and more exposed to the overpowering influence of literary French;' yet as having 'received, on this side the Channel, a distinct and independent development, following, in its phonology especially, English and not continental tendencies.'

(F. *roi*) is *rei* or *reis*, as in the title of the Laws of William the Conqueror, printed in Thorpe's Ancient Laws of England, i. 466. Hence were formed the adjectives *leial*, later *leal* (Laws of William, § 15) and *reial*. From the former of these we have the mod. E. *leal*, and from the latter the M. E. *real*, in the sense of 'royal,' in Chaucer, Kn. Tale, 160. But the *ei* was changed into *oi* under the influence of the literary French of the continent, so that we also find the later forms *loial* and *roial*, whence the mod. E. *loyal*, *royal*. In the same way we find A. F. *peiser*, to weigh (Liber Albus, p. 226), which gives us the original of *peize*, as used by Shakespeare (Mer. Ven. iii. 2. 22); but the later form was *poiser* (which actually occurs in the Liber Albus on the same page), whence E. *poise*. The history of such a change as this is well worthy of being thoroughly worked out.

§ 19. One great difficulty is the utter absence of a dictionary of the language. I know of nothing more disgraceful to such a land as England, the lawyers of which have made more or less use of Anglo-French for some eight hundred years, than the fact that no one has yet taken in hand to make a reasonably useful dictionary, or even a vocabulary, of this highly important language. There is, indeed, a poor production entitled Kelham's Norman Dictionary, printed in London in 1779; but, after the usual old method which aimed at uselessness and shirked all responsibility, the author does not vouchsafe us a single reference, and adopts the most remarkable spellings; it abounds, in places, with obvious blunders. The style of it may be inferred from the fact that p. 51 begins with such entries as these:—'Counturs le roy, *the king's serjeants*. Coup de mere (pur), *by force of the sea*. Coup, *damage*. Coupable, *guilty*. Coupe, *in fault, to blame*'; &c. Not much help is to be got from such a work as this. More useful, but very far from perfect, are some of the glossaries to certain editions; but they usually select only the most difficult words, and avoid all the more ordinary

ones, such as the philologist most requires. The most notable and worthy exception is the edition of the *Vie de Saint Auban* (Life of Saint Alban), by Dr. Atkinson, the glossary to which is practically a concordance, and affords a lesson to all editors how a glossary ought to be made. Yet even these helps do not bring us much nearer to the goal; we still want a dictionary or a full vocabulary which shall tell us the Anglo-French forms of all English words that are thence derived. As far as I can discover, the only person who has done any useful work in this direction is myself. In 1882, the Philological Society of London published for me 'A Rough List of English Words found in Anglo-French, with numerous references.' This was compiled from seventeen different books, duly enumerated below, and contains sixty-six pages, in double columns, of Anglo-French spellings of more than 2600 words. We can thus tell at once, for example, that the spelling *abhominable* (for *abominable*)—on which we have the curious comments of Holofernes (L. L. L. v. 1. 26)—occurs in Anglo-French, in the *Liber Albus*, p. 368; and Murray's Dictionary further tells us that it occurs in the later version of Wyclif's Bible, in 1 Macc. i. 57.¹ In 1888-90, the same Society published for me 'A Second List of English Words found in Anglo-French,' containing nearly 800 words more, compiled from fourteen more works; so that we now have references for nearly 3400 words, comprising nearly all such as are most commonly in use. In 1884, the English Dialect Society published 'A Word-list illustrating the correspondence of Modern English with Anglo-French Vowel-sounds,' compiled by B. M. Skeat, my eldest daughter. This was founded upon the former of

¹ *Abhominable* is the usual old spelling, owing to a popular etymology which explained it as *ab homine*, i. e. 'inhuman', and so 'beastly'. Still more curious is the information in the Boke of St. Albans, fol. f. 7, that it was correct to talk of 'a Flocke of Shepe', or 'a Gagle of women,' or 'a Sculke of freris' (friars), or 'a bhomynable [*sic*] sight of monkis.'

my Word-lists, and brings together the facts concerning the vowel-sounds and diphthongs. We thus learn, for example, that the diphthong *ie* occurs in the A. F. *nièce*, *pièce*, *chief*, *grief*, *relief*, *siege*, and *pière*. All of these are preserved in modern English with the same spelling, except that the last has become *pier*. In consequence, partly, of the appearance of these lists, we have now a work entitled 'Beiträge zur Geschichte der Französischen Sprache in England,' by D. Behrens; published at Heilbronn. This discusses the phonetic laws of the Anglo-French words borrowed by Middle English, with numerous useful references; and is preceded by a valuable list of M. E. words (also with references) derived from A. F. The author informs us, for example, that the word *lentil* occurs in Morris's edition of 'Genesis and Exodus,' l. 1488.

§ 20. As I may have occasion to refer to works in Anglo-French, I here give a list of most of the books from which my lists were compiled, preceded, in each case, by the abbreviations which are sufficient to denote them. It will give the reader some idea of the nature of some of our sources of information. But I regret to say that I have neglected other texts of even more importance, which I have not found time to index. It is heavy work to do all this single-handed.

- A. B.—Annals of Burton, pr. in *Annales Monastici*, ed. Luard, 1864. The words cited are from pp. 446–453, which contain the Provisions of Oxford, A.D. 1258.
- B.—Britton; ed. F. Morgan Nichols, M.A. 2 vols. Oxford, 1865. Late 13th century. Cited by the volume and page. (A law-book).
- B. B.—Black Book of the Admiralty; ed. Sir T. Twiss. 6 vols. Record Series. Cited by the page from vol. i. (unless the vol. is specified).
- Be.—Bestiary, by Philippe de Thaun; pr. in T. Wright's *Popular Treatises on Science*. Date, shortly before A.D. 1150. Cited by the line.

- C.A.—Chastel d'Amour, by R. Grossteste; ed. M. Cooke. Caxton Soc. 1852. 13th cent. Cited by the line.
- Cre.—*Livre des Creatures*; by Philippe de Thau. Printed with 'Be.' (above); and of the same date. Cited by the line.
- E.C.—Edward the Confessor, Life of; ed. Luard. Record Ser. 1858. 12th cent. Cited by the line (usually).
- F.C.—French Chronicle of London; ed. G. J. Aungier. Camden Soc. 1844. Ab. 1350. Cited by the page.
- F.F.—The Legend of Fulk Fitzwarin; pr. with R. de Coggeshall's *Chronicon Anglicanum*; ed. J. Stevenson. Record Ser. 1875. Ab. 1300. Cited by the page.
- G.—Gaimar. The Anglo-Norman Chronicle of Geoffrey Gaimar, ed. T. Wright. Caxton Club, 1850. Ab. 1150. Cited by the line.
- H.—Havelok. Lai d'Havelok; in the same vol. as 'G.' 12th cent. Cited by the line.
- L.—Langtoft. Pierre de Langtoft's Chronicle, ed. T. Wright. Record Series. 2 vols. 1866–8. Ab. 1307. Cited by the page from vol. i. (see below).
- L. b.—Langtoft, 2nd volume (see above).
- L.A.—*Liber Albus*; ed. H. T. Riley. Record Ser. 1859. Ab. 1419; but much of it is compiled from early statutes. Cited by the page.
- L.C.—*Liber Custumarum*; pr. in *Munimenta Gildhallae*, part ii.; ed. H. T. Riley, 1860. Dates; pp. 1–243, before 1307; pp. 255–433, from 1307 to 1327; pp. 434–455, from 1327 to 1377; pp. 456–487, from 1377 to 1399.
- Lit.—*Litterae Cantuarienses*, vol. i.; ed. J. B. Sheppard. Record Ser. Cited by the page; the date is always given.
- L.R.—*Le Livere de Reis de Brittanie*, &c.; ed. J. Glover. Record Ser. 1865. Cited by the page.
- L.W.—Laws of William I; pr. in *Ancient Laws and Institutes*, ed. B. Thorpe; vol. i. p. 466. MS. of 13th cent. Cited by the section.
- P.N.—*Le Prince Noir*, ed. F. Michel, 1883. Ab. 1386. Cited by the line.
- P.S.—*Political Songs of England*; ed. T. Wright. Camden Soc. 1839. Cited by the page, with dates.

- R.W.—Royal Wills; ed. J. Nichols, 1780. Cited by the page, with dates.
- S.R.—Statutes of the Realm, pr. by command of George III in 1810. Cited by the page, all from vol. i.; dates are often added.
- V.—Vie de Saint Auban, ed. R. Atkinson; London, 1876. Before 1300. (The Glossary gives the references.)
- V.H.—Vows of the Heron, in vol. i. of Political Songs, ed. T. Wright. Record Series, 1859. Date, 1338. Cited by the page.
- W.W.—William of Wadington's Manuel des Peches; ed. F. J. Furnivall, 1862. Cited by the line.
- Y. *a.*—Year-books of the reign of Edward I; years xx, xxi (1292-3); ed. A. J. Horwood. Record Series, 1866. Cited by the page.
- Y. *b.*—The same; years xxx, xxxi (1302-3). Record Ser. 1863.
- Y. *c.*—The same; years xxxii, xxxiii (1304-5). Record Ser. 1864.
- Y. *f.*—The same, reign of Edw. III; years xii, xiii (1338-9). Ed. L. O. Pike. Record Ser. 1885.
- Y. *g.*—The same, continued; years xiv, xv (1339-40). Ed. L. O. Pike. Record Ser. 1886.

§ 21. An excellent list of the chief authorities for Early and Middle English words is given in Behrens, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Französischen Sprache in England*, pp. 56-62. Another list is prefixed to Stratmann's Old-English Dictionary. For the purposes of the present work I shall chiefly cite such words as are given either in Mayhew and Skeat's Concise Dictionary of Middle English, or in my own larger Dictionary of English Etymology. It is only necessary to give such references as are not to be found there and have some special value.

It is worth while to pay special regard to the words which have come to us from Anglo-French through the medium of the law-courts. These include, not merely the strictly legal

terms, but many others relating to things of which the law-courts took cognisance. By referring to my lists, I find, for example, that the following words are frequently used in the Statutes of the Realm, in the Year-books of Edward I, and in Britton. *Abatre* (to abate), *abatable*, *abatement*, *abbesse*, *abbettement* (abetment), *abbeye*, *abettour*, *abiuracion*, *able*, *abregger* (to abridge), *abreggement*, *accessori*, adj., *accountable*, *acustume*, pp., *acord* (agreement), *acordaunt*, *acounte*, *acru* (accrued), *acquiter*, *acquittance*, *acre* (an A. F. spelling of the A. S. *æcer*), *action*, *adicion*, *adeu* (adieu), *aiorner* (to adjourn), *aiornement* (adjournment), *aiugger* (to adjudge), *aminister* (to administer to a will), *administracioun*, *adulterie*, *avantage*, *advent*, *adversarie*, *adversile*, *avis* (advice), *aviser* (to advise), *avoueson* (advowson), *affinite*, *affermer*, *affirmative*, *affrei* (affray), *age*, *agislement*, *agreer* (to agree), *aide*, *aider* (to aid), *alien*, *alienacion*, *alleger*, *aloter* (to allot), *alower* (to allow), *allowance*, *amender* (to amend), *amendement*, *amerciable*, *amercier* (to amerce), *amerciement*, *amounter* (to amount), *ancestre* (ancestor), *auncien* (ancient), *annexer*, *annuele* (annual), *annuile*, *annuller*, *antiquile*, *apparaill*, *apparaunt heyr* (heir apparent), *apel* (appeal), *apparence* (appearance), *apporcioner*, *apurtenant* (appertaining to), *apurtenaunce*, *appropriacion*, *approver* (to approve), *arable*, *arbitrement*, *iuges arbitres* (arbiters), *armes* (arms, weapons), *arener* (to arraign), *array*, *en arere* (in arrear), *arrerage*, *arest*, s., *arester*, v., *arrival*, *arsun* (arson), *assartir* (to assart), *asay*, s., *asayer*, v., *asaïour*, *assemblee*, *assent*, s., *sasentir*, v., *assetz* (assets), *assigne*, s., *assigner*, v., *assignement*, *assise*, *assuager* (to assuage), *assumpcion*, *assurance*, *attacher* (to attach), *attachement*, *ateint* (attainted), *ateinte*, s., (attaint), *attemplier*, *attendre* (to attend), *atirer* (to attire), *attore* (an attorney), *audience*, *auditour*, *aunte* (aunt), *autentik* (M. E. *autentik*, now altered to *authentic*), *autorile* (M. E. *autorile*, now altered to *authority*), *auctorizer* (to authorise), *averer* (to aver), *averement*, *avower* (to avow), *avowri*, *agarder* (for older *awarder*, to award).

The above list will give some idea of the abundance of the A. F. words introduced from this source ; it is needless to go through the other letters of the alphabet.

§ 22. A list of E. words of Anglo-French origin, down to A.D. 1300, is given in Appendix III to Morris's Historical Outlines of English Accidence. I was much indebted to it in writing my Dictionary, and Behrens has also made much use of it.

Similar lists, but very brief ones, are given by Fritzsche and Einkenkel in *Anglia*, vol. v, pp. 82 and 94 ; but the fullest list is that compiled from all these and other sources (including my Dictionary), by Behrens, *Beiträge* (as above), pp. 10-55, where full references are appended. Some of the words found in the various lists are rather of Latin than of French origin ; thus *elmesse* (Lambeth Homilies) is the A. S. *ælmesse*, borrowed from Lat. *eleemosyna* directly. In the same way, *castle* may have been taken immediately from Lat. *castellum* ; see vol. i. p. 434, § 400. In some cases, it is extremely difficult to tell whether a word is of Latin or A. F. origin ; it may even be of *both*, i. e. the Latin word may have been modified, either in sound or sense, by the A. F. use. Such may have been the case with the word *castle*, and it is tolerably certain that the words *altar*, *angel*, *apostle*, *canker*, *circle*, *deacon*, *disciple*, *gem*, *offer*, and *verse*, all found in A. S., were more or less modified by A. F. influence. In the same way, the A. S. *mór* (from Lat. *morus*) was turned into the unmeaning *mool*, and produced the mod. E. *mul-berry*. Indeed, even native English words have sometimes suffered some disguise or alteration. Thus the A. S. *wéste*, adj. waste, desert, barren, was supplanted by the A. F. *wast*, sb., a waste (S. R. p. 48, A.D. 1278 ; G. 6338) ; otherwise we should all be saying *weest*. The famous A. F. word *wassail* (R. W. 115, A.D. 1382) is a modification of an Old Northumbrian or Old Danish *wæs hail*, corresponding to the A. S. *wes hál*, 'be hale ! be of good health !' a salutation used in

drinking. Whenever there is some doubt as to the origin of an early Romance word, it is, in general, quite safe to say that the word is rather A. F. than Latin; the chief exception being in the case of a few words which were probably taken immediately from the Vulgate Version of the Bible. A probable instance is *pelican*, familiar to all early writers from its occurrence in the Psalms (cii. 6, A. V.; ci. 7, Vulgate Version); in fact, one of the A. S. versions of the Psalms, that edited by Thorpe, has the dat. *pellicane* in this passage, where the Vulgate has the dat. *pellicano*. Unless there is clear evidence to the contrary, I shall assume a word to be A. F. rather than Latin, wherever either form will serve. A discussion of words that were borrowed *immediately* from Latin will be found in Chapter XIII.

§ 23. When considering the influence of Anglo-French upon English, we must not forget that a similar influence was exerted in the contrary direction. Numerous English words found their way into Anglo-French, especially in the law-courts, and in various ordinances and regulations. The English word *aker* (A. S. *æcer*) was in such constant use in matters relating to land that it was transformed into *acre*, as if formed with the A. F. suffix *-re* (cf. *centre*); and this spelling became fixed, being still in use. English words frequently appear in the midst of an A. F. sentence. Thus, in the *Liber Custumarum*, p. 61, the regulation about the Lorraine merchants begins:—‘Come li Loreng vendront a la *Niwe Were*,’ &c., i. e. ‘when the Lorrainers shall come to the *New Weir*,’ &c. Just below, it is directed that they are to wait for three tides before beginning to trade; or, as it is printed—‘si attendent ii. ewes et un flod.’ The next sentence begins—‘Dedenz le terme de iii. *tides*’; i. e. ‘within the term of three *tides*,’ where *tide* is from A. S. *flōd*. The A. F. *ewe* means ‘water’; and I suppose that the editor took the above direction to mean—‘they shall wait for two waters and a flood’; where *flod* (A. S. *flōd*) is of native origin. I have no doubt at all that

he must have misread the MS., or that it is miswritten; for *ewes* we should surely read *ebbes*, i. e. ebbs, which is an English word. The old *w* is not at all unlike *bb*; so the mistake is possible. 'Waters' makes no sense; but 'ebbs' is the very word required. Sometimes, indeed, we find much clearer records of English words in Anglo-French or Latin documents than can be found elsewhere. I have hitherto failed to find the word *wharf* (A. S. *hwerf*, *hwearf*) in a Middle English text, but I find 'le *Wherf*,' i. e. the wharf, in the *Liber Custumarum*, p. 62. Old wills are usually written in Latin or Anglo-French, and, from the nature of the case, they constantly introduce English words. We thus learn, for example, that the E. *loom*, as commonly used, is short for *web-loom*, i. e. weaving-loom; for in the *Testamenta Eboracensia*, vol. i. p. 191, I find:—'Et lego Katharinae filiae meae illud instrumentum, Anglice *weblome*, in quo Johannes maritus suus operatur.' (A. D. 1393.) Once more, the A. S. *wiloc* became M. E. *wilk*, spelt *wylke* in the *Promptorium Parvulorum* (A. D. 1440); the usual A. F. spelling was *welk*, plural *welkes* (L. A. 244; L. C. 407, l. 9). The usual mod. E. form is, accordingly, *welks* (always misspelt *whelks*) in polite society; but the vulgar name is still *wilks*, because the lower orders have best preserved the A. S. form. Bailey gives '*wilk*, a cockle, or sea-snail' as a Lincolnshire word; and it occurs again in the Kentish Glossary (Eng. Dialect Society) and elsewhere.

§ 24. Before giving a few specimens of Anglo-French, it will be best to say a few words as to its pronunciation. The best general rule is to say that the pronunciation of Anglo-French agrees, almost exactly, with that of the contemporary Middle English, the symbols used in both having the same value, and both being spelt phonetically. The reason for this is that in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the whole of the English language was respelt by scribes who had been trained to write out Anglo-French; see vol. i.

p. 304, § 287; p. 308, § 292; p. 319, § 300. Even the very forms of the letters were altered; the A. S. *d*, *f*, *g*, *r*, *s*, *t*, imitated from the Celtic forms of the Roman letters, were replaced by the continental forms of the same; and the A. S. symbol *cw* was replaced by the French *qu*. Hence, in dealing with Anglo-French and Middle-English we have but *one* alphabet; the same letter-forms and symbols are common to both, and are used to represent, as nearly as may be, the same sounds. If it were not for the great changes in our pronunciation, modern English would be a better guide than modern French to the pronunciation required; and, as the said changes mostly affect the vowel-sounds, our best general guide will be to sound the A. F. *consonants* as in modern *English*, and the *vowels* as in modern *French*, or rather as in modern Italian. This extremely simple rule, strange as it may seem to be, will give a much closer approximation to the truth than would be supposed; especially if it be supplemented by a further rule, that the final *e* is to be sounded as a distinct syllable, as in modern German. A few examples will make this clearer. The A. F. plural *barons* is to be pronounced somewhat like English, except that the *a* is like E. *a* in *father*; a slight sound may be given to the *on*, and the final *s* should be distinctly heard; the F. pronunciation is misleading. This is on the supposition that the accent was on the *a*, as was sooner or later the case; it had originally been on the *o*, which was once *long*; moreover, the *s* was originally voiceless. The A. F. *charge*, meaning 'burden,' is not in the least like the F. *charge*; on the contrary, it is pronounced more like E. *charge*; only the *r* should be trilled, and the final *e* sounded. The A. F. pres. pl. *consentent*, meaning 'they consent,' should be treated much in the same way as *barons*, i. e. retaining *n*¹, and with no suppression of the final syllable

¹ Cf. Ellis, E. E. Pronunciation, p. 462, l. 11. Mr. Nicol notes that the vowels *a* and *e*, before *m* and *n*, were already nasal in the eleventh

or even of the final *t*. Such words as *éclaircissement* belong to continental French and to the modern period of English; in fact, this particular word seems to have been introduced by Dryden (*Marriage a-la-Mode*, Act. iii. sc. 1). It must be borne in mind, however, that both the pronunciation and spelling of Anglo-French were constantly, though slowly, changing; consequently, the remarks made both here and below are only to be taken as a loose and *approximate* guide to the sounds which, most probably, were in extended use during the period when English was borrowing many loan-words from Anglo-French, say about 1250-1350. One corollary from the use of the same alphabet for Anglo-French and English words is of great importance, viz. that at the time when any Anglo-French word was borrowed it was transferred into English *with an unaltered spelling*, which may, however, have been afterwards slightly modified. It is certainly the fact that a considerable number of words are spelt precisely alike in both languages at about the same period. This appears at once from a glance at Miss Skeat's Word-list, where the A. F., M. E., and E. forms are given side by side. In many cases *the forms have never changed at all*; examples are *habit, adamant, advent, chalice, malice, talent, valour, value, palmer, palfrey, clamour, damage, lamprey, ensample, blanket*, all on the first two pages. Of course variant spellings of these words are found at different periods, but such variations have no important signification. I shall now attempt to describe, in a tentative and approximate manner, the more usual and general values of the A. F. sounds, from a conviction that anything is better than leaving the student in the belief that they bear a close resemblance to the

century; but he adds that, in all cases, the loss of the following nasal consonant is quite modern. The only traces of it in English occur in the use of *an* for *en*, as in *rank* for A. F. *renc*, and in a few such words as *daunt, vaunt*. In the *Chanson de Roland*, the nasalisation of *a* and *e* before *m* and *n* is more marked than that of other vowels.

sounds heard in modern French. The books to be consulted are Ellis's *Early English Pronunciation*; Sweet's *History of English Sounds*, Sweet's *First and Second English Primers*, Behrens' *Beiträge*, etc., the account of Chaucer's pronunciation by Mr. Ellis in my edition of Chaucer's *Man of Lawes Tale*, and the account of the same in Ten Brink's work entitled '*Chaucers Sprache und Verskunst*.' Above all, let the student consult the observations on the pronunciation of the dialect of Normandy, in the preface to *Extraits de la Chanson de Roland*, etc., by Gaston Paris; Paris, 1887.

§ 25. **A. F. Pronunciation.** The value of a vowel is often affected, as in modern E., by the position of the accent. In order to eliminate, for the present, this source of variation, all the examples (except those of final *-e*) will be so chosen that the vowel under consideration occurs in an accented syllable, unless the contrary be expressed. In describing the sounds, the romic symbols will frequently be used, as given in vol. i. p. 336, § 310. The principal M. E. sounds are also given in vol. i. p. 340, § 313.

The following table shews the probable pronunciation of the vowels and diphthongs:—

A. F. SYMBOLS.	BROAD-ROMIC SYMBOLS ¹	SOUNDS.
a (<i>short</i>)	a	as in father (<i>but short</i>).
a (<i>long</i>)	aa	„ father.
ai, ay	ai ² ; later ei	„ my (<i>but broader</i>); later as èi (<i>with open e</i>).
au	au	„ now (<i>but broader</i>).
e (<i>short</i>)	e	„ men.

¹ The 'romic' symbols are founded on those of the Italian alphabet; hence *ai* has the sound of E. *ah-ee*, somewhat shortened. The 'broad-romic' is only an approximate system for common use; 'narrow romic' is more exact. See Sweet's *Handbook of Phonetics*.

² Mr. Nicol remarks that all combinations of vowel-letters *originally* represented diphthongs. But it is a special characteristic of A. F. that it reduced several diphthongs, such as *ea*, *ie*, *eo*, *oe*, *ui*, to simple long vowels.

A. F. SYMBOLS.	BROAD-RÖMIC SYMBOLS	SOUNDS.
e (<i>unaccented</i>)	ə	as in father (<i>r</i> not trilled).
e (<i>long</i>), ee	ee (or èè)	„ long open e.
ea	ea; later ææ	„ (<i>Ital.</i> e-a; later as in there).
ei, ey	ei	„ obey.
eo, oe	oè; œ; latest ee	„ oè; then as in (<i>French</i>) peuple; latest as in G. see.
eu (<i>rare</i>)	œy?	(see Schwan, §§ 284, 307).
i (<i>short</i>), y	i	„ sit.
i (<i>long</i>), y	ii	„ ween.
ie	iee; later ee ¹	
o (<i>short</i>)	o; also u (nearly)	„ hop; full (nearly).
o (<i>long</i>)	oo (or òò)	„ long o, mostly open.
oi, oy	oi	„ noise, boy.
ou (ow)	mostly uu ²	„ fool.
u (<i>short</i>)	u; also y	„ full; also as in G. schützen.
u (<i>long</i>)	uu; also yy	„ fool; also as in G. grün.
ui	yy (from yi); also oi ³	„ G. grün; also E. boil.

The following consonants were used as in modern English, and need no comment; **b, d, f, j, k, l, m, n** (slightly nasal), **p, qu, r** (trilled), **t, v, w, x**. It may be noted, however, that *u* is usually written for *v*, especially between two vowels, and that the sound of *j* was invariably denoted by the symbol *i*. Of the rest, **c** was more commonly pronounced as in F. and E., i.e. as *s* before *e* and *i*, and as *k* before other vowels; as in E. *cark, cell, city, coffin, curtain*, all of which are of A.F. origin; but the original sound of *c*, before *e* and *i*, was *ts*, as in O. F. and A. F., which lasted till after A. D. 1200. In like manner,

¹ The M. E. spelling *ie*, as in *lief, chief*, 'is the result of the A. F. smoothing of O. F. *ie* (i'ee) into (ee).—Sweet, Hist. E. Sounds, § 597.

² See Sweet, Hist. E. Sounds, §§ 595, 596.

³ 'The O. F. *ui* had generally the value ('yi), as in *fruit*; this diphthong was smoothed to (yy) in the E. pronunciation of French.'—Sweet.

g was pronounced as in E., i.e. as E. *j* before *e* and *i*, and as *g* before other vowels; as in E. *galley*, *gem*, *giant*, *govern*, *gutter*, all of which are of A. F. origin: and we may here note that A. F. *geste* has become E. *jest*. In the combination *gu*, the *u* was at first pronounced as *w*, as in mod. E. *anguish*; but E. has dropped the *w* sound in *guarantee*, *guard*, *guile*, *guise*, and even (according to the dictionaries) in *guerdon*. The **h** was always silent in words of Latin origin, such as *host* (often spelt *ost*); and was only retained in words of Germanic origin, such as *hardy*. The **s** was probably voiced, i.e. sounded as *z* between two vowels and in final unaccented syllables before a vowel; cf. E. *causes*. In *sl*, written for *zl*, the *z* was early lost; so that *isle* was pronounced (iil). So also with *sm*, *sn*. The **z**, when used as a final letter,¹ was originally pronounced as *ts* in *cats*. Thus the Lat. *cantatis* (by loss of *i*, and change of *c* to *ch*) produced a word *chantets*, which was written *chantez*; a spelling which is retained in modern French, though the old pronunciation is lost. Compare the use of *z* (with the sound of *ts*) in G. *Zahn*. We even find *tz* in some cases; such a spelling as *sergeantz* for *sergeants* is found in MSS. of Chaucer. Survivals of this occur in the A. F. *fiz*, a son, also written *fitz*, as in *Fitzedward*; and in the A. F. *assez* or *assetz* (the same word as F. *assez*, meaning 'enough'), preserved, with the old sound of the *z*, in the mod. E. *assets*. See *assets* in the New English Dictionary.

Besides the above letters, we must not omit to mention the important and common combination *ch*, pronounced as in E. *charm*, *chair*, words of A. F. origin; and *ph*, pronounced as *f*, as in A. F. *phiscien*, a physician (B. i. 34), also spelt *fisicien* (W. W. 10301); but *ph* only occurs in learned words. The symbol *th* is rare; we find it in the name *Thomas*, probably pronounced, in this case, with *t*, as at present. The

¹ Medially, or initially, it was *dz*, and, at a later time, it was *z* in all positions; see Sweet, *Hist. E. Sounds*, § 592.

A. F. *sch* was originally pronounced as written, i.e. as *s* (in *sin*) followed by *ch* (in *charge*), but passed into *sh* (in *shall*); hence the M. E. symbol *sch* for the sound of *sh*.

§ 26. I believe the above notes will be practically sufficient for the present purpose; more exact information, on some points at least, will be found in Sweet, Ellis, Behrens, and Ten Brink. It may, however, be usefully observed here that the orthography is not always the same, and that there was a strong tendency, often fully carried out, to change some of the old diphthongs into monophthongs, or simple long vowels. I here throw together a few notes.

Ai, ei. At first *ai* and *ei* were probably distinguished, but there was a tendency to confuse them; and, in later texts especially, they are confused accordingly. See this discussed in Ellis, E. E. Pron. p. 454; where the author seems to incline to the belief that both were merged in the common sound *ai*. On the other hand, Ten Brink says (Chaucers Sprache, § 89) that *ai* and *ei* were both merged in the common sound *èi* (with open *e*), and that this common sound was sometimes further changed into *èè* (long open *e*). So likewise M. Gaston Paris notes that, even in the later text of the *Chanson de Roland*, *ai* became F. open *e*. This latter opinion seems to me incontrovertible, since we find *aïse* passing into *eïse*, and thence¹ into *ee*se (often written *ese*), whence the Tudor E. *ease* (*èèz*, with open *e*), and mod. E. *ease* (*iiz*).

Au. The use of *au* is particularly noticeable before *m* and *n*, when followed by another consonant. We then find a strong tendency to alter the A. F. accented *a* in *am*, *an*, into *aum* and *aun*. Hence we find *chaumbre* as well as *chambre*, a chamber; *daunger* as well as *danger*; such spellings are common also in M. E. Modern E. commonly rejects this change, but it occurs in *daunt*, *haunt*, *vaunt*, *spawn*, *lawn*,

¹ But only in some cases: we still keep *vain*, *wait*, *pay* with the sound of *vein*, *weit*, *pey*.

launy, etc. (daont, haont, vaont, spaon, laon, tao'ni); for *au* = (ao), see vol. i. p. 336.

It is most likely that the sound *au* was due to the (originally) nasal sound of the vowel *a*. Though the consonants *m* and *n* preserved their sound, instead of being lost as in modern F., the vowels *a* and *e* (and perhaps *o*) had a nasal sound in Norman before *m* and *n*. This was probably soon lost in A. F., since E. shows but slight traces of it.

E. The sound of short *e* varied; being sometimes open (as in E. *bed*, *met*), sometimes close (as in F. *été*, or the former part of the diphthong heard in E. *they*), and sometimes weak or obscure (as at the end of G. *Sonne* or in the F. *que*). Ten Brink (Chaucers Sprache, § 86) states that the M. E. *e* was close at the end of the first unaccented syllable of a word, as in *de-gree*, *de-parten*, *re-questen*; weak in a middle unaccented syllable, as in *chap-e-lein*, *rem-e-naunt*, *gen-e-ral*; and open in a 'closed'¹ syllable, as in *mer-cy*, *ser-geant*. Compare the observations of M. Gaston Paris. The long open *e* occurs in *re-soun*, *se-soun*, from the older forms *raisoun*, *reisoun*, *saisoun*, *seisoun*; spelt *reason*, *season* in E. The long close *e* occurs at the end of an accented syllable, before another vowel, as in *crē-a-tur-e* (four syllables). See Ten Brink, as above. Also at the end of such words as *degree*, *see* (of a bishop), where the mod. E. has the pronunciation (ii).

The nasal sound of *e* before *m* or *n* seems to have been early lost; at any rate, the traces of it are very slight. We find, however, that *en* has become *an* in E. *standard*, *rank*, from A.F. *estendard*, *renc*; but this change is very rare.

Ea. The vowels were originally distinct; the vocalisation and subsequent loss of *g* in Lat. *legalis* gave the A. F. forms *leial*, *le-al*; but *ea* soon became a monophthong, producing the M. E. *lēl* (lèl), with open *e*; whence mod. E. *leal* (liil).

¹ I.e. in a syllable closed or terminated by a consonant; otherwise the syllable is 'open,' as in E. *ta-bour*. See § 47.

Ei. Properly a diphthong, with the stress on *e*; it sometimes passed into a long open *e*; see **Ai**.

Eo, Oe. Chiefly in the word *people*, which still retains the symbol. The later sound was like that heard in F. *peuple*, and then it became a monophthong, which accounts for the M. E. *pēple* (pē'plə), whence the mod. E. pronunciation (pi'pl).

I, Y. The symbols *i* and *y* were completely confused, probably because the *sounds* of A. S. *i* and A. S. *y* had become confused also. The use of *y* for *i* was often due to a striving after graphic distinctness, since *hym* is clearer to the eye than *him*, which might, in a MS., be read as *hun*. They are often interchanged in A. F.; thus we find *pyte* for *pite* (pī'tee); as in L. 232. In some M. E. MSS., there was a tendency to use *y* for long *i*, and *i* for the short one.

Ie. The *i* was a mere glide, and the accent was on the *e*. There was a tendency to produce a monophthong, viz. long close *e*, which has regularly become (ii) in modern E. Thus A. F. *grief* is now pronounced (griif). See Ten Brink, as above, § 67.

✓ **O.** The short *o* is very troublesome, as it often cannot be separated from short *u*. This will be considered more fully below. The use of *o* for *u* was particularly common before *m*, *n*, and *u* (= *v*); because the graphic combinations *um*, *un*, and *uu*, were likely to be indistinct. This use of *o* for *u* was extended to native words; hence the A. S. *sunu* became M. E. *some*, and is still spelt *son*. See Ten Brink, as above, § 86; Sweet, Hist. of E. Sounds, § 595.

Ou (ow). The symbol *ou* mostly denoted simple long *u*, as in mod. E. *soup* (suup); hence, in M. E., the symbol *ou* was in constant use to denote that sound even in native words. Before a vowel (chiefly) we find *ow* written for *ou*, as in A. F. *avower* (avuuer), to avow; Y. a. 63. Hence *ow* for final *ou* in E.

U. Used to denote both *u* and *y* (Ger. *ü*), whether short or long; and it is often difficult to distinguish between them.

The best rule is to remember that the latter sound (G. *ü*) commonly occurs where Latin has long *u* (*ū*), or sometimes *u* long by position¹, as in *cure* (kyy ·rə), from L. *cūra*.

Another rule is that mod. E. has (yuu) for this latter sound, as in *cure*, *pure* (kyuur, pyuur); A. F. *cure*, *pur* (kyy·rə, pyyr); L. *cūra*, *pūrus*.

Ui. This diphthong arose from the combination of an accented modified *u* (Ger. *ü*) with a short *i*; it soon became a monophthong by the loss of the latter element, so that its proper sound was that of the G. *ü* in *grün*. This awkward combination, viz. the symbol *ui*, seems to have been a favourite one in A. F., so that it was also used for *oi*, which is its usual representative in E. The chief example of the former sound is in A. F. *fruit* (fryyt); but the sound was disliked in E. and turned in to (yuu), as above, or, after an r, into simple (uu); hence E. (fruut). An example of the latter use occurs in A. F. *bruillir*, M. E. *bruilen*, *broilen*, E. *broil*.

Some characteristic specimens of A. F. will be given in the next Chapter.

¹ Lat. *u* 'in position,' i.e. before two consonants, was sometimes long, as in Lat. *nūllum*, and sometimes short, as in Lat. *mūltum*; and was developed accordingly. Hence O. F. *nul* (nyl) and *moult* (mult).

CHAPTER IV.

SPECIMENS OF ANGLO-FRENCH.

§ 27. As a few selected specimens of Anglo-French will give a better idea of its spelling and general appearance than any description, I here give some examples of it, with translations. I afterwards add notes on the pronunciation.

A. From the Laws of William I.

The first extract is taken from the Laws of William the Conqueror, as printed in Thorpe's Ancient Laws and Institutes of England, 2 vols. 1840; vol. i. p. 466. The MS. is *not* contemporary, but it is of the twelfth century, and exhibits several archaic forms, with full inflexions. Observe, e. g. *grantad*, in the past tense singular, third person; later form, *granta*. I may add that there is also a *Latin* text of these Laws, which helps to explain many of the phrases here employed.

[TITLE.] Cez sunt les leis e les custumes que li reis William grantad al pople de Engleterre, apres le cunquest de la terre; iceles meimes que li reis Edward, sun cousin, tint devant lui.

I. Ceo est a sauer : Pais a seinte iglise. De quel forfeit que hom fet oust, e il poust uenir a seinte iglise, oust pais de uie e de

[TITLE.] These are the laws and the customs which King William granted to the people of England, after the conquest of the land; the very same which King Edward, his cousin, had before him.

I. This is to wit : Peace to holy church ! For whatever misdeed that a man may have committed, if he could come into holy

menbre. E si aucuns meist main en celui ki la mere iglise requereit, si ceo fust u euesque, u abeie, u iglise de religion, rendist ceo quil aureit pris, e cent souz le forfeit ; e de mere iglise de parosse, xx. souz ; e de chapele, x. souz.

II. E ki enfreint la pais le rei, en *Merchene lahe*, cent souz les amendes. Autresi de *hemfare* e de agwait purpense. Icel plaît afert a la curune le rei. E si aucuns uescunte u prouost mesfait as humes de sa *ende* [*Lat. text ballie*], e de ceo seit atteint deuant iustise, le forfeit est a duble de ceo que auter fust forfeit. E ki en *Dene lahe* enfreint la pais le rei, set uint liures e quatre les amendes ; et les forzez le rei ki aferent al uescunte, xl. souz en *Merchene lahe*, e l. souz en *West-sexene lahe*. E cil francs hom ki ad e *sache* e *soche*, e *toll* e *tem*, e *infangen-theof*, se il est enplaide, e il seit mis en forfeit el cunte, afert al os le uescunte en *Dene lahe* xl. *ores* : e de cel hume ki ceste franchise nen ad, xxxii. *ores*. De cez xxxii., auerad le uescunte al os le rei, x. *ores*,

church, let him have peace, of life and of member [limb]. And if any one lay hand on him who has sought mother church, whether it be cathedral, or abbey, or church of religion, let him render up that which he may have taken, and a hundred shillings as forfeit ; and (if it be) from the mother church of the parish, 20 shillings ; and if from a chapel, 10 shillings.

II. And whoever breaks the king's peace, within the *Mercian law* [i.e. district where the Mercian law is respected], 100 shillings (be) the amends. So also as to *hemfare* [invasion of one's home] and for premeditated lying in wait. This plea belongs to the crown of the king. And if any sheriff or provost maltreats the men of his *end* (bailiwick), and be convicted of this before the justice, the forfeit is double that which another would have forfeited. And whoever, within the *Dane-law* [district of the Danish law], breaks the king's peace, seven score pounds and four (be) the amends ; and the king's forfeits, which belong to the sheriff, 40 shillings in the *Mercian-law*, and 50 shillings in the *West-Saxon-law*. And as for a free man who has *sac* [right of holding pleas] and *sóc* [privilege of holding courts], and *toll* [taking of toll, and exemption from toll] and *team* [power to deal with serfs, and their children and property] and *infangen-theof* [power to try thieves taken within his jurisdiction], if he is impleaded, and he be put in forfeit in the county-court, it (the forfeit) belongs to the use of the sheriff ; viz. 40 *oras* [an *ora*=about 16*d.*, sometimes 20*d.*] in the *Dane-law* :

e cil ki le plait auerad deredne uers lui, xii. *oras* ; e le seinur en ki fiu il meindra, les x. *oras*. Ceo est en *Dene lahe*.

and, for that man who has not this franchise, 32 *oras*. Of these 32 *oras*, the sheriff shall have for the king's use 10 *oras* ; and he who shall have brought the plea against him, 12 *oras* ; and the lord within whose *feud* [jurisdiction] he resides, the 10 *oras*. This is in the *Dane-law*.

§ 28. The spelling of the above passage is very archaic. We still find *grantad* in place of the later *granta* ; *hom* for *on* ; *pais* for later *peis*, *pees* ; etc. The pronunciation does not really require much explanation ; the words are probably to be sounded as written, keeping the Italian values for the vowels, pronouncing all the letters (such as final *s*, *st* in *cunquest*, *t* in *tint*), and making the final *e*, as in *eglise*, a distinct syllable. Final *z*, as explained above (see § 24), was *ts* ; so that *Cez* was pronounced as *Cets* (sets) ; cf. *forfez* = *forfets*. The final *s* in *leis* was probably sounded as *z* before the following vowel, viz. in the word *e*. But, in *reis* (Lat. *rex*) the *s* was no doubt voiceless. The symbol *qu* was mostly sounded as in E. *queen* ; but the frequent alternative spellings *ke*, *ki*, for *que*, *qui*, show that *qu* had passed over to the mod. F. *k*-sound in a few very common words connected with the relative pronoun ; hence *quil* was really *kil*. Even in the word *quatre*, 'four,' the same change took place, sooner or later ; this is proved by the existence of E. *cater*, meaning 'four,' used in dice-play. I think the rest of the sounds can be made out, nearly, by help of the indications given in §§ 24, 25.

§ 29. The words marked by the use of italics are of A. S. origin ; it has already been explained that such words are of frequent occurrence in A. F. laws. If we note the mod. E. words due to A. F. words occurring in the above extract, we at once observe the following instances. *Custume*, custom ; *granter*, to grant ; *pople*, people (borrowed by E. from the later A. F. *people*) ; *cunquest*, conquest ; *cusin*, cousin ; *pais*,

peace; *seint*, saint; *forfeit*, forfeit; *menbre*, usually *membre*, member; *requerre*, to require¹; *abeie*, abbey; *religiun*, religion; *parosse*, parish; *chapele*, chapel; *amendes*, amends; *agwait* (usually *await*), await; *curune*, crown; *uescunte*, viscount; *prouost*, provost²; *ateint*, attainted; *iustise*, justice; *duble*, double; *quatre*, cater (§ 28); *francs*, frank; *enplaidier*, to implead; *os*, use³; *franchise*, franchise; *plait*, plea; *deredner*, to darraign⁴; *seimur*, senior, seigneur; *fiu* (also *fief*), fief.

Thus our first specimen has introduced us to the older forms of over thirty mod. E. words. This should suffice to show the paramount importance of this much-neglected language. In most cases the correspondence is so close that little need be said. The great antiquity of such a word as *franchise* is worth notice. Observe the pronunciation of the *ch*; it is quite wrong to sound it here as *sh*, as if it were mere modern French. The word requiring most explanation is *viscount*. This answers to A. F. *visconte* (S. R. 28, A.D. 1275), in which the *s* was early lost in pronunciation. This is shown by the A. F. spelling *viconte* (Y. a. 7). Thence, the development of the *i* (ii) into the mod. E. *i* (ai) is regular; and the lengthening of A. F. *on* (also written *un*, *oun*) in the combination *ont*, *ount*, is also regular.

§ 30. I now proceed to give a second extract, taken from the *Estorie des Engles*, by Geffrei Gaimar, ed. Wright (Caxton Society, 1850), p. 182; from a MS. of the thirteenth century, though the period of composition was about

¹ The E. *require* answers to M. E. *requiren*, Chaucer, C. T. 8306; *requere*, id. 6634 (riming with *there*). Of these, *requeren* is from *requerre*; but *require* answers to *requier*, the 1st pers. sing. of the present tense, and may (like *acquire*) have been influenced by the Lat. spelling.

² We already find *profost* (with *f* as *v*) in A. S.

³ The E. *use*, answering phonetically to A. F. *us* (Lat. *usum*) seems to have been also employed to translate A. F. *os*, *oes* (Lat. *opus*); the latter means 'benefit'; see Supp. to my Dict., 2nd ed., p. 832.

⁴ As in Spenser, F. Q. i. 4. 40; from A. F. *darreiner*, *dereiner*, later form of *deresner*, *deredner* (Lat. *derationare*).

1150. The extract describes the conduct of the Norman champion Taillefer at the battle of Hastings; and it is remarkable that it does not say a single word about his singing the Song of Roland, according to the common story.

B. From Geffrei Gaimar's Chronicle.

Quant les escheles sunt reengees
 E del ferir aparillees,
 Mult i out genz dambesdous parz ;
 De hardement semblent leopardz. 5270
 Un des Franceis donc se hasta,
 Devant les altres chevalcha.
 Taillefer ert cil apelez,
 Joglere estait, hardi asez ;
 Armes aveit e bon cheval,
 Si ert hardiz e noble vassal.
 Devant les altres cil se mist ;
 Devant Engleis merveilles fist.
 Sa lance prist par la tuet,
 Com si ço fust un bastunet ; 5280
 Encontremont halt le geta
 E par le fer receue l'a.
 Trais fez issi geta sa lance ;

When the squadrons are ranged,
 And apparelled for the onset,
 There were many men on both sides ;
 For hardiness, they seemed leopards. 5270
 One of the French then made haste,
 Before the others he rode.
 Taillefer this man was called,
 A juggler (jester) was he, very hardy ;
 Arms had he, and a good horse,
 And he was a hardy and noble vassal.
 Before the others this man put himself ;
 Before the English he performed marvels,
 His lance he took by the handle
 As if it had been a small stick ; 5280
 Up aloft he threw it high,
 And by the iron he has caught it.
 Three times he thus threw his lance ;

La quarte feiz, mult pres s'avance,
 Entre les Engleis la lanca,
 Parmi le cors un en naffra.
 Puis treist s'espee, arere vint,
 Geta s'espee k'il tint
 Encontremont, puis la receit.
 L'un dit a l'autre, ki ço veit, 5290
 Ke ço estait enchantement
 Ke cil fesait devant la gent.
 Quant treis faiz out gete l'espee,
 Le cheval, od gule baiee,
 Vers les Engleis vint a esleise ;
 Si i ad alquanz ki quident estre mange,
 Pur le cheval ki issi baiout.
 Le jugleor apris li out ;
 De l'espee fiert un Engleis ;
 Le poing li fait voler maneis. 5300
 Altre en fiert tant cum il pout ;
 Mal guerdon le jor en out ;
 Car les Engleis, de totes parz,

The fourth time, he advances very near,
 Amongst the English he launched it,
 Amid the body he wounded one with it.
 Then he drew his sword, came back again,
 Threw his sword which he held
 Up aloft, and then catches it.
 One says to the other, on seeing this, 5290
 That this was enchantment
 Which he did before the people.
 When three times he had thrown the sword,
 The horse, with his mouth wide open,
 Towards the English went, at full gallop.
 And there are some who expect to be eaten,
 For (by) the horse, who thus opened his mouth ;
 The juggler had taught him (his horse) it.
 With the sword he strikes an Englishman,
 He makes his fist fly off at once. 5300
 Another he strikes with it as hard as he could ;
 Evil guerdon that day he had for it.
 For the English, from all sides,

Li lancent gavelocs e darz,
 Lui oscistrent e son destrer ;
 Mar demanda le colp primer !

Launch (hurl) at him javelins and darts ;
 They killed him and his destrere (horse) ;
 To his hurt he demanded the first stroke !

§ 31. The metre employed is the line of eight syllables. A normal line is the sixth : Devánt | les ál | tres ché | valchá||. Sometimes there is a ninth unaccented syllable, as in the first two lines and the seventeenth and eighteenth. The editor has probably slightly modified the spelling ; the MSS. have *deuant*, not *devant*. He has also added accents, which the MSS. do not employ, and which I omit. I suppose that *rengees* was pronounced *renge-ès* (romic ranjee'e^z). The *ou* may be sounded as (uu). Observe *z=ts* in *parz=parts*, and *genz=gents*. We may also profitably notice the elision of final *e* in *joglere* ; the dissyllabic *Armes* ; the trisyllabic *Taill-e-fer*, *juglëor* ; and the quadrisyllabic *enchant-e-ment*. *Ert*=Lat. *erat* ; *out*=Lat. *habuit* ; *od*=Lat. *apud* ; *fiert*=Lat. *ferit*. The E. words illustrated are : *range*, *apparel*, *part*, *leopard*, *haste*, *juggler*, *hardy*, *assets*, *arms*, *chival*- (in *chival-ry*), *noble*, *vassal*, *marvel*, *lance*, *baston* (in heraldry), *jet*, *receive*, *quart*, *advance*, *corse*, *arrear*, *enchant-ment*, *gules* (in heraldry), *mange(r)*, *mange*, *guerdon*, *launch* (to throw), *darts*, *destrere* (Chaucer), *demand*. *D'ambesdous* is an instructive word ; it stands for *de ambes dous*, 'of both two.' *Dous* answers to Central F. *deus*, which gave us the mod. E. *deuce*, used in dice-play to signify 'two' ; whilst *ambes* (Lat. *ambo*) is also written *ames* ; hence *ames ace*, 'both aces', 'double aces', in Shak. *All's Well*, ii. 3. 85.

§ 32. In Wright's Political Songs, edited for the Camden Society in 1839, there are several characteristic pieces. I quote just a few lines from 'The Outlaw's Song of Traill-baston,' imagined to have been written by an outlaw in a wood with reference to the Law of Trailbaston (April 6,

1305), which was directed against the violent men called *trailbastons* (stick-carriers). The outlaw complains of the law, and invites men to join him in the wood (reminding us of *As You Like It*, Act ii. sc. 5). He adds that his song was written in the wood, and cast into the highway for men to find. The date of the MS. is about 1310-20.

C. From the Outlaw's Song.

Ce sunt les articles de Trayllebastoun;
 Salve le roi meismes, de Dieu eit maleysoun
 Qe a de primes granta tiel commissioun!
 Quar en ascuns des pointz n'est mie resoun.

Sire, si je voderai mon garsoun chastier
 De une buffe ou de deus, pur ly amender,
 Sur moi betera bille, e me frad atachier,
 E avant qe isse de prisone ransoun grant doner . .

Pur ce me tendrai antre bois sur (suz ?) le jolyf umbray;
 La n'y a faucete ne nulle male lay;
 En le bois de Belregard, ou vole le jay,
 E chaunte russinole touz jours santz delay. . . .

These (that I hate) are the articles of Traillebastoun;
 Save the king himself, may he have God's curse
 Who at the first granted such a commission;
 For in any of the points (of it) there is no reason at all.

Sir, if I should wish to chastise my boy
 With (just) a buffet or two, for to amend him,
 He will promote a bill against me, and will cause me to be
 attached,
 And, before I issue from prison, to give a great ransom. . . .

For this cause I will keep me among the woods, under the
 pleasant shade;
 There, there is no falseness, and no bad law;
 In the wood of Beauregard, where flies the jay,
 And the nightingale sings always without ceasing. . . .

Je pri tote bone gent qe pur moi vueillent prier,
 Qe je pus a mon pais aler e chyvaucher;
 Unqe ne fu homicide, certes a moun voler,
 Ne mal robberes, pur gent damager.

Cest rym fust fet al bois desouz un lorer;
 La chaunte merle, russinole, e cyre (?)¹ l'esperver;
 Escrit estoit en parchemyn pur mout remenbrer,
 E gitte en haut chemyn, qe um le dust trover.

I pray all good people that they will pray for me,
 That I may be able to go and ride to my country;
 Never was I a homicide, at least by design,
 Nor an evil robber, to do people damage.

This rime was made in the wood beneath a bay-tree;
 There sings the blackbird, the nightingale, and the sparrow-
 hawk cries (?),

It was written on parchment, to be well remembered,
 And cast into the highway, that some one should find it.

§ 33. The above piece is written in the usual Alexandrine line of twelve syllables (normally); the lines must be read *deliberately*, with a pause in the middle. Some lines seem rugged and imperfect; it can hardly be called a finished performance, though it has some interest. A normal line is:—‘*La n’y | a faú | ceté | ne núl | le má | le láy.*’ *Russinole* has but three syllables, the final *e* being idle. In *Trayllebastoun*, the *yll* expresses the sound of *l mouillé* (ly). *Qe* is for *Ke*; and probably *Quar* (as being a common word) was *Kar*. *Mie* has two syllables; as: *mi’-e*. *Frad* is for *fer-ad*, ‘has to make, will make.’ The following are the modern E. words which are here illustrated: *articles*, *save*, *malison*, *grant*, *commission*, *point*, *reason*, M. E. *chasty* (to

¹ Mr. Wright prints *cyre*, and explains it by ‘cries,’ followed by a note of interrogation. I can find no such verb; perhaps it is a mere misprint for *crye*; or *e cyre* is for *ecyre*. Cf. O. F. *escirer*, to tear, rend, and mod. F. *déchirer*.

chastise), *buffet* (dimin. of *bufte*), *deuce* (two), *amend*, *bill*, *attach*, *prison*, *ransom*, *grand*, *jolly*, *false*, *jay*, *chant*, *delay*, *pray* (from A. F. *preier*, a common spelling), *homicide*, *certes* (Shak.), *robber*, *damage*, *laurel*, *merle*, *parchment* (with excrescent *t*), *remember*, *jet* (to throw). As to our *rhyme*, it is from A. S. *rim*; but the A. F. *rym* (riim) is cognate, being of Teutonic origin; so that the two forms altogether coincided. I may here add that this same poem gives us other interesting forms, such as : *robberie*, robbery ; *servir*, to serve ; *sire*, sire, lord ; *pees*, peace ; *jurour*, a juror ; *manaces*, menaces ; *piete*, piety ; *sauvete*, safety ; *cruelle*, cruelty ; *re-lorner*, to return ; *eschyne*, chine ; *comencer*, to commence ; *marchaunz*, merchants ; *roial proteccioun*, royal protection ; *endiler*, to indite or indict ; *beste savage*, savage beast ; *justices*, justices (judges) ; *garde*, guard ; *purger*, to purge ; *soffryr messayse*, to suffer mis-ease ; *penaunce*, penance ; *deyveraunce*, deliverance ; *fol*, a fool ; *sage*, sage (wise) ; *outrage*, outrage ; *lignage*, lineage ; *engager*, to engage ; *aquyter*, to acquit ; *chatel*, chattel (property) ; *grace*, grace ; *aprochier*, to approach ; *sauver*, to save ; *fitz* (son) ; *envye*, envy ; *variant*, varying ; *compagnoun*, companion ; *archerye*, archery ; *compagnie*, company ; *folie*, folly ; *pork* (a pig) ; *conspyratour*, conspirator ; *faus*, false (Lowland Sc. *fause*).

Note how the *e* in E. *lineage* (A.F. *lignage*) and the *i* in E. *companion* (A. F. *compagnoun*) were introduced in order to give the effect of the sound of the A. F. *gn*.

§ 34. I next give a few lines from 'Britton,' one of our early law-writers, as edited by F. M. Nichols, in 2 vols ; Oxford, 1865. The subject is the manner in which a judicial combat should be fought, in cases of appeal, between the appellant and defendant¹. The text is of the early part of the fourteenth century.

¹ See Shak. 2 Hen. VI, Act ii. sc. 3 ; latter part.

D. From 'Britton,' vol. i. p. 107.

Puis voient combatre, armez sauntz feer et sauntz linge armure, a testes descubertes, et a meyns nues, et a peez, oveke deus bastouns cornuz de une longure, e chescun de eux ove un escu a iiii. corners, sauntz autre armure dunt nul ne peut autre grever; et si nul eyt autre armure sur ly muscee, et de ceo eit greve soen adversarie, ou profert de grever, si soit cum serra dit entre les batayls de pletz de terre.

Et si le defendour se peuse defendre jekes autant qe homme puse ver les esteyles el firmament, et demaunde jugement si plus deyve combatre, si voloms qe pur le defendaunt se passe jugement; et ausi en totes batayles de champions; et le apelour en felonie soit comande a la prisoun.

Then let them go to fight, armed without iron and without light armour, with heads uncovered, with hands bare and on foot, with two staves, tipped with horn, of the same length, and each of them with a shield with four corners, without other armour wherewith the one [lit. no one] may be [lit. not be] able to harm the other; and if one (of them) have other armour [i.e. arms] concealed upon him, and therewith have harmed, or offers to harm, his adversary, let it be so done as shall be said in treating of battles concerning pleas about land.

And if the defendant be able to defend himself until men can see the stars in the firmament, and demands judgment as to whether he ought to fight any more, we will thus: that judgment be passed for the defendant; and so in all battles between champions; and let the appellor, in (the case of) felony, be committed to prison.

§ 35. No doubt the editor has substituted *v* for *u*, and *j* for *i*, in the MS. We may note that, in the word *pees*, 'feet,' the *z* probably stands for *ts* (cf. Schwan, § 163); or it may mean no more than *z*, which is a common value of it in the later texts. The use of *tz* for *z*, in *sauntz*, shows that its old use was passing away. *Ove* is equivalent to Lat. *apud hoc*, and means 'with.' *El* is a contraction for *en le*, 'in the.' The words illustrated are *combat*, *v.*, *armed*, *sans* (without), *armour*, *discover*, *corner*, *grieve*, prov. E. *mouch* (to hide, play, truant; cf. A. F. *muscee*), *adversary*, *proffer*, *battle*, *plea*, *defender*, *de-*

fend, firmament, demand, judgment, defendant, pass, champion, appellor, felony, command (cf. commend), prison.

§ 36. The year-books of Edward I are especially valuable for technical legal terms and phrases; besides which many ordinary words are also contained there. But as it is difficult to find a passage of general interest, I pass on to the exceedingly valuable books of the Gildhall of London, the *Liber Albus* and *Liber Custumarum*. These are of later date, but abound with good illustrations of words and phrases, besides throwing much light on the ordinances of the city and the customs by which its trade was regulated. One short passage must suffice; but the reader should remark that, whether it was because the order of words in English affected that in Anglo-French, or *vice versa*, there is an *extremely English air* about the whole passage; and we may be quite sure that, at this late date, the writer knew his English perfectly well. It can be translated almost word for word. The *Liber Albus* was edited by H. T. Riley (Record Series), 1859; and was compiled in 1419 from older materials. The date of the passage quoted is 1363; p. 400. It is thoroughly business-like.

E. From the *Liber Albus*.

Et qe nulle brocour se medle de nulle manere brocage, sil ne soit acceptz et jurrez devaunt lez Mair et Audermans; et qils amesnent le vendour et lachatour ensemble, come en lour surements pluis pleinement est compris. Et outre ceo, qe chescun brocour troeve sufficientz plegges, qil ne se mellera de faire nulle bargayn de usure, sur peyne de paier .c. livres a la Chambre, et outre pur encoure la peyne en la suisdite ordinance compris. Et

And that no broker meddle with any manner (of) brokerage, unless he be accepted and sworn before the Mayor and the Aldermen; and that they bring the vendor and the buyer together, as in their oaths more fully is comprised. And beyond this, that each broker find sufficient pledges, that he will not meddle with making any (lit. no) bargain of usury, on pain of paying 100 pounds to the Chamber, and also of incurring the penalty in the

si ascun sache ascun homme deinzain faire encontre ascun dez pointz suisditz, face ent assavoir lez Maire et Aldermans a la dite citee. Et si le trespassour ent soit convicte, le certifiant avera la quarte partie de la fyn pur soun travaille.

above-said ordinance comprised. And if anyone know of any man, a denizen, doing contrary to any of the points aforesaid, let him do to wit of it the Mayor and Aldermen of the said city. And if the trespasser be convicted thereof, the (person so) certifying shall have the fourth part of the fine for his trouble.

§ 37. It may be noted that *s* in the combination *sn*, viz. in *amesnent*, was wholly silent, and the effect was only to lengthen the preceding vowel; the same remark applies to *sl* and *sm*; as in *isle*, E. *isle*; *blasmer*, E. *blame*. *Lachatour* is for *le achatour*, 'the buyer'. The form *ent* helps to show the etymology of F. *en*, viz. from Lat. *inde*. *Assavoir* is for *a savoir*, 'to know'. The *z* in *lez* is here a mere *z*, not *ts*. The termination *-our* in *vendour* is, in this word, now written *-or*; and, though of Latin origin, it was so thoroughly identified in the English mind with the A. S. suffix *-ere*, E. *-er*, that we now incorrectly write *broker*, *trespasser*, etc., without the least compunction. See *Broker* in the New E. Dictionary.

I feel sure that the reader who glances over the preceding extracts with any degree of attention or curiosity, will be prompt to admit my main proposition; that, if we are to gain any light upon our early French words, it is useless to consult mere modern French for the purpose. And if we once begin to consult Old French at all, we may just as well consult our own *Anglo-French* books at once, as the material is abundant and excellent of its kind, besides being written with precisely the very symbols which were employed for Middle English, so that the old spelling is at once intelligible to any one who can read our own thirteenth-century literature.

In the next chapter we will consider the general laws which regulate the changes produced in the forms of A. F. words by the powerful effect of the English accent.

CHAPTER V.

EFFECTS OF THE ENGLISH ACCENT.

§ 38. Before considering the peculiarities of the English vowel-sounds, as resulting from those found in A. F. forms, it will be convenient to consider the changes of a more general character which readily took place in words borrowed from A. F. into the M. E. vocabulary. The most powerful influence which operated immediately upon such words was produced by the peculiarity of the English accent, which easily brought about several curious transformations.

The Anglo-French accent was probably not very strongly marked, and it frequently fell upon syllables in which, to an Englishman, it seemed strange and inconvenient. This arose, in many instances, from the retention of the Latin accent.¹ Thus the Lat. accusative *rationem* was shortened into A. F. *resun* (rèzuu'n), retaining the principal accent of the Latin word. Hence we find *resun* at the end of the fourth line in Extract C (§ 32). But the English language delights in throwing back the accent of uncompounded substantives on to an earlier syllable. Hence, after adopting the word *resoun* into Middle English, the A. F. accentuation soon became intolerable, and there was a strong tendency to turn it into *réson* (rèè'zun), the latter syllable being shortened by the lack of stress. Hence the mod. E. *réason* (rii'zn) is the natural result; it could

¹ The law of Latin accentuation is, simply, that the main accent falls on the penult, if the penult is long; otherwise on the antepenult.²—King and Cookson, *Sounds, etc. in Greek and Latin*, p. 284.

not well become anything else. In Chaucer's time the accent upon this word (and many others of the like kind) was still unfixed; and the poet artfully takes advantage of this circumstance to use whichever form happens, at the moment, to be more convenient. Thus, in the Monkes Tale, B. 3408, we find the line:—

Til that he knew, by grace and by resoun—

riming with *habitacioun*, etc. But in the Clerk's Prologue, E. 25, we find:—

As far as résoun axeth, hardily.

This is only one of a large number of examples. I have already noted, in my Introduction to Chaucer's Prioresses Tale, etc., p. lxx, that '*honour*, in B. 1654, is followed by *hónour* in the very next line; and again, *fórtun*' in l. 3185, with the *-e* suppressed, becomes *fortún-e* only six lines lower (l. 3191) with the *e* sounded.' The order of forms in these other words is just the same as before. The Lat. acc. *hónórem* produced the A. F. *honóur* (onuur), which became the E. *hónour*; and the Lat. *fortúna* produced the A. F. *fortún-e* (fortyy-nə), which became the E. *fórtune*, vulgarly *fórtun*' or *fórtin*'. The importance of considering the effect of the E. accent must be obvious, as it sways the whole of the language.

§ 39. For full details concerning English accentuation, see Koch, *Grammatik*, i. 149; especially his remarks on the accentuation of words of Latin and French origin, p. 170. Only some of the more important results will be given here; and it may be well to consult my former remarks on the effect of the E. accent, in vol. i. ch. 25.

The English accent is one of great force. It falls so heavily upon the stressed syllable that the unstressed syllable is frequently lightened and reduced to comparative unimportance. Hence, in words that terminate in liquids, the vowel preceding the liquid is absolutely lost in pronunciation,

and the liquid itself becomes vocalic. The words *bottle*, *fathom*, *button*, *butter* are reduced, in practice, to the forms which, in romic spelling, may be written—(bot'l), (fædh'm), (bət'n), (bət'r).¹ The Anglo-French accent was much more equable; but borrowed words were made to conform to the English habit, which often produced some rather violent alterations. In the case of dissyllabic uncompounded substantives, the usual rule is, as stated above, that English prefers to accent the former syllable; hence we say *réason*, *séason*, *cóunsel*, *cóuntry*, *píty*, without any regard to the fact that, in Anglo-French, the accent was on the latter syllable. In the case of compound substantives, in which the former syllable is a common prefix, there is much divergence of use. We still keep the M. E. accent in such words as *advíce*, *affáir*, *decrée*, *defáult*, *despáir*, *disease*, *distréss*, *excéss*, *redréss*; but such cases are, after all, not very common. English does not hesitate to accent even the prefix, as in *áccent*, *ádvént*, *cóllege*, *cónvent*, *désert*, *dístance*, *éxploit*, *ínquest*, *nónage*, *péril*, *présént*, *próvince*; all words of early introduction. See the Alphabetic Index to Miss Skeat's Word-list. The reason for such variation must be sought for in the history and use of each word; but it is not difficult to see that some at least of the former set of words have been influenced by the accent of related *verbs*. Thus *advíce*, *excéss* are naturally associated with the verbs *advise*, *excéed*; whilst *decrée*, *defáult*, *despáir*, *distréss*, *redréss*, can be used as verbs also. *Disease* has the same accent as *diséased*; and *affair* was originally two distinct words (*a faire*), the latter being a verb. We cannot therefore fully consider the accent on substantives apart from that on verbs.

§ 40. In borrowing words from foreign languages, by far the largest number of such importations are substantives. We very rarely borrow verbs, except from French and Latin,

¹ The *r* is only properly preserved when a vowel follows; as in 'the butter is good.'

and very few of our verbs are of late French origin. With Anglo-French the case is different. It is one great mark of the thoroughness with which Anglo-French and Middle English were blended, that we borrowed A. F. verbs in large numbers and without hesitation, though they were invariably forced into agreement with the laws of English grammar, being all treated as weak verbs, with the pt. t. in *-ede* or *-ed*, and the pp. in *-ed*. Our grammars usually draw attention to the distinction made in modern English between the substantives *accent*, *collect*, *conflict*, *convict*, *torment*, etc., and the verbs *to accent*, *collect*, *conflict*, *convict*, *torment*¹; but they do not usually assign any reason. It obviously arose from the fact that, in such a verb as *convért*, the M. E. form was not originally dissyllabic in the Midland dialect, but made the infinitive mood as *convérten*, whilst the pt. t. and pp. were (and are) *convérted*, and the pres. pt. was (and is) *convérting*. Owing to the constant use of the past tense, and of the past and present participles of such verbs, it was obviously inconvenient to throw back the accent; such forms as *convérted* and *convérting* would require a long time to bring them about, and we have not as yet proceeded so far, though we may do so in the future.² The old verb *to exíle*, for example, as in Rich. II. i. 3. 283, has the pp. *éxil'd* even in Macb. v. 8. 66; because the pp. suffix *-ed* had been reduced to *-d*. But in the sb. *cónvert*, the accent was naturally thrown back, to make it conform to the substantives of A. S. origin, such as *fáthom*, *móther*, and the like. Hence the substantives and verbs were launched upon the language under different conditions; and the distinction which thus naturally arose, being kept up by the continued use of such forms as *convérted*, *conflicting*, *condúcted*, etc., was retained, for convenience, as a mode of distinction between the two parts of speech. In other cases, as in *diséase*, the substantive was affected by the verb; the

¹ See the list in Koch, *Grammatik*, i. 194.

² Shakespeare has *convertite*; K. John, v. 1. 19.

promising
future

verb *disēsen* was once common (Chaucer, Wyclif). Or the verb was affected by the substantive, as in *exile*. Much depends upon the history; we shall have to ascertain, in each case, whether the substantive or the verb is older, and which was in commoner use. Even the form of the prefix and the manner in which the word is compounded, may make a difference. When all these things are considered, the existing discrepancies in use cease to cause any surprise; and they can all, no doubt, be accounted for.

§ 41. As the change of accent, in such cases as the above, causes no change in the appearance of the written word, it does not give us any trouble in ascertaining etymologies. But there are instances in which the force of the English accent has done violence to the very forms themselves, and may cause some doubt or difficulty. Unstressed syllables become so slight that they may disappear altogether¹. The cases of such disappearance may be considered under the headings *Aphaeresis*, *Apocope*, or *Syncope*, according as the loss occurs at the beginning, the end, or in the middle of a word.

§ 42. **Aphaeresis.** Examples are given by Behrens, *Beiträge*, etc., p. 64; but many of them involve words now obsolete, which it is not my intention to consider. When the aphaeresis is such that the loss is confined to a single unaccented vowel, such as *a-* or *-e*, it is called by Dr. Murray by the name of *aphesis* (vol. i. p. 385); and this is the easiest way in which such loss can take place.

Aphesis (loss of initial vowel). *Loss of a-*. Examples are: *Cates*, provisions, delicacies, short for *acates*, which see in the New E. Dict. *Mend*, short for *amend*; from A. F. *amender*, S. R. 33 (A.D. 1275). *Peal* (of bells), formerly

¹ It follows that *accented* syllables do *not* disappear. Hence the old notion that *tram* is derived from Mr. *Outram* requires that *Outram* was pronounced as *Outrá*m; which is incredible. But the credulous do not respect rules that are inconvenient to their faith.

M. E. *apele*, lit. an appeal, from A. F. *apel*, Y. a. 313. *Pert*, shown by Dr. Murray (s. v. *apert*) to stand for *apert*,¹ formerly used in the same sense of 'forward in manner, bold, insolent'; as in: 'With proude wordes *apert*, that passeth his rule'; Ploughman's Crede, l. 541; from A. F. *apert*, lit. 'open,' hence, 'rude.'² *Pose*, verb, from M. E. *aposen*; see *Appose* in the New E. Dictionary. *Prentice*, the same as *apprentice*; M. E. *prentys*, *aprentys* (P. Pl.); from A. F. *aprentiz*, L. A. 272. *Tire*, in the sense of 'attire,' v., 2 Kings ix. 30; M. E. *tyr*, *atir*, s., attire, (Will. of Palerne); from A. F. *atirer*, *attirer*, S. R. 103, L. 374. *Vamp*, the fore-part of a boot or shoe; M. E. *uaumpes* (plural), Ancren Riwe, p. 420; from A. F. **avauntped*³=O. F. *avantpied* (Godefroy); a compound of *avaunt*, before, in front, and *ped*, foot. *Vaward*, *vanward*, short for *vant-warde* (Rob. of Glouc. 7478); and this for *avant-warde*, from A. F. *avant*, before, fore, and *warde*, guard. So also *crew*; see *Accrue*, sb. in the New E. Dictionary.

Loss of e-. Loss of *e* occurs in A. S. *biscop*, from Lat. *episcopus*. Similarly, in words of A. F. origin, we find *scape* for *escape*, from A. F. *escaper*, verb; where the prefix is probably *es*- (Lat. *ex*-), so that the *e* was here essential. But we must also remember that the French had a difficulty in sounding the initial *sc*, *sp*, *st*, in Latin words, and had acquired the habit of prefixing an inorganic *e*.⁴ The English had no such difficulty, but preferred such initial sounds, so that they naturally dropped this needless vowel-sound.

¹ So in my Dictionary, partially; but I also suggested a derivation from W. *pert*. This is wrong; the W. word is probably borrowed (with many more) from M. E.

² Godefroy (O. F. Dict.) gives, as meanings of *apert*, 'indiscret, impudent, effronté.' And cf. E. *mal-apert*.

³ The forms marked with an asterisk are theoretical; however sure we may be of a particular form, we cannot always find it in the extant MSS. We are sure of this form because its equivalent occurs in O. F.

⁴ We even find A. F. *esprot* representing E. *sprat*; L. A. 345.

Hence we find *spy*, *squire*, in use, as well as *espy*, *esquire*, from A. F. *espier*, verb, P. S. 278, and A. F. *esquier*, s., P. S. 127. In mod. F. the prefix *es-* is reduced to *é-*. Hence we find such curious parallel forms as the following: F. *écacher*, E. *squash*; F. *écaille*, *écale*, E. *shell*, *scale*; F. *écarlate*, E. *scarlet*; F. *écarver*, E. *scarf*, v.; F. *échafaud*, E. *scaffold*; F. *échalote*, E. *shallot*; F. *échantillon*, E. *scantling*; F. *échapper*, E. *escape*; F. *écharpe*, E. *scarf*, s.; F. *échars*, E. *scarce*; F. *échasses*, E. *skates*; F. *échauder*, E. *scald*; F. *échoppe*, E. *shop*; F. *éclater*, from the same source as E. *slate*, M. E. *sclat* (Chaucer, Minor Poems); F. *école*, E. *school*; F. *écot*, E. *scot*, *shot*; F. *écoute*, E. *sheet* (as a nautical word); F. *écouter*, v., to listen, E. *scout*, s.; F. *écran*, E. *screen*; F. *ecrin*, E. *shrine*; F. *écrivain*, E. *scrivener*; F. *écrou*, E. *screw*; F. *écrou*, an entry in a prison-book, E. *scroll*; F. *écrouelles*, E. *scroyles*, Shak. K. John, ii. 1. 373; F. *écume*, E. *scum*; F. *écurer*, E. *scour*; F. *écusson*, E. *scutcheon*, *escutcheon*; F. *écuyer*, E. *squire*. Of words beginning with *sp* and *st* it may suffice to mention F. *éparvin*, E. *spavin*; F. *étable*, E. *stable*. In many cases the E. presents the older form, and approaches more nearly to the original.

For our present purpose it makes no difference whether the *e* is essential or inorganic, so that all the cases may be taken together. We thus see that the following derivations will hold. *Scandal*, M. E. *scandle*, from A. F. **escandle* = O. F. *escandle* (Burguy). *Scantling* (dimension of timber), formerly *scantlon*, as given by Palsgrave, who has 'Scantlon of a cloth, *eschantillon*'; M. E. *scantilon*, a carpenter's measure, Rom. of the Rose, 7066; A. F. *escauntiloun*, dimensions, L. A. 278. *Scape*, *escape*; A. F. *escaper* (above). *Scarce*, M. E. *scars*; A. F. *escars*, Be. 602; *scarcity*, A. F. *escarcelē*. *Scarlet*, A. F. *scarlet*, *escarlet*. *Scholar*, M. E. *scolere*, A. F. *escoler*. *Scorch* is probably of Teut. origin (see Supp. to my Dict., 2nd ed. p. 826), but seems to have been influenced by A. F. *escorcher*, to strip, flay, E. C. 3747, L. b.

300. *Scorn*, s. M. E. *skorn*, also *schorn*, *scharn*; A. F. *escharnir*, v., to scorn. *Scourge*, M. E. *scourge*, *scurge*; A. F. *escurge*, C. A. 1500. *Scout*, s.; from A. F. *escouter*, to listen. *Scriven-er*, M. E. *scribein* (Chaucer), mod. E. *-er* added; A. F. *escribein*. *Scroll*, dimin. of M. E. *scrow*, *scroue*; cf. E. *escrow*, a deed delivered on condition; A. F. *escrou-et*, S. R. 190 (A. D. 1322), dimin. of O. F. *escroe*, a shred, piece of parchment (Godefroy). *Scutcheon*, *escutcheon*; A. F. *escuchoun*, L. 358. *Skirmish*, v., from A. F. *eskermis-*, inceptive stem of A. F. *eskermir*, to fence, L. C. 282. The sb. *skirmish* answers to A. F. *escarmuche*, a skirmish, P. N. 211. *Slander*, M. E. *sclandre* (Ch.), *sclaundre* (Wycl.); A. F. *esclandre*, *esclaundre*, S. R. 34 (A. D. 1275). Here the sound of *scl* (skl) passed into that of *shl* (shl), and then into simple *sl*. Similarly we have *slave* from A. F. *esclave*, unless it was borrowed in later times from F. *esclave* (Cotgrave). *Slice*, M. E. *slice*, *sclice*; cf. A. F. *escliciens*, splinters (E. C. 276), from O. F. *esclice*, a slice (Godefroy). *Space*, A. F. *espace*. *Spawn*, v., put for **spaund*; from A. F. *espaundre*, to spread, to spawn, Wright's Vocab. 1. 164, where the word is glossed (in the MS.) by *scheden his roun*e, i. e. shed his roe (misprinted *him frome*); A. F. *espandre*, to shed, Vie de St. Auban. *Special*, A. F. *especial*, Y. f. 55. *Specialty*, A. F. *especialtē*, Y. f. 53. *Specify*, A. F. *specefier*, *especefier*. *Spicery*, A. F. *spicerie*, L. A. 224; spelt *especerie*, B. i. 96. *Spine*, a thorn; A. F. *espine*, E. C. 765. *Spirit*, A. F. *spirit*, Be. 450, also *espirit*, S. R. 126 (A. D. 1297). *Spiritual*, A. F. *espiritual*, Y. b. 489; so also A. F. *espiritualitē* (spirituality), ibid. *Spoils*, s., pl., A. F. *espoilles*, C. A. 1327. *Spouse*, s., A. F. *espuse*, s. fem., E. C. 3883; *espouse*, L. 320. *Spy*, *espy*, A. F. *espier* (above). *Squash*, v., A. F. *esquacher*; in B. i. 314, the pp. *esquachē* occurs in the sense of 'rent,' or 'torn,' as a various reading for *rout* (broken); in E. C. 260, the infin. *esquessir* means 'to crush.' *Squire*, *esquire*, A. F. *esquier*, P. S. 127. *Squirrel*, A. F. **esquirel*, only in

the pl. *esquireus, esquireux*, L. A. 225, 231. *Stable*, adj. (firm); A. F. *estable*, L. C. 66. *Stablish, establish*; A. F. *establisce*, 1 *pr. s.* R. W. 184, from infin. *establiir*, S. R. 158. *Stage*, A. F. *estage* (platform), G. 6006. *Standard* (banner), A. F. *estandard*, L. 476. *Standard* (of measure), A. F. *estandard*, S. R. 285 (A. D. 1340). *Stank*, a pool, A. F. *estank* (dam of a mill), Y. *b.* 451; also *estang*, Y. *a.* 415 (an older form). *Staple* (of wares), A. F. *estaple*, S. R. 332, where is given the Statute of Staples, A. D. 1353. *State, estate*, M. E. *estat*, A. F. *estat* (rank), S. R. 126. *Stature*, A. F. *estature*, L. R. 74. *Statute*, A. F. *statut, estatut*. *Stencil*, A. F. *estenciller*, L. *b.* 430. *Sterling* (coin), A. F. *esterling*,¹ s., S. R. 132 (A. D. 1299). The *stews* in Southwark are called *les estouves* in the Liber Albus, p. 277; see *Stew* in my Dict. *Store*, s., A. F. *estor* (farming stock), B. ii. 21. *Story*, M. E. *storie*; A. F. *estorie* (history), P. N. 454.² *Stour*, s., conflict, tumult of battle (obsolete, but common in Spenser), M. E. *stour*; A. F. *estur*, battle, G. 1893.³ *Stout*, A. F. *estout* (see Godefroy); the adv. *estoulement*, stoutly, occurs in the French Chron. of London, p. 91. *Stover*, fodder for cattle; A. F. *estover*, sustenance, Y. *a.* 19. *Strain*, v.; A. F. *estrait*, he strains (infin. *estraindre*), L. 188. *Strait*, adj. narrow; A. F. *estreit*, earlier *estraite* (fem. form), S. R. 132 (A. D. 1299); cf. A. F. *estraitement*, straitly, L. C. 189, F. C. 56, L. R. 246. *Strange*, A. F. *estrange*, L. W. 23. *Strangle*, A. F. *estrangler*, Be. 1286. *Stray*, s., A. F. *stray*, L. C. 434, earlier *estray*, B. i. 67. *Strife*, A. F. *estrif*, L. C. 21; E. C. 289. *Strive*, A. F. *estriver*, W. W. 5390, L. R. 76. *Study*, A. F. *estudie*, s., a reverie, E. C. 1296; *estudier*, v., L. *b.* 110.

¹ This is a difficult case. If it is really derived from a word meaning 'Easterling,' the accent must have shifted from *ésterling* to *ésterling*. Matt. Paris, an. 1247, mentions 'moneta Esterlingorum'; Ducange.

² From Lat. *historia*; and therefore a doublet of *history*.

³ Shortened from *esturm*, from G. *Storm*; cf. our phrase—'to storm a fortress.' For loss of final *m*, cf. F. *ver*, L. *uermem*.

Stuff, s., A. F. *estuf*, R. W. 181 (A. D. 1399); *estoffer*, v., to stuff, F. C. 81. *Stun*, A. F. *estuner*, E. C. 280; see *Estoner* in Godefroy.¹ *Sturgeon*, A. F. *estourgeoun*, B. i. 68.

§ 43. **Aphaeresis** (continued). I now pass on to examples in which an initial syllable, consisting of more than a single vowel, has been lost.

Loss of af-. E. *fray*, *affray*, A. F. *affrai de la pees*, a breach of the peace, S. R. 258 (A. D. 1328), also *effrai*, a better form, L. C. 684.

Loss of de-, di- (esp. before *sp*). E. *fence*, short for *de-fence*, A. F. *defence*, *defense*. E. *fend*, *fender*, short for *de-fend*, *de-fender*; from A. F. *defendre*, v. E. *spend*, short for *di-spend*; we even find A. S. *spendan*, from Lat. *di-spendere*. E. *spender*, for *di-spender*, M. E. *despendour* (Ch.), A. F. *despendeour*, L. C. 18. E. *Spencer*, *Spenser* (as a surname), M. E. *Despencer*, Rob. Glouc. l. 11720, A. F. *le Despenser*, L. C. 211; cf. Lat. *Dispensator*, L. C. 28. E. *spite*, *de-spite*, M. E. *despit*, A. F. *despit*, S. R. 31; cf. the phrase *en despit*, in spite, P. N. 482. E. *splay*², as in *splay-footed*, short for *di-splay*, M. E. *displayen*, *desplayen* (Gower, ii. 143) A. F. *desplayer*, L. C. 148, *desplaer*, B. i. 354, *desplier*, S. R. 186 (A. D. 1322). E. *sport*, *di-sport*, A. F. *desport* (mirth), L. C. 219. To these add, that *spoil*, *stress*, were confused with *despoil*, *distress*. M. E. *stroien* for *destroien* (destroy), is not uncommon.

Loss of en-. E. *gin*, a trap, short for *en-gin*, and a doublet of *engine*, M. E. *engin*, *engine*, A. F. *engin*, an implement, E. C. 3769, *engîne*, S. R. 247 (A. D. 1325). E. *sample*, also *en-sample*, A. F. *ensample*, S. R. 104 (A. D. 1285).

Loss of es-. E. *cheater*, short for *escheater*, one who *escheats* (whence the verb to *cheat*); formed from *escheat*, s., M. E.

¹ See *Astone*, *Astoned*, *Astonied*, *Astonish* in the N.E. Dict.

² 'There stood the Fiend, and stopt their passage out,
And *splaying* foorth her filthy armes beknit with Snakes about'; etc.
Golding, tr. of *Ovid*, *Met.* iv. fol. 50.

eschete, A. F. *eschete*, Y. a. 239, fuller form *eschaete*, A. B. 448. E. *chess* (for *checks*), M. E. *ches*, A. F. *esches*¹, W. W. 4106, fuller form *echeks* (better *escheks*), id. 1531. *Chess* is really the plural of *check*, M. E. *chek*; Cotgrave gives the O. F. *eschec*, 'a check, at chess-play,' the original sense being 'O king!', to call attention to the fact that the king was in danger. The word *check* was afterwards extended to any kind of interruption; Godefroy gives examples of O. F. *eschec* in the sense of battle, and even of booty taken in battle. 'The *Chequers*' as an inn-sign refers to the M. E. *cheker*, a chess-board; we also find M. E. *cheker*, fuller form *eschekere*, the court of *exchequer*, named from the checkered cloth on which accounts were calculated by means of counters; cf. A. F. *chekerē*, pp. chequered, R. W. 25 (A. D. 1360); A. F. *escheker*, the exchequer, S. R. 32 (A. D. 1275). *Chine*, for *eschine*, A. F. *eschine*, the back, P. S. 233.

Loss of (h)o-. E. *spital*, *spittal*, *spittle*, as in the *Spittal* of Glenshee, between Braemar and Blairgowrie, M. E. *spitel*, a hospital, Ancren Riwe, p. 148; A. F. *hospital*, Y. a. 281; which must have been accented as *hospital* in M. E., and probably had been accented as *hospitāl* in A. F.

Loss of (h)y-. E. *dropsy*, M. E. *dropesy*, *dropecy*, Cursor Mundi, 11829, short for *y-dropsi* (same reference), fuller form *hy-dropsy*; A. F. not found; F. *hydropisie*.

§ 44. **Apocope.** The loss of a letter or letters at the end of words is so common that it hardly needs illustration; nor does it, like aphaeresis, materially alter the word's appearance. Most common of all is the loss of final *-e* after it had ceased to be sounded. It must not be forgotten that this really means the loss of a whole syllable. Thus E. *beast*, *feast*, are mono-

¹ The plural *esches* is regular. M. Gaston Paris notes that, in the Norman dialect, labials and gutturals are lost before the pl. suffix *s*; he instances the sbs. *colp*, *chief*, *eschec*, and the adj. *blanc*, as forming the plurals *cols*, *chies*, *esches*, *blans*. See his observations, in Pref. to *Extraits de la Chanson de Roland*, p. 43.

syllables; whereas M. E. and A. F. *best-e*, *fest-e* were dissyllabic. So also, in such a case as *fortune*, the final *e* is now mute; but it was once sounded, as in M. E. and A. F. *fortun-e*, which was trisyllabic.

It is important to notice that the M. E. and A. F. suffix *-i-e*, *-y-e*, formed *two* syllables; modern E. retains the *-y*, but drops the *-e*. Examples are numerous, as in the following cases.

The following words all end in *-y-e* in Chaucer, and in *-i-e* in A. F.; viz. *chivalry*, *company*, *conspiracy*, *courtesy* (M. E. *curteisye*, A. F. *curtesie*), *envy*, *felony*, *folly* (M. E. *folye*, A. F. *folie*), *gluttony* (M. E. *glotonye*, A. F. *glotonie*), *jealousy* (M. E. *Ialousye*=*jalousye*, A. F. *gelousie*), *malady*, *melody*, *minstrelsy* (M. E. and A. F. *minstralcy*), *remedy*, *treachery* (M. E. *trecherye*, A. F. *tricherie*), *villainy* (M. E. *vileynye*, A. F. *vilanie*). By consulting Mr. Cromie's Rime-Index to Chaucer, it will appear that every one of the above words is employed by the poet at the end of a line, and invariably rimes with words in *-y-ē*. At the same time he also uses words ending in *-y* only, which rime with a different set of words, viz. such as have no final *e*. Most of these are of A. S. origin, or end with the suffix *-ly*; but amongst them we find *enemy* and *mercy*. *Enemy* is from A. F. *enemi*, Vie de Saint Auban; whilst *mercy* is from A. F. *merci*. Italian is often helpful in separating the forms; thus, for the two last words, Italian has *nemico* (or *inimico*) and *merce* (or *mercede*); whilst words of the other set commonly end in *-i-a*, as: *compagnia*, *cortesia*, *felonia*, *folia*, *gelosia*, *melodia*, *villania*; and 'remedy' is *remedio*. Hence this peculiarity in Chaucer's method of riming is justified by etymology. Other noticeable words are *glory*, *story*, *victory*; these rime together in Chaucer as *glōri-e*, *stōri-e*, *victōri-e*, i.e. the last three syllables rime together; the A. F. forms are *glorie*, Be. 99; *estorie*, P. N. 454; *victorie*, P. S. 125. Cf. Ital. *gloria*, *storia*, *vittoria*. Indeed, Chaucer has several other words of the

same class, viz. *consistórie*, A. F. *consistorie*, F. C. 54; *memórie*, A. F. *memorie*, G. 1950; *offertórie*; *oratórie*; *parilórie*, i. e. pellitory (the plant); *purgatórie*; *stillatórie*, a still for distilling. Of these, we have shifted the accent backward in *consistory*, *mémory*, *óffertory*, *óratory*, *péllitory*, *púrgatory*, each of which has been shorn of a final (syllabic) *e*.

In some cases the loss of the sound of the final *e* obscures the etymology. In the phrase *treasure trove* (pron. *trouv*), the latter word is really *trouv-ē*, the old pp. of the verb *trover*, to find; A. F. *trouvē*, pp., Y. a. 23. In the word *riches*, the etymology has been obscured. Though it looks like a pl. sb., it is M. E. *riches-se*, A. F. *riches-ce*, L. 328; plural *riches-ces*, Vie de St. Auban. So also *cherry* is for *cherise*, a Northern F. form corresponding to *cerise*, E. C. 3234. In the case of the word *vamp*, only one syllable remains out of three; it has suffered both apheresis and apocope; Palsgrave wrote it as *vauntpe*, and in Phillips' Dict. it is *vampay*; but the A. F. form is *avant-ped*, as noted above in § 42. On the other hand, we preserve the final syllable in the case of words ending in *-le* and *-re*, by vocalising the *l* or *r*; thus we have *buckle*, *double*, *noble*, *title*, from A. F. *bocle*, *duble*, *noble*, *title*. Likewise, *cloister*, *number*, *oyster*, *powder*, *tiger*, from A. F. *cloistre*, *nombre*, *oistre*, *poudre*, *tigre*.

§ 45. **Syncope.** The strong tendency, in English, to suppress the middle vowel of a trisyllabic word after an accented syllable, as in *Glo'ster* for *Gloucester*, and *fortnight* for *fourteen-night*, has already been noticed in vol. i. p. 498, § 457. The same loss of a medial vowel is common in words of A. F. origin, particularly before the liquids *l*, *m*, *n*, *r*, or the letters *s*, *t*, and *v*. See Behrens, *Beiträge*, p. 66.

Before *l*. *Buckler*, M. E. *bokeler*, A. F. *bokeler*, L. C. 282. *Buller*, M. E. *botler*, *boteler*, also *botiler*, *botiller* (see Mätzner's Dict.), from A. F. *botiller*, L. C. 466, with the sense of 'bottler.' *Chandler*, M. E. and A. F. *chaundeler*, L. A. 259. *Cutler*, M. E. *cotilere*, from A. F. *cotillere*, L. C. 185. *Hamlet*,

M. E. *hamelet*, A. F. *hamelet*, Y. a. 25. *Parlous* (Shak.) is from M. E. *perlous*,¹ by the change of *er* to *ar* (vol. i. p. 406, § 381); short for *perilous*, A. F. *perilus*, E. C. 1519. *Poulterer*, with reduplicated *-er*, formerly *poulter* (Shak.), M. E. *puller*, from A. F. *pulleter*, L. A. 465, also *poleter*, S. R. 351. (Cf. E. *pullet*, A. F. *pullet*; sometimes shortened to *poult*).

Before *m*. *Almond*, M. E. *almand*, A. F. *alemaunde*, L. A. 224; put for *al-amaunde*, where *al* is the Arabic article; see N. E. Dict. *Amendment*, A. F. *amendement*, S. R. 26. *Amercement*, M. E. and A. F. *amerciment*; see N. E. Dict. *Commandment*,² M. E. and A. F. *comaundement*, S. R. 27. So also many other words ending in *-ment*, as *advance-ment*, *commence-ment*, *judg-ment*, etc.; A. F. *avanc-e-ment*, *comenc-e-ment*, *iug-e-ment*. *Garment*, short for *garnment*, M. E. and A. F. *garnement*, S. R. 221.

Before *n*. *Chimney*, M. E. *chimene*, A. F. *chimenee*, a fire-place, L. A. 333. *Hackney*, M. E. and A. F. *hakeney*, S. R. 288. *Laundress*, formed with suffix *-ess* from M. E. *launder*, *lavender*, A. F. *lavender*, L. b. 356. *Partner*, M. E. *partener*, *parcener*, the forms being confused; *e* and *t* are often indistinguishable in MSS., and the word *part* influenced the pronunciation; A. F. *parcenere*, *parcener*; Y. a. 45, 155. *Remnant*, M. E. and A. F. *remenant*, L. W. 47.

Before *r*. *Curfew*, M. E. *corfew*, *curfew* (Chau. C.T. 3645); A. F. *curfeu*, *covrefeu*, L. A. 639, 276; from *coevrir*, to cover, and *feu*, fire. *Kerchief*, also *curchief* (Shak.), M. E. *coverchef*, A. F. *keverchief*, R. W. 100 (A.D. 1381), also **coevrechief*; from *coevrir*, to cover, and *chief*, the head. *Tumbrel*, from A. F. *tumberel*, L. C. 285. *Wardrobe*; from A. F. **warderobe*; I only find the equivalent later form *garderobe*, S. R. 34. In the same way, but owing to the accent falling *after* the *r*, the

¹ 'Uxor. This is a *perlous* case'; Towneley, *Mysteries* (Noah and his Wife).

² The *e* appears in Spenser, F. Q. i. 3. 9:—'From her fayre eyes he tooke command-e-ment.'

A. F. *corone* (Y. a. 113) or *coroune* (L. C. 217) became M. E. *corone*, *coroune*, *croune*; whence E. *crown*. Here too we may place the word *ginger* (=ging(iv)er); from A. F. *gingivre*, L. A. 224.

Before *s*. *Constable*; A. F. *conestable*, Y. c. 15. *Damsel*, M. E. *damosel*, King Alexander, ed. Weber, 171; A. F. *damoysele*, L. 248. *Forster* (Chaucer), *foster* (Spenser), contractions of *forester*; A. F. *forester*, S. R. 144 (A.D. 1305). *Frensy*, M. E. *frenesie*; A. F. *frenesi*, W. W. 11954. *Marshal*, M. E. and A. F. *mareschal*,¹ V. *Palsy*, M. E. *palesy*, Wyclif; O. F. *palacin*, *palazin* (Godefroy; Lat. acc. *paralysin*); also A. F. *paralesi*, W. W. 10434. *Sexton*, M. E. *sextein*, Chaucer, C. T. Group B. 3126; put for *sek'stein*; A. F. *secrestein*, a sacristan, E. C. 1998. *Venison*, pronounced as romic (venz'n); from A. F. *venison*, S. R. 374 (A.D. 1362), older forms *veneson*, S. R. 161 (A.D. 1311); *veneysun*, A. B. 478. In the same way, contraction takes place before *c* sounded as *s*; as in *medicine*, pronounced as romic (med'sn), A. F. *medicine*, Be. 787; *medecine*, L. 120. So also *proxy*, formerly *prockesy* (Palsgrave), M. E. *prokecy* (Prompt. Parv.); contracted from A. F. *procuracie*, power of attorney, Lit. 158 (A.D. 1325), L. A. 423.

In the same way, the verb *to punish* was sometimes shortened to *punsh* or *punch*; thus, in the Coventry Mysteries, p. 75, we find '*punchyth* me, lorde,' i. e. 'punish me, Lord,' and in the Prompt. Parv. we find '*punchyn*, or *chastysyn*, *punysshen*, Punio.' Hence we have the phrase '*to punch* his head,' literally, 'to *punish* his head'; and we see that the right form is *punsh* (pønsh); as distinct from *punch* (pønch), to perforate.

¹ The A. F. word also appears as *marchal*, S. R. 34 (A. D. 1275). The A. F. *ch* was sounded as *ch* in *chalk*, but the combination *sch* easily passed into *sh*, which was written as *sch* in M. E. The frequent use of the symbol *sch* for *sh* in M. E. points to confusion between *s* followed by *ch* and the simple *sh*. The M. E. *sh* (also written *sch*) usually arises from A. F. *ss*.

Before *t*. *Nurture*; A. F. *nurture*, S. R. 104; *norture*, Y. c. 477; fuller forms *nureture*, L. W. 21; *noriture*, S. R. 224 a. *Pantry*, A. F. *panetrie*, L. 334; L. C. 461; cf. *paneter*, a seneschal, L. C. 168. *Proctor*, M. E. *proketour*, contracted from A. F. *procuratour*, L. A. 423¹. *Safety*, put for *savety*, M. E. *sauete* (= *savete*), P. Plowman, C. 13. 55; A. F. *sauvele*, P. S. 233.

Before *v*. *Canvass*, M. E. *canevas* (Ch.), A. F. *canevas*, L. A. 225, also *canevace*, S. R. 368. Compare *palfrey*, M. E. *palefrey*, O. E. Misc. 165, A. F. *palefrey*, for **palevrei*.

It may be added that numerous contracted forms are found in M. E. which we no longer use. Thus in P. Plowman we find *norssheth* as well as *norischeth*, i.e. nourisheth; *polsche* as well as *polische*, to polish; *vanshede*, vanished, etc. Still more curious is *comse* for 'commence'; see the Glossary.

Behrens (*Beitr.* 68) further remarks, that the contracting influence of English upon Anglo-French began very early, as examples are found soon after 1200. We already find the A. F. form *age* in the Statutes of the Realm, p. 29, A. D. 1275, and the M. E. *age* in the Kentish Sermons of the thirteenth century (An O. E. Miscellany, ed. Morris, p. 35); but the fuller forms are *aäge*, A. B. 474; *ëäge*, Y. c. 315, from an earlier O. F. *edage*, derived from Low Lat. *aetaticum*.

§ 46. I shall now attempt to give a list of the more usual results of the developments of the modern E. sounds from those of A. F. I do not give all the possible varieties, nor note all the exceptions; but the examples will, at any rate, indicate pretty clearly what are the more usual changes, and at the same time bring into notice some of the more remarkable deviations from the rules. The diphthongs are considered apart from the vowels, but the long and short vowels will be discussed together, or rather, in close connection with

¹ Cf. *proxy* for *procuracy* (above). There was even a M. E. verb *proc'ren* (*prokren*), to procure; it occurs in the Wars of Alexander (E. E. T. S.).

each other. The words are grouped according to the *modern* pronunciation of the vowel in the *accented* syllable, and with reference in general to the consonant which immediately *follows* such vowel; because, as has been shown before (vol. i. p. 400, § 375), that consonant often materially affects the quality of the vowel. We also have to consider the case in which a vowel is affected by the consonant that *precedes* it; the only consonant that has this effect is *w*, or the closely related *wh* and *qu*.

§ 47. There is one more point, of much importance, that must be explained beforehand, viz. the question of the length of the English vowel in words of A. F. origin. We shall find that it depends upon two things, viz. (1) the mode in which A. F. words were divided into syllables; and (2) the position of the English accent.

Schwan gives the syllabic rules for Gaulish Latin thus. A syllable is said to be *open* when its vowel is followed by a single consonant, or by a mute and a liquid, or when the word is monosyllabic. Examples of open syllables are seen in the first syllable of *ta-lis*, *pa-trem*, *cor*. But if the vowel is followed by two consonants, or by a consonant such as *x*, that is equivalent to two consonants, or by a consonant at the end of a polysyllabic word, the syllable is said to be *closed*. Examples are seen in *por-ta*, *val-lem*, *trak-si* (i.e. Lat. *traxi*), *ak-wa* (Lat. *aqua*); to which must be added the numerous cases in which the vowel *i* (and even *ē*) had, in practice, the force of the consonantal *y*; as in *glad-yum* (acc. of *gladius*), *cav-yam* (acc. of *cauea*), *var-yum* (L. *uarium*); and words containing L. *ce*, *ci* after an accented vowel, in which the *c* was palatalised, as in *paⁱt-sem*, *voⁱt-sem* (L. *pacem*, *uocem*, Ital. *pace*, *voce*, pronounced *paa'che*, *voo'che*); O. F. *pais*, *voiz*. At the end of an open syllable, the vowel is said to be *free*; in a closed syllable, it is said, in French, to be *entravé*, for which I shall substitute the term *enclosed*. Thus the *a* in *ta-lis* is free, but that in *val-lem* is enclosed. It will be seen, hereafter, that enclosed vowels also arise in the case

where a medial vowel was dropped in common speech; thus from Lat. *caritatem*, pronounced as *car'tatem*, *car-tatem*, arose F. *cher-té*; the former *a* in *caritatem* being thus, practically, enclosed.

If English had kept exactly to the A. F. accent, we should have had *long* accented vowels in place of the A. F. *free* accented vowels, and *short* accented vowels in place of the A. F. *enclosed* accented vowels. In fact, we have E. *fame* (fei'm) for the dissyllabic A. F. *fa-me* (faa'mə); and E. *temple* for A. F. *tem-ple* (təm-plə¹). But examples of the latter class are somewhat rare, owing to the fact that, in a large number of words, we shifted back the accent, and thus acquired a large number of words in which the E. *short accented* vowel takes the place of an A. F. *free unaccented* vowel; as when, for example, we use E. *dámage* (dæm'ij, dæm'eij) in place of A. F. *da-má-ge* (da-maa'-jə). In such cases, the vowel remains short, just as it was at first. Hence the tendency is to preserve the A. F. *free long* accented vowels as *long* vowels, and to substitute *short* accented vowels for *free short unaccented* vowels. Consequently, many of our *monosyllables* of A. F. origin contain *long vowels* or *diphthongs*; and most of our *dissyllables* are accented on the former syllable, in which the vowel is short, and is enclosed (contrary to the F. rule) by a single consonant. Examples of the former type are: *age*, *beak*, *beast*, *beef*, *brief*, *case*, *cave*, *choice*, *chief*, *chine*, *clear*, *close*, *adj.*, *coat*, *coin*, *doubt*, *duke*, *ease*, *fair* (for selling things), *fame*, *flour*, *fool*, *gage*, *glebe*, *guile*, *guise*, *hour*, *jay*, *joy*, etc. Examples of the latter type are: *alum*, *anise*, *baron*, *beryl*, *carol*, *colour*, *comet*, *courage*, *cousin*, *covert*, *crevice*, *damage*, *dolour*, *forest*, *gravel*, *homage*, *honour*, *image*, *legate*, *limit*, *money*, etc. In some cases a doubled letter conceals this fact; as in *battle*, *button*, *grammar*, *gutter*, *jolly*, *litter*, *mallard*, *manner*, *matter*, *mutton*, etc.; where the M. E. forms are

¹ The mark over the former *e* means that a slight nasal sound was given to the vowel, at least in *early* A. F.

batâille, bulbun, gramâire, gotère, iolif (iôlif), litère, malârd (mâlârd), manère, matère, molbun.

A trisyllabic word such as A. F. *pâ-ve-mént* becomes E. *pavement*, with long *a*.

An A. F. unaccented *enclosed* vowel necessarily remains short when accented in E.; as in A. F. *dis-tân-ce*, E. *distance*. Examples are numerous.

If the A. F. accent is preserved in E. in dissyllables, a long syllable remains long, as in the case of monosyllables; as in *advice, affair, ally, arrive, attire, convey, decree, degree*, etc.; in which the accent is not thrown back.

Unaccented syllables, derived from A. F. accented syllables, are much weakened, and those which are derived from A. F. unaccented syllables disappear. Thus *pardoun, baraine*, are now *pardon, barren*; and *car-i-â-ge* is now *carriage* (kær'ij).

Other peculiarities will be noticed in due course. Thus E. often has a long vowel or a diphthong before combinations of consonants such as *st, mb, nt*, etc., as in *haste, chamber, bounty*.

CHAPTER VI.

WORDS OF ANGLO-FRENCH ORIGIN : EXAMPLES.

§ 48. The vowel **A**, as treated in an English syllable that is both accented and closed. The E. accented and enclosed *a* arises from an A. F. *a* that is likewise accented and enclosed, or else from one that is unaccented. In either case, the A. F. *a*, when followed by any of the letters *b, c* (as *k*), *d, f, g, j, k, p, t, v*, or *x*, becomes (*æ*), as in *cat* (*kæt*), in modern English, unless the *a* is preceded by *w* or *qu*. Examples are as follows, the words in italics being known A. F. spellings, such as can be verified by my word-lists.¹ They are arranged according to the letter which closes the E. accented syllable.

(1) *Abbeie*, abbey; *abbesse*, abbess; *gaber* (*gabér*), to gab (boast, tattle).² *Detractiun*, detraction; *detractur*, detractor; *săc*, sack; *sacrifise*, a sacrifice; *attacher*, to attach; *bachelor*, bachelor; *adâmant*, adamant; *admiral*, admiral; *advent*, advent; *adversarie*, adversary; *advocat*, advocate; *saffran*, saffron; *agates*, agate; *dragon*, dragon; *majestē*, majesty; *hakenéy*, hackney; *makerél*, mackerel; *baptisme*, baptism; *cappe*, cap; *chapele*, chapel; *chapelein*, chaplain; *chapitre*, chapter; *bataile*, battle; *baterie*, battery; *chatel*, chattel (whence pl. *chattels*); *matines*, matins; *matire* (also *matere*), matter; *matrass*, *materas*, mattress; *safyn* (= *satin*),

¹ The M. E. spellings resemble the A. F. spellings so closely that I do not, in general, give them. Words not found in the Wordlist of 1882 will be found in the supplementary one of 1888.

² *Habit*, habit, *tablet*, are 'learned' forms. So are some others in the list. Such words do not always conform to the usual laws.

satin; *stature*, *estature*, stature; *statut*, *estatut*, statute; *caverne*, cavern; *gravel*, gravel; *savage*, savage; *laverne*, tavern; *travail*, travail; *traverser*, traverse; *maxime*, maxim; *tax*, tax. So also *azúr*, azure.

(2) In the case of A.F. *esquacher*, to squash, the (æ) has become (o) owing to the influence of the preceding *qu*; vol. i. p. 408, § 383.

(3) In the word *graft*, formed with excrement *t* from A.F. *graffe*, s., the original A.F. *a* (aa) is retained owing to the influence of the following *f*; and it has become (graft).

§ 49. But the letters *l*, *m*, *n*, *r*, *s*, at the end of a closed accented syllable, often affect the value of the vowel.

AL. There are three developments of *al*, viz. (1) as (æ), the regular development, as above; (2) as (aa), the sound of *al* in *palm*; (3) as (aol), the sound of *al* in *false*.

(1) As (æ). *Allegorie*, allegory; *alom*, alum; *balaunce*, balance; *challenge*, challenge; *chalice*, chalice; *galie*, galley; *galoper*, to gallop; *galoun*, gallon; *maladie*, malady; *malice*, malice; *malard*, mallard; *paleis*, palace; *ralier*, to rally; *talent*, talent; *taloun*, talon; *vallee*, valley; *valour*, valour; *value*, value.

The word *melancholy*, now conformed to the Greek spelling, was formerly *malencolie* in M.E., as in Gower, C. A. i. 39; the A.F. form was also *malencolye*.

(2) As (aa); or as *al* in *palm*. When the *l* is dropped in mod. E., the A.F. *a* (aa) is retained. *Alemaunde*, almond; *almoner*, *aumoner*, almoner; *palmere*, palmer; *psalmistre*, psalmist. (In *calm*, the French *l* is unoriginal.)

(3) As (aol); or *al* in *false*. *Alter*, altar; *assalt*, assault; *defalte*, default; *exalter*, to exalt; *fals*, false; *palefrey*, palfrey. The *l* in *falcon*, *fault*, is solely due to a knowledge of the Latin forms. *Al* exchanges with *au*; see under **Au** (§ 82).

§ 50. **AM.** The regular development is (1) into E. (æm). *Champion*, champion; *clamour*, clamour; *damage*, damage; *damoisele*, M.E. *damoisel*, now syncopated to *damsel*, with

which compare O. F. *dansel*, *dancel*, which is not uncommon; *examiner*, to examine; *gramaire*, grammar; *grampais*, grampus; *hamelet*, syncopated to *hamlet*; *lampe*, lamp; *lamprey*, lamprey.

But (2) there was a tendency to nasalise the vowel *a* before *m* and *n*, without absorbing the consonants themselves. The nasalised vowel was often written *au*, but is represented by the sound (aa) in mod. E.; as in *ensample*, *ensaumple* *ensample*, *sample* (saam'pl, also sœm'pl). See under **AN** and **Au**. Very often, however, the *aum* was replaced by *am*, as in *raumpér*, whence *rampér*, to romp, also to ramp; *saumoun*, M. E. *saumbun*, (*sambun*), E. *salmon*, with silent *l*. See also under *long* **A** (§ 54).

§ 51. **AN**. The regular development is (ɪ) into E. (æn). *Abandoner*, abandon; *ancestre*, ancestor; *anguisse*, anguish; *anys*, anise; *ban*, ban; *banere*, banner; *banir* (inceptive stem *baniss-*), to banish; *blanc*, blank; *blandir* (inceptive stem *blandiss-*), to blandish; *blanket*, blanket; *brand* (a sword), brand; *brandir* (incept. stem *brandiss-*), to brandish; *canevace*, M. E. *canevas*, *can'vas*, canvass; *chanele*, *chanel*, channel; *flanc*, *flank*, flank; *gangle* (a noise of talking), jangle; *grandeur*, grandeur; *hanaper*, *hanaper*, more common in the syncopated form *hamper*; *langage*, M. E. *langâge* (langaa'jə), now turned into language, with inserted *u*, due to the influence of Lat. *lingua*; *lanterne*, lantern; *manere*, M. E. *manère*, *männer*, with shifted accent; *mangler* (in comp. *demangler*), also found in the fuller form *mahangler*, to mangle; *mansion*, mansion; *mantel*, a mantle; *manuel*, a manual (hand-book); *pan*, pan; *panetrie* (M. E. *pan'trie*), pantry; *planete*, planet; *rancler*, to rankle; *tannour*, a tanner; *vanilē*, vanity.

Also (2), into E. (aan). *Avancer*, to advance, with inserted *d*, due to a false etymology; *avantage*, advantage (the same remark applies); *chancel*, chancel; *chancerie*, chancery; *chanterie*, chantry; *comand*, s., command (also kœmænd'); *dance*, s., dance; *demand*, s., demand (also

dæmæpd'); *enchanter*, to enchant; *enhancer*, to enhance; *grant*, s., a grant; *granter*, older form *grðanter*, to grant; *lance*, a lance; *planter*, to plant; *transe*, a trance. See also under **Au** (§ 82) and under *long A* (§ 54).

Also (3) into E. (aon), as in *vaunt*. *Estancher*, to staunch; *tannē*, tawny (also *tenny*, in heraldry, which is the same word, *tenny* being a corruption of *tanny*); *danter*, to daunt; *espandre*, to spawn; *vanter*, to vaunt. See under **Au** (§ 82).

The word *menace* was formerly M. E. *manāce*; from A. F. *manace*.

§ 52. **AR.** If *w* or *qu* precedes, the *ar* takes the sound of E. *or*. See (4) below.

Otherwise, either (1) the *r* is trilled, in which case *ar* is regularly developed into (æ*r*); or else (2) the *r* becomes untrilled and is (practically) lost, but the old A. F. *a* remains unchanged, as (aa).

(1) Trilled *r*; between two vowels. *Apparaill*, apparel; *arras*, arras (orig. a place-name); *baraine*, barren; *barile*, barrel; *baroun*, baron; *carier*, to carry; *cariage*, carriage; *carole*, carol; *caruine*, M. E. *caróine*, now altered to carrion; *charette*, formerly E. *charet*, now replaced by *chariot*; *charitē*, charity; *clarē*, M. E. *clarrē*, a clarified drink (L. *claratum*), distinct from mod. E. *claret*, from Low Lat. *claretum*; *garauntie*, guarantee; *mariage*, marriage; *paroche*, M. E. *parische*, parish.

(2) Trill lost; *ar*=(aa), before a consonant. *Arbitre*, arbiter; *arblaster*, an arblaster or arbalester (a crossbowman); *arc*, ark (a bow), arc; *archer*, archer; *argent* (in heraldry); *armer*, to arm; *armure*, earlier form *armēure*, armour; *arsum*, arson; *art*, art; *barbour*, barber; *barre*, bar; *bargaine*, bargain; *barge*, barge; *carcas*, carcase; *carfeux*, M. E. *carfoukes*, now Carfax (as at Oxford); *cark* (load, burden), cark (load of care); *carpenter*, carpenter; *charge*, charge; *charme*, charm; *chartre*, charter; *dart*, dart; *depar-tir*, to depart; *fardel*, fardel (load); *garde*, guard; *gardin*,

garden; A. F. and M. E. *garnement*, syncopated to *garment*; *garter*, garter; *hardi*, hardy; *larcin*, whence E. larcen-y; *larder*, larder, s.; *large*, large, adj.; *marbre*, marble (*r* to *l*); *marche*, march (boundary); *mareschal*, syncopated to marshal; *mareys*, syncopated to marsh; *martir*, martyr; *parcele*, parcel; *parcenere*, parcener (in law), corruptly partner, due to influence of *part*; *pardoun*, pardon; *parlement*, parliament (with spelling to suit Low Lat. *parliamentum*); *part*, part; *partie*, party; *scarlet*, scarlet.

(3) In one case, A. F. and M. E. *ar* is now *or*. A. F. *escharnir*, M. E. *scharnen*, *skarnen*, later *scornen*, to scorn; but this was probably due to confusion with O. F. *escorner*, to dis-horn, deprive of horns, also to disgrace, put to shame.

(4) **War, quar.** If the *r* is untrilled, we get the curious combination (aoə), the *r* passing into (ə), and the influence of the *w* changing (aa) into (ao). And further, this sound of (aoə) is commonly reduced to (ao), with total loss of *r*.

Award, F. F. 328, award; *quart*, quart; *quarter*, quarter; *rewarder*, to reward; *reward*, s., R. W. 86, reward; *wardein*, a warden; *warderobe* (see Godefroy, s. v. *garderobe*), a wardrobe.

But if the *r* is trilled, *ar* becomes like *or* in *forest*. *Warene* (see Godefroy, s. v. *garene*), later *garenne*, warren; *warant* (see Godefroy, s. v. *garant* and *garance*), later *guarant*, a warrant; *quarel*, a quarrel, i. e. a crossbow-bolt.

For the words *dace*, *parent*, etc., see under long **A** (§ 54).

A. F. *marchant*, M. E. *marchant*, survives as a proper name; otherwise it is now *merchant*, due to connection with Lat. *mercator*, *merx*.

§ 53. **AS.** Regularly developed (1) as (æ̃s). *Amasser*, to amass; *assetz*, assets, the same word as *assetz*, adv., enough, Y. g. 3, P. N. 205; *bastard*, bastard; *chastetē*, chastity; *jaspe*, later form *jaspre* (with added inorganic *r*), jasper; *vassal*, a vassal. So also *passiun*, passion; and *facbun*, becoming M. E. *fasoun* (faa'suun), occasionally *facioun*, mod. E. fashion, with *sh* for *ci*.

(2) The sound (aas) is sometimes retained. The fact is, that the occurrence of *s* at the end of a syllable did not, in A. F., tend to shorten the vowel. The word *car* was also spelt *caas*, and the vowel (being free, cf. L. *ca-sum*) was long; so that in mod. E. it has become *case* (keis). Before *l*, *m*, and *n*, the A. F. *s* was voiced, and afterwards disappeared in pronunciation altogether; so that *isle*, *blasmer*, *disner* were pronounced as (ii'lə), (blaa'mer), (dii'ner); cf. E. *isle*, *blame*, *dine*. We even find *s* introduced into a word merely to mark vowel-length, as in *pasle*, another form of *pale* (paa'lə), pale. A remarkable example is *basme*, pronounced (baa'mə), whence E. *balm* (with inserted *l*, due to Latin); the *s* is organic, and was once sounded, the Lat. form being *balsamum*. We find also cases in which the A. F. sound of *a* as (aa) is retained before *ss*, *st*, and even *sc* (=sk). *Passer*, to pass; *pastour*, a pastor; *pasture*, pasture; *plastre*, plaster; *rascaylle*, a rabble, whence E. *rascal*. For other developments of *as*, see under long A (§ 54).

§ 54. A; as treated in English open accented syllables. This is mod. E. long *a*; really a diphthong, viz. (ei). It commonly arises from the A. F. free accented *a*.

(1) If the A. F. *a* comes at the end of an open syllable, it is developed into E. *a* (ei). Examples are:—*la-i-te*, laity. *A-ble*¹, able; *ca-ble*, cable; *ta-ble*, table; *la-bour*, labour; *ta-bour*, tabour, tabor. *Ba-coun*, bacon. *Ba-cin*², basin; *cha-ce*, s. chase; *de-fa-cer*, to deface; *em-bra-cer*, to embrace; *en-la-cer*, to enlace; *es-pa-ce*, space; *fa-ce*, face; *gra-ce*, grace; *ma-ce*, a mace; *pla-ce*, place; *tra-ce*, trace; *na-ci-un*, nation. *De-gra-der*, to degrade. *Wa-fre*, wafer.

¹ I divide the words into syllables as I suppose they were, for convenience, pronounced by speakers who, of course, knew nothing as to the origin of the words. The etymological division of a word into its component sections is quite another matter. When we add *-en* to *take*, we pronounce it *ta-ken* (tei'kn) rather than *tak-en*.

² Remember that *ce*, *ci* were pronounced (se, si).

A-gu-e, *ague*. *Aa-ge* (aa-jə), M. E. *aage*, *age*, *age*; *ca-ge*, *cage*; *en-ga-ger*, to engage; *es-ta-ge*, stage; *ga-ge*, gage; *pa-ge*, page; *ra-ge*, rage; *wa-ge*, wage; *con-ta-gi-un*, contagion; *co-ra-g(e)-ous*, courageous. *A-li-en*, alien; *ba-le*, a bale; *mas-le* (maa-lə), with silent *s* (§ 53), male; *ma-le*, a bag, whence E. *mail-bag*; *blas-mer*, later *bla-mer*, to blame; *da-me*, dame; *des-cla-mer*, to disclaim; *fa-me*, fame. *Ca-nyn*, canine. *Dra-per*, draper; *es-ca-per*, to escape; *es-ta-ple*, staple. *Bla-soun*, blazon; *e-va-si-oun*, evasion. *A-ba-tre*, pp. *a-ba-tu*, to abate, compare *a-ba-te-ment*, sb. abatement; *da-te*, date (period); *da-tes*, dates (fruit); *pa-tent*, patent (peitənt, also pætənt); *pla-te*, plate; *ra-te*, rate; *trans-la-ter*, to translate; *pa-ti-en-ce*, patience; *ma-tron*, matron (meitʀən, sometimes mæitʀən); *pa-tron*, patron (peitʀən, sometimes pætʀən); *na-tū-re* (naatyy're), nature (nei'chər). *Ca-ve*, cave; *fa-vour*, favour; *gra-ve*, grave; *na-vi-e*, navy; *pa-ve-ment*, pavement; *sa-ve-ur*, saviour; *sa-vour-er*, to savour; *sa-vur*, s., a savour; *ma-ser* (maa'zer), a mazer, a kind of bowl.

We also find *sa-ver*, to save; but the usual spelling is *sauver*. So also *safety* is from M. E. *sauetē* (P. Plowman); but the A. F. form is usually *sauvetē*. In the same way, to *chafe* is from A. F. *se chaufer*, to heat oneself; see under **Au**. See *Chafe* in the New E. Dict.

(2) If the accented syllable is closed by the letter *s*, the vowel *a* remains long, and is developed as (ei); even in some cases where it is followed by another *s* or a *t*. And there are a few words in which the vowel remains long in a closed syllable.

Bas, adj., base; *cas*, M. E. *caas*, *cas*, case (circumstance); *has-te*, s., haste; *has-ter*, v., to haste; *has-tif*, adj., hasty; *past*, L. A. 705, more correctly *paste*, paste; *tast*, s. (feel), taste; *tas-ter*, to taste; *wast*, s., a waste; *was-ter*, v., to waste. So also *debat*, debate; *estat*, estate, state. Here belongs A. F. *darce*, a dace, which, after losing its trilled *r*, has since developed regularly.

(3) Other examples, in which the vowel becomes (ei) before a nasal, are the following. *Cham-bre*, chamber; *danger*, danger; *flam-me*, also *flam-be*, a flame; *an-ge-le*, an angel; *chan-ger*, to change; *es-tran-ge*, strange; *es-tran-ger*, to estrange; *gran-ge*, also *graun-ge*, a grange. The sb. *change* is spelt *chaunge* in S. R. 132 (A. D. 1299).

(4) *Ar* has become (aer) in some cases, where (ae) represents the sound of *ai* in *hair*. *Parent*, parent; *varier*, to vary; *variance*, variance. It becomes (aeə) in *es-cars*, scarce; *escarcelē*, scarcity; *declarer*, M. E. *declaren*, to declare.

§ 55. E (short). Compare the development of *A* in § 48.

(1) Its regular development is, that it becomes the modern short open *e* in *net*, *jet*, in E. closed syllables. I shall, however, as in the case of *a*, consider the combinations *el*, *em*, *en*, *er*, separately.

(2) Short *e* is sometimes altered to short *i*.

The following are examples:—

(1) *Rebelle*, rebel; *treble*, treble; *effect*, s., effect; *direct*, direct; *pek*, peck; *record*, *récord*; *rectour*, rector; *suspecter*, to suspect; *secund*, second; *affection*; *correction*; *election*; *fleccher*, a fletcher (arrow-maker); *creditour*, creditor; *edefier* (to build), to edify; *medler*, to meddle. *Nefu*, nephew. *Legat*, legate; *eglenter*, M. E. *eglentier*, whence E. *eglantine*; *negligence*, negligence. *Alleger*, to allege; *plegge*, a pledge. *Esches*, chess; *eschekker*, a chess-board, whence E. *chequer*. *Acceptor*, to accept; *ceptre*, a sceptre (with prefixed *s*, due to Greek); *deputē*, a deputy; *excepcion*, exception; *lepart*, a leopard (with inserted *o*, due to Latin); *lepre*, a leper; *sepulcre*, sepulchre (with *ch* for *c*). *Equitē*, equity. *Abettement*, abetment; *abbettour*, abettor; *bretesche* (a wooden parapet), a brettis (as in Derbyshire), usually 'brattice'; *dette*, debt (with ignorant insertion of *b*, vol. i. § 303, p. 324); *discretion*, discretion; *jeler*, to jet; *lettre*, a letter; *metal*, metal. *Brevetē*, brevity; *crevace*, crevice; *evidence*, evidence; *lever*, to levy; *severer*, to sever. *Texture*, texture.

(2) In a very few cases, *e* has been altered to short *i*. *Abregger*, to abridge; *trepel*, in the pl. *trepez*, H. 1017, M. E. *trevet*, Bury Wills, ed Tymms, p. 100 (1504), a trivet. In the former case there seems to have been some association with *bridge*; and, in the latter case, with *tripod*.

The *e* seems to have been short in A. F. *creche*, a crib, manger, M. E. *crecche*, also *cracche*, later *cratch* (Spenser).

E, in a closed syllable, is rarely lengthened; for examples, see under *long E* (§ 61).

§ 56. **EL.** (1) The development of *el* is almost always regular, remaining as *el* in E. But in a few cases it is (2) weakened to short *i*; or (3) is lengthened; see under *long E* (§ 61).

(1) *Celle*, a cell; *celer*, a cellar; *compeller*, to compel; *deluge*; *elefant*, elephant (with Lat. *ph* for old *f*); *felon*; *geluse*, *geluz*, jealous; *melodie*, melody; *prelat*, prelate; *veluet*, *vehwet*, velvet.

(2) In a few cases it is altered to *i*; *gredil* (a cooking utensil), a griddle. In the case of E. *pilgrim* (A. F. *pelerin*, *pelrin*), there may have been an earlier form **pelegrin* (cf. Provençal *pelegrin*), but I have not yet found it; indeed, the form is already *pelerin* in the *Chanson de Roland*, 3687. We must therefore suppose that, owing to the frequent pilgrimages to Rome, the word is really Italian; if so, it is the oldest Ital. word in English. The change from *n* to *m* was probably due to the word *pilgrimage*; for I find A. F. *pelrimage*, C. A. p. 116, l. 55.

§ 57. **EM.** (1) This commonly remains as *em-*, except in the prefix *em-* (see below), and in the word *ambush*. Of this word the M. E. form was *embusche* or *enbusche*, from A. F. *embuscher*. The change to *ambush* took place about A. D. 1550, and the reason for the change is not certain¹;

¹ I think the change was due to the nasal sound of the *e*; cf. O. F. *reng*, E. *rank*, etc.; see § 58.

see the New E. Dictionary. (2) *E* in *em* is sometimes altered to short *i*. Examples are as follows.

(1) *Assembler*, to assemble; *attempter*, to attempt; *blemir* (inceptive stem *blemiss-*), to blemish; *contempt*; *emperur*, emperor; *gemme*, gem; *membre*, member; *memorie*, memory; *remedie*, remedy; *ressembler*, to resemble; *tempest*; *temple*; *temprer*, to temper; *trembler*, to tremble.

(2) But when the prefix *em-* or *en-* is followed by *p*, it often becomes *im-* (see vol. i. § 377, p. 402). Examples are: *empeirer*, to impair; *enparker*, to impark (impound); *empescher*, to impeach; *emperial*, imperial; *empler*, to implead; *explorer*, to implore; *empoverir*, *empoverir*, to impoverish; *emprisonner*, to imprison.

§ 58. **EN.** This usually (1) remains as *en*; but we also find (2) *an*; and (3) *in*.

(1) *Benefiz* (*z = ts*), a benefit; *beneicon* (*c = s*), benison; *frenesi*, frenzy; *penance*; *penon*, pennon; *tenant*; *tenement*; *tenur*, tenour; *tenure*; *comencer*, to commence; *defence*; *defendre*, to defend; *defendaunt*, defendant; *contencion*, contention; *mencion*, mention; *pencion*, pension; *amender*, to amend; *attendre*, to attend; *descendre*, to descend; *despendre*, to spend (§ 43); *vendre*, to vend; *enemite*, enmity; *engine*, engine; *vengeance* (*g = j*), *vengeaunce*, vengeance; *venison*; *penne*, a pen; *censure*; *enseigne*, ensign; *offense*, offence; *offendre*, to offend; *sens*, sense; *tens* (time), tense; *apprentiz* (*z = ts*, later *s*), *aprentis*, apprentice; *assent*; *autentik*, M. E. *autentik*, Tudor E. *authentik* (by Greek influence), authentic; *aventure*, M. E. *aventure*, in Caxton *adventure* (by Latin influence), adventure; *consentir*, to consent; *entrer*, to enter; *plentē*, plenty; *senator*, a senator; *sentence*; *tente*, a tent; *vente*, vent (i. e. sale); *envie*, envy; *denzein*, M. E. *denzein*, a denizen (with inserted *i*; perhaps by influence of *citizen*).

(2) In modern F., the difference between *en* and *an* has vanished; Mr. Sweet marks the pronunciation of *en* in *dent* with the same symbol as the *an* in *manquer*; and so does

Littré. Mr. Nicol remarks that the assimilation of nasal *e* to nasal *a* did not begin till the middle of the ninth century, and is not yet universal in France, though it became general a century later. In the Song of Roland there are several cases of mixture in the assonances *ent* and *ant*.

There are traces of this even in M. E. and in E. A. F. and M. E. *bren*, refuse, is now *bran*; just as O. F. *bren* is now F. *bran*. So also A. F. *estandard*, a standard; A. F. *renc*, rank.¹ Much later examples are *pansy*, from F. *pensée* (see Littré); *dandelion*, from *dent de lion*; and *tamper* from F. *tempérer*.

(3) Owing to the E. tendency to turn *en* into *in* (vol. i. § 377, p. 402), we find cases in which this has happened even in words of A. F. origin. A. F. *amenuser*, M. E. *amenusen*, appears as *amenyshe* in the York Wills, and *amynyshe* in Palsgrave. It is probable that E. *minish* is rather an aphetic form of *aminish* than a new formation; though Cotgrave gives *menuiser*, to minish. Either way, the change is established for this word. A. F. *menestral*, M. E. *menestral*, *menstral*, *minstrel*; a minstrel. *Menever*, miniver (with weakening of unaccented *e* to *i*). In the same way *ink*, M. E. *enke*, presupposes an A. F. **enke*, answering to the O. F. *enque* cited in Littré, s. v. *encre*. We already find *ynk* in late A. F., in the Black Book of the Admiralty, i. 404.

Hence also many words, formerly beginning with *en-*, now begin with *in-*, a result which was helped by substitution of the Lat. *in-* for F. *en-*. A. F. *encens* is now *incense*; see more examples below.

(a) I here give a list of words which all begin with *en-* in A. F., and therefore have a good right to the same prefix in modern E. *Enamel*, *enamour*, *enchain*, *enchant*, *encline*, *enclose*, *encounter*, *encumber*, *encumbrance*, *indenture*, *endite*, *endorse*, *endow*, *endure*, *enfeeble*, *engage*, *engender*, *engendrure*, *engine*, *engross*, *enhance*, *enjoin*, *enjoy*, *enlace*, *enlarge*, *enmity*,

¹ So also *arrange* is from A. F. *arenger*; see § 61.

enquire, enrich, enroll, ensample, ensign, ensue, entail, enter, enterprise, entice, enticement, entire, entirely, entitle, entomb, entrails, entreat, entry, envelop, envenom, envious, environ, envy. Yet we find in Shakespeare such forms as *incline, indenture, indurance, inquire*; and there is often much uncertainty as to the form to be used.

(*δ*) In the following words, the change to *in-* is well established. *Encense*, incense; *encrees*, s., increase; *enfant*, infant; *enqueste*, inquest. In these four words the *in-* receives the accent. (Cf. A. F. *engine*, engine, constantly pronounced as (inj'ən), though those who go by spelling reject it). Also: *encorre* (*o*=short *u*), to incur; *encrestre* (2 p. pl. fut. *encrescerez*), to increase; *indenture*, indenture; *enditer*, to indict [false spelling for *indite*, as the pronunciation (indai't) shows]; *enditement*, an indictment (ridiculous spelling for *inditement*); *endilour*, an indictor (for *inditer*); *enformer*, to inform; *enfernal*, infernal; *enflamber*, to inflame; *enformer*, to inform; *enhabiter*, to inhabit; *enheritē*, pp. seised of an inheritance, whence E. inherit; *ensenser*, to insense (inform); *entente*, intent; *enterrer*, to inter; *enterlascer*, to interlace. We even find cases in which the Lat. negative prefix *in-* is written *en-*, as in A. F. *enferm*, infirm, *enfermitē*, infirmity.

In one case at least, this habit of changing *en-* into *in-* has caused obscurity. The A. F. *endower*, to endow, was seen to be related to the simpler F. *douer*, and was refashioned in the form *endue*, or *indue*; and Shakespeare uses all three forms, *endow, endue*, and *indue*, in the same sense; cf. Gen. xxx. 20, where the Vulgate version has 'Dotavit.' But in Luke xxiv. 49 the Vulgate has *induamini*, showing that the E. *endue* was confused with the Lat. *induere*.

§ 59. **ER.** This is developed in various ways, some of the variations being due to the loss of trill of the *r*. I shall take the cases first in which the trill is retained.

(1) The trill is retained when the *r* (sometimes written double) comes after the accented vowel and before another

vowel. Examples: *beril*, a beryl; *heron*, a heron; *merite*, merit; *peril*, peril; *veritē*, verity; *verai*, very.

(2) In two cases, *err* has become (æʀ); A. F. *ferrouʀ*, M. E. *ferrouʀ*, *ferrar*, *ferrer*, a farrier. The change of final *-ar*, *-er*, to *-ier* was due to analogy with such words as *bow-yeʀ* (= *bow-ier*), *law-yeʀ* (= *law-ier*), *saw-yeʀ*, *cloth-ier*, *furr-ier*, *spurr-ier*, *hos-ier*, etc.; we still find *Ferrar*, *Farrer*, *Farrar*, in use as proper names. So also *errant* (wandering), *arrant*; see the Supplement to my Dictionary.

(3) Owing to *qu* preceding it, *er*, later *ar*, has become (or); A. F. *querelē*, M. E. *querelē*, later *quarrel*, now pronounced as (kworəl).

(4) The trill is commonly lost when *er* is followed by a consonant or now ends a word. In such a case, the regular development is into the obscure sound (əə), as in *herd*, *bird*, *surd*.

Examples are numerous. It now ends a word in the following: *averer*, *averrer*, to aver; *deferrir*, to defer; *enterrer*, to inter; *errer*, to err.

It is followed by a consonant in the following: *herbe*, herb; *amerciement*, amercement; *mercerie*, mercery; *merci*, mercy; *perche*, perch (in measurement of length); *herce*, hearse; *rehercer*, to rehearse; *sercher*, to search; *guerdon*, guerdon; *verdur*, verdure; *heremite*, (syncopated to) hermit; *nerf*, nerve; *serf*, serf; *clergie*, clergy; *verge*, verge; *merle*, merle (blackbird); *afermer*, to affirm (with *i* for *e*, by Latin influence); *enfermitē*, infirmity (the same); *eskermir* (inceptive stem *eskermis-*), to skirmish (with *i* for *e*); *hermine*, ermine; *sermoun*, sermon; *terme*, term; *vermine*, vermin; *serpent*, serpent; *adversite*, adversity; *persone*, person; *revers*, reverse; *certein*, certain; *reverter*, to revert; *vertu*, virtue (with *i* for *e*, by Latin influence); *servaunt*, servant; *service*, service.

(5) But when the trill is lost, there are also numerous cases in which the sound of *er* is turned into the sound of *ar*

with untrilled *r*, which is, in fact, nothing else but the long vowel (aa). Thus *clerk* is now pronounced as (klaak), at any rate in London. An attempt is made to represent this phonetically by changing *er* into *ar* in most cases, as when, e.g. we write *garner* for M. E. *gerner*.¹ Examples are: *herberieur* (with *i* sounded as *j*), M. E. *herbergeour*, a har-binger (with insertion of *n* before the sound of *j*, and loss of second *r*; cf. *messenger* for *messenger*); *clerk*, a clerk; *ferme*, a farm; *gerlaunde*, a garland; *gerner*, garner; *herneis*, harness; *merveille*, marvel; *perdriz*, *perdrice*, also *partreiz*, partridge; *peresil* (Wright's Vocab. i. 139), M. E. *persil*, later *parsl-y* (with added *y*), parsley; *persone*, parson (doublet of *person*, above); *serieant*, *seriant*, *seriaunt* (with *i* = *j*), sergeant (saa-jənt).

(6) In cases where *er* or *ere* originally ended a word, and in some cases where *er* is followed by *s* or by *ce* (pronounced as *se*), the vowel is lengthened in modern E.; see under *long E*, in § 62 (3).

§ 60. **ES.** The *e* in the combination *es* remains short, when *s* is followed by another letter, as in *trespas* (trespass), or when the accent has been shifted on to it, as in E. *désert* from A. F. *desért*. Otherwise, *s* does not shorten the vowel in an E. closed accented syllable.

Examples of regular development are:—

(1) Cases in which *es* was formerly unaccented: *besánt*, a besant (in heraldry); *desért*, desert (a wilderness); *présént*, M. E. *présént*, Chaucer, C. T., B. 4171, present, adj.; *respít*, respite. And in the following words we have the same sound denoted by *eas*:² *fesaunt*, pheasant (with *ph* for *f*); *mesure*, measure; *tresor*, M. E. *tresor*, treasure.

¹ We even find *ar* for *er* in A. F. Thus *parchemin* occurs for *perche min*; hence E. *parchment*, with excrescent *t*.

² In speaking of the pronunciation in 1570, Ellis remarks—'Even at a later period *ea* was often used for (e), the short vowel'; E. E. P. p. 79; and again, at p. 80, he explains Salesbury's pronunciation of *treasure* as being (trez'yyr) in 1547.

(2) Cases in which *s* is followed by another consonant : *rescous*, s., M. E. *rescous*, (now) rescue (final *s* lost by confusion with the verb); *descant* (a mode of song), descant, s.; *lescoun*, *lescon*, M. E. *lessoun*, lesson; *trespas*, s., a trespass; *vespre*, vesper; *fes* (better spelt *fesse*, see Godefroy, s. v. *faisse*), fess (in heraldry); *assessour*, assessor; *confesser*, to confess; *destresce*, s., distress; *excesse*, excess; *message*, message; *messe* (dish of meat), S. R. 279, a mess; *presse*, s., a press (throng); *redresser*, to redress; *vessel*, vessel; *depression*, depression; *oppressioun*, oppression; *refreschir*, to refresh; *session*, session; *arest*, s., arrest; *chestaine*, M. E. *chestaine*, *chestein*, *chesten*, whence *chesten-nut*, now syncopated to chestnut, chesnut; *destinē*, destiny; *geste*, a jest; *molester*, to molest; *question*, question; *requeste*, s., request; *revestre*, to revest; *tester*, tester (of a bed); *vester*, to vest; *vesz*, L. C. 125, M. E. *veche*, vetch.

The *e* is also short in *mesuage*, M. E. *mesuage*, message; but it was probably at first long, as it is related to A. F. *mees*, a house, message (Britton, ii. 251).

(3) *Es* is altered to *is* in the prefixes *des-*, *mes-* (probably by association with the Lat. prefix *dis-* and the E. prefix *mis-*); and sometimes in other words. *Discord*, s., discord; *destaunce*, distance (and also in cases where *des-* is unaccented); *meschief*, mischief; *mescreant*, adj., miscreant (and in cases where *mes-* is unaccented). Compare : *lesarde*, M. E. *lesarde*, lizard. For cases in which the *e* in *es* is now long, see under *long E*, in § 61 (*b*).

§ 61. **E (long)**. Modern E. long *e* (ii). Compare the development of long *a*, in § 54.

In Tudor English, a distinction was made between the close and open *e*, which were represented, respectively, by *ee* and *ea*; but both are now sounded alike. The former is also written with a single *e*, as in *cedar*. A. F. (*as*)*sēger* is now (*be*)*-siege*, with *ie* = (ii). A. F. *regne* (*rèn'yə*, with *y* as *y* in *yea*) is now *reign*. These developments are exhibited

below, (a) at the end of an open syllable ; and (b) in a closed syllable.

(a) **In open syllables.** I first give the cases in which the Tudor spelling keeps *e* or *ee* ; and I include the cases in which the A. F. has *ee*. It is, perhaps, necessary to repeat here that, in the combination *es*, the *s* sometimes merely marks the vowel-length and was silent.

(1) *Decre*, decree ; *degre*, *degre*, degree ; *see*, *se*, see (of a bishop). *A-gre-a-ble*, agreeable ; *de-i-te*, deity. *Fe-ble*, feeble ; *gle-be*, glebe. *Se-crei*, s., M. E. *secree* (obsolete), replaced by the later F. form *secret*, *sécret* ; *pre-cept*, precept. *Ca-the-dra-le*, fem. adj., cathedral ; *ce-dre*, a cedar ; *cre-dence*, credence ; *pro-ce-der*, to proceed. *Le-gend-e*, legend ; *le-gi-oun*, legion ; *re-gi-oun*, region. *Fe-me-le*, fem. adj., M. E. *femele*, also *female* (Seven Sages, ed. Weber, 3722), *fémale* (with *a* for *e*, by association with *male*, which is etymologically unconnected). *Blas-fe-mer*, M. E. *blasfemen*, to blaspheme (with *ph* for *f*).

In the same way we may account for the development of A. F. *me-ën*, mean, i. e. intermediate, as in *en le meen temps*, in the meantime, B. i. 351 ; A. F. *ve-ël*, later *vël*, veal. So also *de-an*, later forms *de-ën*, *dën*, a dean ; see **Ea** in § 81.

(2) In some words *ie* is now used for *ee*, with the same sound of (ii), without any very clear reason. Hence the following also belong here. *A-che-ver*, M. E. *acheven*, to achieve ; *a-che-ve-ment*, achievement ; *che-ve-taigne*, *che-ve-tain*, M. E. *chevetein*, chieftain. So also A. F. *chef*, M. E. *chef*, chief ; but in this case we also find *chief* both in A. F. and M. E., and the sound intended was probably a very short *i* followed by an accented *e* (e), which was soon smoothed into simple (ee). Schwan notes (§ 280) that (in a similar way and independently) *chie* became *che*, in continental French, at the end of the thirteenth century ; cf. mod. F. *chef*.

(3) Again, we find that mod. E. (ii) is also denoted by the Tudor spelling *ea*, which signified that (ee) had an open

sound (vol. I. § 301, p. 322). The M. E. symbol for both the close and open *e* was the same, though the sound was not the same, and it often happens that a word's earlier history reveals a difference of origin. This has been already noted with regard to words of A. S. origin, but it is sometimes true also of words of A. F. origin. Thus E. *proceed* is from M. E. *procēden*, with long close (e), from A. F. *proceder*, Lat. *procēdere*; but E. *plead* is from M. E. *plēden*, with long open (e), from A. F. *pleder*, earlier spellings *pleider*, *plaidier*, a verb due to the sb. *plait*, a plea, Lat. *placitum*. In the former case, the original vowel was Lat. *ē*; in the latter case, it was a diphthong, Lat. *a + i*. The spelling with *ea*, or with *ee*, cannot always be relied upon as a sure guide, but is worth observing. The following may be noted; but the lists given under **Ai**, **Ea**, **Ee**, **Ei**, should be compared.

Bre-che, breach; *em-pes-cher*, *em-pe-cher*, to impeach; *pre-cher*, to preach.¹ *Em-ple-der*, implead; which compare with *ple-der* (older forms *pleider*, *plaidier*), to plead; *be-del*, a beadle, (also) *bedell*.² *Egle*, eagle; *e-gre* (also *aegre*), eager; *me-gre*, meagre. *Con-ce-ler*, to conceal; *re-ve-ler*, to reveal. *Bre-me*, a bream. *A-pe-ser*, to appease; *re-soun* (earlier *reisoun*, *raisoun*), reason; *se-soun* (earlier *seisoun*, *saisoun*), seasoun; *tre-soun* (earlier *treisoun*, *traisoun*), treason. *Fe-tur-e*, feature; *tre-ter* (earlier *traiter*), to treat; *tre-tiz*, *trait-tie*, a treaty.

See also under **En** in § 62 (2).

NOTE.—The old A. F. *leon* (whence M. E. *leoun*), a lion, was replaced by F. *lion*, which accounts for the mod. E. form.

(b) **In closed syllables.** The E. *e* is long in a closed syllable, only in some cases where the A. F. *e* is followed by *s*, or even by *st*; and in a few other cases.

Cesser, to cease; *deces*, decease; *desces* (former *s* at first sounded, afterwards silent), decrease (cf. *decrere*, v., to

¹ Also *prescher*, but the *s* is silent and inorganic, and merely denotes vowel-length; just as *empescher* = *empescher* (E. *impeach*).

² The form *bedell* answers better to A. F. *bedelle*, L. A. 182.

decrease); *gresse*, *grece*, grease; *encrees*, s., increase (cf. *encrestre*, v., to increase); *les*, *lees*, a lease; so also: *ease* (older spellings *eise*, *aise*), ease; *pes*, *pees* (older spellings **peis*, *pais*, V.), peace. In the word *demesne*, demesne, the *s* merely marks vowel-length, and still does so in mod. E. To these we may add: *beste*, beast; *feste*, feast; words in which the *e* was originally short.

§ 62. (1). **EL.** *Apel*, *appel*, an appeal; *vel* (= *veël*), veal (lit. a calf). As in § 61 (2), the E. sound is sometimes written *ie*. We find that the M. E. *ceelen*, to line the inside of a room, produced a sb. *ceeling* or *seeling*, also spelt *cielung*, and again varied to *ceiling*. This I take to be the explanation of E. *ceiling*, the inner covering of the roof of a room. The M. E. *ceelen* was formed from A. F. *ceel*, used to mean 'a tester of a bed,' R. W. 51 (A.D. 1361); from A. F. *cēl*, for *ciēl*, heaven. The A. F. spelling *cel* is not uncommon; see the Vie de St. Auban; and cf. Song of Roland. The use of the word may have been influenced by Lat. *caelare*, to adorn. See *Ceil* in the New E. Dict.

(2) **En.** When *ē* precedes *n*, the mod. E. keeps nearly the old vowel sound in some cases, instead of changing it to (ii). *Arener* (also *aresner*, with *es* > *ee*, other spellings *areiner*, *arainer*), to arraign¹; *refrener*, to refrain; *sustenir*, to sustain. Very similar are the following: *regne*, M. E. *regne*, reign (with silent *g*, though it was once sounded before the loss of final *e*: *gn* representing the same sound as in Ital. *regno*, though *n* was probably often used in place of it). Be it observed that the accented *e* in *regne* was originally short. Here belongs also *resne* (with *s* as *z*, which afterwards became silent), a rein for a horse's bridle.

(3) **Er.** When an A. F. word ends in *-er* or *-ere* (= *-er-e*), the modern sound of the *e* is (ii), written either as *ee*, *ea*, or *ie*; and this takes place even when the A. F. *e* was originally short. As *ee*: *chere*, cheer; *per*, a peer. As

¹ The *g* in the mod. E. form is a late and useless insertion.

ea: *arere*, arrear; *cler*, clear; *rere-garde*, rear-guard, of which another form was *rere-warde*, with the same sense, still kept as *rereward* in our Bibles, Num. x. 25; Jos. vi. 9; 1 Sam. xxix. 2; Isa. lii. 12; lviii. 8, and presenting a stumbling-block to the unwary reader. I have heard it read as *re-reward* in the two latter passages, where the sense of 'second reward,' if understood as 'full reward,' is not altogether inappropriate. Cf. the old word *rere-supper*, from A. F. *rere-super*, W. W. 5785. As **ie** (when *s* or *ce* follows): *fers*, adj., fierce; *percer*, to pierce; *terce*, tierce (the canonical hour so called). In these words the inserted *i* perhaps arose as a short parasitic sound immediately following the *f*, *p*, or *t*. Lastly, I have to mention A. F. and M. E. *frere*, which should have become *freer*, but has actually been developed into *friar*, just as A. S. *brér*, M. E. *brere*, is now *briar*, and M. E. *quer*, *quere*, is now *quire*, though spelt *choir*. beholdeth

(4) *E* before single *f*, *k*, or *t* (in some cases). *Bef*, beef; here the A. F. form was originally *boef*, also written *beof*, and the diphthong was reduced to *ee* or *ē*. *Fel*, M. E. *feet*, *feit*, a feat; here the A. F. *fet* was used in the sense of 'deed,' i. e. a legal document, and it comes from older spellings *feit*, *fait*. Our *escheat* is from A. F. *eschete*, earlier *eschaete*; the verb was *escheter*, *eschaeter*, whence *eschetur*, an *escheater* or *escheator*. Hence, by aphaeresis, *cheat*, s., *cheat*, v., and *cheater*.

In a few words the *e* seems to have been originally short, and to have been lengthened; as in *bref*, M. E. *bref*, brief (with *ie* for *ee*); *bek*, beak; *net* (whence fem. *nette*, V.), neat. The *gh* in E. *freight* is improper, and due to association with *fraught*, a related word of Scand. origin. *Freight* should be *freit*, variant of *fret*; in the Black Book of the Admiralty, vol. i. pp. 92, 112, we find the sb. *fret*, *fretle*, and the verb *freter*, *fretter*. It is hardly an A. F. word, being adopted, rather, from the French of the Continent.

See also under the diphthongs **ai**, **ei**, **ae**, **ea**, **ie**.

§ 63. **I, Y.** The short *i* is an extremely stable sound in

English. There was probably the same slight difference between the A. F. and the M. E. sound of the vowel as there still is between the *i* as heard twice in the F. *fini* and the E. *i* in *fin*. The M. E. sound was substituted for the A. F. sound, and that was all. The exceptions are few and slight, and are noted at the end of this section. Even in the combination *ir* the same sound remains if the *r* be trilled (as in *spirit*), but if the trill be lost the obscure sound results, as in *virgin*. We should therefore keep the untrilled *ir* separate: but all the other cases can be considered together. The accented *i* is short in E. closed syllables, but long (i. e. diphthongal) in open ones.

We may also consider the mod. E. short *y*, as in *syllable*, *myrrh*, at the same time. The sound is the same, and the symbol is usually modern, replacing the M. E. *i*.

Ribald, ribald; *tribut*, tribute. *Vicaire*, vicar; *victor*, victor. *Adicion*, addition; *affliccioun*, affliction; *condicioun*, condition. *Enricher*, to enrich; *richesce*, *richesse*, M. E. *richés-se*, riches. *Considerer*¹, to consider; *idiot*, idiot. *Griffon*, griffin (with *o* weakened to *i*). *Digneté*, dignity; *ignoraunce*, ignorance; *figure*, M. E. *figúr-e*, figure; *vigur*, vigour. *Pigoun* (with *g=j*), pigeon; *vigile*, vigil. *Bille*, bill (as in parliament); *billette*, billet; *diligence*, diligence; *piller*, pillar; *pilori*, *pillory*, pillory; *sillable*, also *sillabe*, M. E. *sillable*, syllable; *villein*, *vilein*, villain. *Chimenee* (a fire-place), syncopated to chimney; *image*, image; *limite*, limit; *simple*, adj., simple. *Affinité*, affinity; *continuer*, to continue; *iniurie* (= *injurie*), injury; *instance*, instance; *ministre*, minister; *opinion*, *opinion*, opinion; *prince*, prince; *vineter*, curiously altered to M. E. *vintener*, now syncopated to vintner. *Escripture*, scripture; *ypocrite*, hypocrite (with *h* supplied, owing to knowledge of Greek). *Miracle*, miracle; *mireur*, *mirreur*, M. E. *mirour*, mirror. *Issue*, issue; *prison*, prison; *visage*, visage; *visiter*, to visit;

¹ The *i* in this word was originally long; it was shortened before the *dr* in M. E. *considren*.

viser, visor (mask). *Ysope*, hyssop. *Commission*, commission; *omissioun*, omission; *avisioun*, M. E. *avisioun*, a vision (now obsolete); *divisioun*, division. *Agistement*, M. E. *a-gis-te-ment*, agistment; *Cristien*, Christian (with *h* added, owing to knowledge of Greek); *resister*, to resist. *Acquiter*, to acquit; *citein* (O. F. *citeain*), S. R. 34 (A. D. 1275), later *citeseyn*, S. R. 381 (1363, with inserted unexplained *s*), a citizen; *litere*, a litter; *pite*, *pilee*, pity; *quit*, *quite*, adj. (free), quit; *quittance*, quittance; *vitaille*, M. E. *vitaille*, now absurdly spelt 'victual' instead of 'vittle' (see vol. i. § 303, p. 325). *Chivalrie*, chivalry; *deliverer*,¹ to deliver; *rivere*,¹ river; *wyvre*,¹ *wivre*, M. E. *wivre*, *wiver*, a wivern (in heraldry, with added *n*, as in *bittern*, vol. i. § 347, p. 372).

Exceptions. A. F. *tricherie*, M. E. *tricherie* (Ancrén Riwele), also spelt *trecherie* (P. Plowman), treachery, furnishes an apparent exception; but is easily explained. *Trecherie* is really the older form, as appears from the etymology; see my Dictionary. *Cimiterie*, M. E. *cimiterie* (obsolete), replaced by *cemetery* in the sixteenth century; there is here no real change, the A. F. form being lost, and then replaced by one much nearer, in appearance, to the Greek.

Ir, Yr (untrilled). When *ir* (or *yr*) is untrilled, we obtain a sound (ə) which is the long vowel corresponding to the obscure vowel in 'about' (əbaurt). Cf. E. *bird*, *turn*. Examples in words of A. F. origin are rare. I can instance *virgine*, a virgin (vəə'jin); and *mirre*, M. E. *mirre*, myrrh (məə'), respelt according to the Latin method of spelling Greek words.

§ 64. **I, Y, as long vowels.** The development of long *i* (or *y*) is also very regular. The old (ii) sound was changed, first to (ei)², and later to (ai), which is its present sound. It occurs in open syllables, or before *s*, rarely in closed

¹ In these words the *i* was originally long; it was shortened before *vr* in M. E. *delivren*, *wivre*.

² Viz. in the sixteenth century; Ellis, E. E. P. p. 111.

syllables; see the treatment of *ir* and *is*, as discussed below. It is not affected by a following *l*, *m*, or *n*; I therefore treat *il*, *im*, *in*, along with the rest. Exceptions are few. It is particularly common before other vowels, from which it is kept separate; thus the A.F. combination *ie* or *ye* = *i* + *e*, where the *e* is usually reduced to the obscure vowel (ə), owing to its unaccented position.

(1) **In open syllables.** *Cri*, a cry; cf. *des-cri*-, base of *des-cri-re*, to des-cry. *Af-fi-aun-ce*, affiance; *a-li-aun-ce*, alliance; *di-a-log-e* (with *g* hard), dialogue; *di-a-pre* (in the pp. *diaprees*, diapered, R. W. 73), diaper; *gy-aunt*¹, L. 190, giant; *vi-and-e*, viand. *Bi-ble*, bible; *li-bel*, libel. *Li-cens-e*, license. *Al-li-e*, an ally; *cli-ent*, client; *de-ni-er*, to deny; *di-et-e*, diet (food); *es-pi-er*, to espy; *es-qui-er*, M. E. *squi-er*, squire; *pi-e*, pie (magpie); *pli-er*, to ply; *qui-et-e*, adj., quiet. *Es-trif*, strife. *Ti-gre*, tiger. *Com-pi-ler*, to compile; *gui-le*, guile; *si-len-ce*, silence. *Cri-me*, crime; *pri-me*, prime. *De-cli-ne*, decline (in the phrase *en decline*, to its decline, to ruin, P. S. 242); *en-cli-ner*, to encline, incline; *es-chi-ne*, chine (with aphaeresis of *es*): *es-pi-ne*, spine (a thorn: with aphaesis of *e*); *li-ne*, a line; *mi-nour*, a miner. *Cri-our*, a crier; *di-o-cis-e*, M. E. *diocise*, diocese (with *e* for *i*, due to revival of Greek); *fy-ol-e*, M. E. *viole*, a vial (with *a* for *o*, due to revival of Greek, whence also the queer spelling *phial*); *pri-or*, prior; *ri-ot-e*, riot; *vi-o-len-ce*, violence. *Cy-pres-ce*, cypress; *dis-ci-ple*, disciple (already in use before the Conquest, in the A. S. form *discipul*); *pi-pe*, a pipe (of wine). *En-di-ter*, to endite (compose verse, etc.); *mi-tre*, mitre; *re-ci-ter*, to recite; *ti-tle*, title. *Ar-ri-ver*, to arrive; *es-tri-ver*, L. R. 76, to strive; *i-voi-re*, ivory; *re-vi-vre*, to revive.

(2) **Is, Ys.** When a syllable is closed in English with *s*, or *c* sounded as *s*, the A.F. *i*, which was in fact free, was developed into E. (ai) as usual. Before *l*, *m*, and *n*, the

¹ Also *geaunt*, whence M. E. *geaunt*, which is a commoner form. Yet we find *giaunt* in Wyclif, 2 Kings xxi. 16 (later version).

A. F. *s* (*z*) soon became silent; also in the compound word *visconte*; see below.

As-si-se, assize; *a-vis*, advice; *de-gi-ser*, M. E. *degisen* (both with hard *g*), with (doubtless) an older form *des-gi-ser* (see Godefroy), to disguise; *des-pi-ser*¹, L. R. 294, to despise; *de-vi-ser*, to devise; *de-vi-se*, device; *gui-se*, guise; *pris*, price; *pri-se*, prize; *rys*, L. A. 224, rice (but this was probably imported from France in the fourteenth century). So also *vi-ce*, vice.

The *s* is silent in: *dis-ner*, to dine; *is-le*, isle (where the *s* is uselessly retained). Also in *vis-cont-e* (a sheriff), S. R. 28, also spelt *vi-cont-e*, Y. a. 7, whence E. vis-count (where the *s* is uselessly retained, as in *isle*).

(3) The A. F. *i* also becomes (ai) in a few final syllables, the closing consonants being *gn* (=ny), *n*, *t*. *As-sign-er*, to assign; *be-nign-e*, benign; *re-sign-er*, to resign; *sign-e*, sign; *vign-e*, vine. *Fin*, a fine (payment). *De-lit*, delight (with *gh* inserted by confusion with *light*); cf. *de-li-ter*, v., to delight; *des-pit*, despite, usually shortened to 'spite'; *sit*, *syt-e*, site (situation). Similarly, the A. F. *ob-li-ger* (with short *i*; as in A. F. *obligacioun*) became M. E. *o-bli-gen* (with long *i*), and is now *oblige* (oblaij). We find it as (oblaij) in Pope, Prol. to Satires, 208, but this was due to the influence of continental French. The word is a true A. F. word, as shown by the pronunciation of *ge* as *j*, and by its early use.

(4) *Ir*. The *r* is very seldom trilled; in fact, only when it comes between two vowels, as in *ti-rant*, tyrant (now spelt with *y*, by Greek influence). Some trill it in *en-vi-ron-er*, to environ; but others substitute the obscure vowel, and say (envaiæən). Usually, *ire* is pronounced as (aiə). *At-tir-er*, to attire; *de-sir*, desire; *ir-e*, ire; *sir-e*, sire.

(5) There seem to be just a few cases in which the old sound (ii) of the A. F. *i* has been preserved. *Li-ge*,

¹ A new formation. The true verb is *despire*, E. C. 3385; pr. pl. *despis-ent*, L. 104; pres. pt. *despis-ant*, S. R. 162.

adj., liege (liij); *li-ge-an-ce*, M. E. *ligeaunce*, Chaucer, C. T. Group B. 895, to which *a-* was afterwards prefixed (apparently by confusion with the now obsolete *alegance*, an alleging, allegation, which may also have affected the vowel-sound), giving E. *allegiance*. We also find A. F. *chemise*, but the sound which we give to the *ch* in E. *chemise* shows that the word was lost, and has been re-borrowed from French in recent times.

(6) Lastly, there are at least two examples in which the A. F. *i* (ii) has been shortened by its occurrence in an E. closed syllable. A. F. *hisdous* became *hīdous* by loss of *s*, which became silent; and hence M. E. *hīdous* (?), later *hīd-ous*, now 'hideous'; like E. *piteous* for M. E. *pitous*. A. F. *fig-e* (with hard *g*) has given E. 'fig'.

§ 65. O (*short*). The combinations *on* (in some cases), also *or*, *os*, require separate treatment. Setting these aside, it is remarkable that the A. F. short *o* has two distinct developments in E., viz. as E. short *o* in *rob*, and as E. short unrounded *u* in *govern*. The fact is that the M. E. symbol *o* was of uncertain interpretation, and was used to represent both short *o* (o) and short *u* (u); see Sweet, Hist. E. Sounds, § 595. The French scribes were partial to the use of the symbol *o*¹, and, in particular, often used it for the sake of graphic clearness, in preference to *u*, in proximity to the symbols *m*, *n*, and *u* (v). The MS. symbols for *n* and *u* were indistinguishable, both consisting of two upright down-strokes indistinctly joined, whilst *m* consisted of three down-strokes, also vaguely joined; hence *um* could be read as *mu*, or as *mn*, and *nn* could be read as *nu* or *un* or *uu*. By the use of *o* for *u* such ambiguity was avoided. Hence the A. S. *sunu*, M. E. *sune*, was frequently written *sone*, and that is why we write *son* still, though the *o* is really the unrounded *u*. In the same way the A. S. *sunne*, M. E. *sunne*, was frequently written *sonne*, so that, even in the

¹ The late Lat. short *u* was pronounced as close *o*. Hence we find Span. *sobre*, from Lat. *super*; cf. Ital. *sopra*, for Lat. *supra*.

first folio of Shakespeare, we find the play of Rich. III beginning with:—

Now is the Winter of our Discontent,
Made Glorious Summer by this Son of York.

It is now, however, the custom to spell this word, phonetically, as *sun*. Perhaps the most striking examples are those in which *o* occurs before *v*, as in *love*, *dove*, *govern*. This was due to the use of *u* for *v*. The M. E. spellings were at first *luue*, *duue*, from the A. S. *lufu*, *dúfa*¹, but when the word *gouernen* was introduced with the A. F. sound of *ou* as *uv*, these words became *loue*, *doue*, and appear in this form in the first folio of Shakespeare (see vol. i. p. 1, l. 8). Hence the present spellings *love*, *dove*, *govern* are accounted for. The development of *o* as E. unrounded *u* should be compared with the development of A. F. *u* into the same sound. We pronounce the *on* in *money* precisely like the *un* in *uncle* (A. F. *uncle*).

§ 66. The modern E. has the short open sound of *o* in the following words (excluding the combinations *or*, *os*, and several of the examples of *o* before *n*). *Obit*, obit; *obsequies*, obsequies; *obstacle*, obstacle; *robber*, to rob. *Cocodrille*, M. E. *cocodrille*, now 'crocodile' (owing to the revival of Greek); *doctrine*, doctrine; *occident*, occident (an old term for the west, but obsolescent); *boce*, a boss, swelling (of which *bolch* is a variant); *hoche-pot*, B. i. 305, M. E. *hoche-pot*, a hotchpodge. *Comoditē* (profit), commodity. *Coffin*, coffin; *cofre*, coffer; *office*, office; *profit*, profit; *profre*, s., a proffer; *loger*, to lodge. *Mokerie*, mockery. *Coler*, collar; *college*, college; *columpne*, column; *dolour*, dolour; *folie*, folly; *iolyf*, *ioly* (with *i* as *j*), jolly; *iolietē* (with *i* as *j*), jollity; *olive*, olive; *polir* (inceptive stem *poliss-*), to polish; *solaz*, solace; *solempne* (with ex-

¹ It is remarkable that no example of A. S. *dúfa* has yet been found. Somner gives *duua*, an equivalent form, without a reference. The A. S. *f*, when between two vowels, was sounded as *v*. But *dúfa* occurs in Icelandic. The common A. S. word for 'dove' is *culfre*, E. *culver*.

crescent *p*, now dropped), solemn; *solitarie*, solitary; *volum*, volume. *Acomplir* (inceptive stem *acompliss-*), to accomplish; *comele*, comet; *comun*, adj., common; *homage*, homage; *promesse*, promise. *Amonester*, M. E. *amonesten*, later *amonessen*, to admonish (with inserted *d*, and *sh* for *ss*); *concord*, concord; *conquere*, to conquer (with *qu* now usually pronounced as *k*); *conqueste*, conquest; *conscience*, conscience; *contract*, s., a contract; *contrárie*, M. E. *contrárie*, contráry (Shak.), cóntrary; *converse*, s., converse; *cronicle*, chronicle (with *h* inserted owing to revival of Greek); *honour*, honour; *monstre*, monster; *nonage*, nonage (not to be pronounced with the *o* as long); *respondre*, to respond. *Copie*¹, copy; *prophete*, prophet; *propre*, proper; *propretē*, property. *Cotun*, cotton; *floteson*, B. B. i. 82, flotsam; *pot*, pot; *potage*, pottage; *potel*, pottle. *Novel*, adj., novel; *povertē*, poverty; *empoverir*, *enpoverir* (inceptive stem *empoveriss-*), to empoverish; *province*, province; *provost*, provost (for which we also find A. S. *práfost*, vol. i. § 400, p. 438).

§ 67. It is very seldom that the A. F. *o*, denoting short *u* (u), has accurately preserved its sound. Almost the sole example is seen in A. F. and M. E. *bocher*, a butcher. In almost all other instances, the *u* has been 'unrounded,' and is sounded nearly as the obscure vowel (ə) in *America* (əmerikə). *Conduit*, a conduit (kən'dit); *confort*, M. E. *confort* comfort (with *m* for *n*, before *f*); *conforter*, also *cumforter*, M. E. *conforten*, to comfort; *dongoun* (with *g* as *j*), dungeon; *estoner*, to stun; *moneye*, money. *Front*, front. *Sopere*, supper. *Botiller*, butler; *botellerie*, M. E. *botelery*, buttery; *cotillere*, cutler; *moton*, *motoun*, mutton; *reboter*, to rebut; *sotiltee*, subtlety (with inserted pedantic *b*). *Coverer*, to cover; *covert*, covert; *estover*, s., stover (sustenance); *governer*, to govern; *plover*, plover; *recoverer*, to recover. *Dozeine*, dozen.

¹ The *o* was originally long, but was shortened because the stress fell on *i*; hence the O. F. spelling *coppie* (Littré).

§ 68. In some cases, the sound of *o* has become long *u* (uu), probably because the sound occurred at the end of an open syllable or a syllable but slightly closed. Cf. the M. E. *ō*, as in *cōl*, which has likewise become *ū*, as in (*kuul*) in modern English.

(1) In a syllable treated as open. *A-ho-ge*, also O. F. *ahuge*, M. E. *hu-ge*, *huge*. *Bo-te*, boot (for the foot). *Mover*, to move; *re-mo-ver*, *re-moe-ver*, to remove; *pro-ver*, to prove; *re-pro-ver*, to reprove. The word *po-ver*, also *po-vre*, became M. E. *povre*, *pover*, out of which the *v* was curiously lost, whence E. *poor*, which may be considered as a contracted form of *poover*.¹

(2) The word *fol* (M. E. pl. *foles*), being closed only with the liquid *l*, had its vowel lengthened, and is now *fool*.

§ 69. On. Some cases of regular development have been given above. It has been shown (vol. i. § 380, p. 404) that the A. S. *pund* (with short *u*) was lengthened to *pūnd* (with long *u*) in course of time, by the influence of the *nd*, and is now *pound* (paund), with a diphthongal sound. A similar effect seems to have been produced in the case of A. F. words; so that *monter* became M. E. *monten*, *mounten* (*muu'ntən*), and is now *mount* (*maunt*). I give some more examples. *Conseil*, *cunseil*, counsel; *conseil*, *council*, council; *conseiller*, to counsel; *cunseiler*, *conseiller*, a counsellor; *counte*, a count (earl); *contē*, *countē*, county; *cuntesse*, *contesse*, countess; *contrepleder*, to counterplead; *monter*, *munter*, to mount; *soner*, *suner*, to sound. In many cases we find the spelling *un* for *on*, showing that *o* had the sound of *u*; hence the above examples belong, more strictly, to the set which illustrate the development of *un*. See therefore under *un* (§ 77). In one case, that of A. F. *corōne*, the second *o* was long. This word became M. E. *corōne*, *crōne*, *crūne*; the

¹ The *v* is also lost before *r* in *kerchief*, *curfew*, for *cover-chief*, *coverfew*.

form with *ū* prevailed, whence E. *crown*, by regular development. See under long *U*, in § 77.

§ 70. *Or*. If the combination *or* is followed by a vowel, the *o* keeps its sound. There are, however, two cases, as distinguished in § 65: i.e. it can have the sound of *o* in *rob*, or of *o* in *govern*. Examples are rare.

(1) *Corall*, coral; *coruner*, *coroner*, coroner; *forage*, forage; *foreste*, forest; *oreison*, orison (prayer).

(2) *Coraunt*, current, as in the phrase 'the current price'; *morine*, *murine*, M. E. *moreine*, murrain.

(3) But when *or* is followed by a consonant, the trill of the *r* is lost; and here also there are two cases, as in the words *force* (faos) and *attorney* (atæni). We must consider these separately. And first, words containing *or*=(ao). *Divorce*, divorce; *force*, force; *sorcerie*, sorcery; *sorceresse*, sorceress; *sorcier*, sorcerer (formed by adding *-er* to *sorcer*, a later form of A. F. *sorcier*); *porcioun*, portion. *Acord*, accord, s.; *acordaunt*, accordant; *corde*, cord; *ordinance*, ordinance; *ordinarie*, ordinary; *ordure*, ordure; *ordre*, order. *Forfeit*, forfeit. *Forger*, to forge. *Pork*, pork. *Forme*, form; *torment*, torment. *Cornere*, corner. *Porpeis*, porpoise (a later form, with F. *oi* for A. F. *ei*); *scorpiun*, scorpion. *Cors*, corse; *morsel*, morsel. *Desport*, sport (by aphaeresis); *fort*, fort; *fortelesse*, fortalice; *mortier*, mortar, mortar (of wax, etc. for a light); *porte*, port (gate, door); *portal*, portal; *portour*, porter; *resortir*, to resort.

In some instances, *our* is written for *or*, as in *enfourmer*, to inform; but this is rare.

(4) With the sound of (æə). *Forbir* (inceptive stem *forbiss-*), to furbish. *Ajorner*, to adjourn (with inserted *d*); *attornē*, attorney; *fornir* (inceptive stem *forniss-*), to furnish; *iorneie* (with *i=j*), journey. Besides these, there are a few words in which a following vowel has been suppressed: as *norice*, M. E. *norice*, nurse; *nuriture*, *noriture*, nurture. Compare A. F. *forester*, whence M. E. *forester*, *forster*, *foster*.

§ 71. *Os*. In the combination *os*, the *o* is usually long. The regular sound of short *o* occurs in *pentecost*,¹ but here the syllable *-cost* has only the *secondary* æcent. When the primary accent falls on such a syllable, it is usually drawled out into the sound of (aost). We have an example in A. F. *acos-ter*, to accost (akaost). On the other hand, we find *ostruce*, R. W. 67 (A.D. 1376), an ostrich, where *o*, being 'enclosed,' i.e. followed by *str*, is short.

§ 72. *O* (long). The common E. long *o* has now the close sound, and is impure; as generally pronounced, it has an after-sound of (u), and is best expressed by the symbol (ou); see vol. i. § 310, p. 337. It occurs at the end of an open syllable, before *s* or *st*, and in a few closed syllables. In some cases moreover, the A. F. *o* was originally *short*, as in *soldeier*, a soldier.

(1) In open syllables: *no-ble*, noble; *ro-be*, robe. *A-bro-cour*, M. E. *brocour* (by aphesis), broker; *clo-ke*, cloak. *De-vo-ci-oun*, devotion. *O-dur*, odour. *Mo-ment*, moment. *Do-nour*, donor; *thro-ne*, usually *tro-ne*, M. E. *trone*, now *throne* (owing to revival of Greek). *Co-te*, coat; *mo-te* (an eminence), a moat (by transference of sense from 'eminence' to the ditch surrounding it); *no-la-ri-e*, notary; *no-te*, note; *no-tic-e*, notice.²

(2) Before *s* or *st*: *clos*, close (secret); *groser*, grocer; *de-poser*, to depose; *entreposer*, to interpose; *reposer*, to repose. *Coste*, coast; *ost*, host (army); *post-ern-e*, postern; *rost*, *rost-e*, roast. But it is short in *ostel*, hostel, owing to the stress; so also some say (post:æn).

(3) In a syllable now closed by *ch* or *l*. *A-brocher*, M. E. *abrochen*, to broach (by aphesis of *a*); *a-prochier*, *a-proch-er*, to approach; *re-procher*, to reproach; *broche*, a brooch. *Es-tole*, a stole; *rolle* (later spelling *roule*), roll; *enroller* (later *enrouler*), to enroll; *sol-dei-er*, soldier.

¹ This word occurs in A. S., in the A. S. version of the Gospels.

² The spelling *soot* (an idiot), B. i. 243, shows that the *o* in *sot* was sometimes long.

§ 73. **Or.** When *o* precedes *r*, and the *r* is followed by a vowel, the *r* is trilled, and the *o* becomes mod. E. (ao). Examples are rare. *Glorie*, glory; *estorie*, story. So also *orient*, orient; in which the *o* was originally short. Also *enplorer*, to implore (with *im* for *em*, for *en*); *estorer*, to store; *restorer*, to restore; but in these cases the trill of the final *r* is lost, and *ore* has become (aoə).

§ 74. **U (short).** The combination *ur* requires special treatment, and is considered separately. The sounds denoted by short *o* and *u* were so much alike that we find frequent confusion between them. Thus the A. F. prefix *com-* or *con-* is frequently written *cum-* or *cun-*, especially in early texts; see § 65. Again, the A. F. symbol *u* was used to represent two different sounds, viz. the short (u), as in E. *bull*, and the short (y), as the G. *ü* in *schützen* (see §§ 35, 36). It is not easy to distinguish between these sounds; but it may suffice to say here that Italian is, in some degree, a guide. Thus E. *suffer* answers to Ital. *soffrire*, F. *souffrir*, A. F. *sufrire* (V.), where the A. F. *u* had the sound of (u); whilst E. *just*, adj., answers to Ital. *giusto*, F. *juste*, A. F. *iuste*, where the A. F. *u* had the sound of (y). In M. E., the sound of (y) was gradually rejected, and is now disused in the standard speech. Cf. Sweet, Hist. E. Sounds, §§ 595, 596. I shall here give the examples according to the more usual orthography, without attempting to distinguish between the sounds of the A. F. *u*.

(1) It is very seldom that the A. F. *u* is represented by (u) in E. The following are a few examples, in which the old sound is preserved before a liquid or *s*. A. F. *bulle*, a papal bull; *pullet*, a pullet; *pulpit*, pulpit; *tumbe*, a tomb; *busselle*, bushel.

(2) Usually, the *u* is unrounded, and sounded like the *u* in *but* (bət); this sound I here denote by (ə). In most cases, the *u* is followed by two consonants, or occurs in a closed syllable; and there is no distinction in such words between the *u* which was originally (u) and that which was originally

(y). See Behrens, *Beiträge*, etc. p. 123. *Subjet*, s., subject; *substance*, substance; *suburbe*, suburb. *Bucle*, *bocle*,¹ buckle; *succour*, succour; *destruccioun*, destruction; *duchē*, duchy; *huche*, a hutch. *Buffe*, a buffet (lit. buff, with *-et* added as a diminutive suffix); *estuf*, stuff. *Aiugger* (with *i* as *j*), to adjudge; *iuge* (with *i* as *j*), judge; *iugement*, judgment; *iugleur*, *iugelur*, *iogelur*,¹ juggler. *Adulterie*, adultery; *annuller*, to annul; *hulke*, a hulk; *nul*, null; *vultur*, vulture. *Assumpcion*, assumption; *autummal*, autumnal; *encumbrer*, *encombrer*, to encumber; *humle*, *umble*, humble (with excrescent *b*; cf. *umblement*, humbly); *numbre*, *noumbre*, s., number; *numbrer*, *noumbre*, to number; *summe*, sum; *tumberel*, *tumbrel*. *Iuncture* (*i=j*), juncture; *trunc*, trunk; *truncun* (*c* as *s*), truncheon (with *ch*, sounded as *sh*, for *s* after *n*); *uncle*, uncle; *habundance*, abundance (mute *h* lost); *plunger*, to plunge. *Corruptiun*, corruption. *Discusser*, to discuss; *usser*, *ussher*, usher; *acustumer*, to accustom; *custume*, *coustume*, custom; *fustain*, *fustiane*, fustian; *iustice*, justice; *iuste* (V.), just. *Buter*, to but; *butun*, *botun*, button; *escuchon*, scutcheon; *glutun*, glutton; *glutunie*, *glotonie*, gluttony; *guttere*, *gotere*, M. E. *gotere*, a gutter; *sutil*, *sotil*, subtle (with *b* pedantically inserted). *Luxurie*, luxury.

(3) In some cases we find the spelling *ou* for *u*, the mod. E. sound being the same. This spelling indicates a tendency to lengthen (*u*) into (*uu*), or the A. F. *u* may have been long; but this tendency was afterwards checked. Examples are:—*trubler*, *trobler*, *troublier*, M. E. *troblen*, *troublen*, to trouble; *duble*, *doble*, *double*, double, in which the A. F. *u* was free. Also *cuntree*, country; *iuste*, *iouste*, a joust (tournament). In *cuple*, *couple*, a couple, the A. F. free *u* was certainly long; so also in *cusin*, *cosin*, *cousin*, cousin, the vowel was long (before *ns*) in Lat. *consobrinum*. See also under **Ur** and **U** (long).

(4) An exceptional word is A. F. *cust*, *coust*, cost; but

¹ Words also spelt with *o* had the A. F. *u* sounded as (*u*), not as (*y*).

we find the O. F. *coste*, which gives us *cost* (kaost) regularly; for the sound of *o* cf. *accost*; see § 71. Again, the A. F. *parfurnir*, *parfournir*, was corrupted to later A. F. *performir*, *performer*, by confusion with A. F. *former*, to form; hence E. *perform*.

§ 75. **Ur.** (1) If *ur* (with short *u*) occurs before a vowel, the *r* is trilled, and the sound of *u* is the same as above, viz. (ə). But examples are very rare. I may instance *curage*, *corage*, M. E. *corage*, later *courage* (kuraa'je), still spelt the same, but pronounced (kərij). The change from (u) to (ə) is due to the shifting of the accent from *a* to *ou*.

(2) Most commonly the *r* is followed by a consonant; when the trill of the *r* is lost, and *ur* is pronounced (əə), precisely as in the case of *er* above; see § 59 (4).

Desturber, to disturb; *turbut*, turbot. *Purchas*, purchase. *Murdre*, murder. *Burgeys*, M. E. *burgeis*, burgess (with *ess* for *eis*, by want of stress upon it); *purger*, to purge; *estourgeon*, *sturgeon*, sturgeon; *surgion*, surgeon. *Burnir* (inceptive stem *burniss-*), to burnish; *returner*, to return; *turner*, to turn; *turn*, *torn*, s., a turn. *Purport*, purport; *purpre*, purple (with *l* for *r*). *Apurtenance*, appurtenance, (also) purtenance; *curtine*, M. E. *curtine*, *cortine*, curtain (*curtin* would be better); *hurter* (to dash), M. E. *hurten*, to hurt; *nurture*, nurture. Very rarely, we find *our* for *ur*, but without any variation in the pronunciation; as in *escurge*, M. E. *scurge*, *scorge*, a scourge; *curtesie*, *cortesie*, courtesy (so spelt because allied to *court*). We also find *ur* changed to *our* before *s* and *l*, with a change of pronunciation. Examples are:—*curs*, *cours*, a course; *recurs*, *recours*, s., recourse; *curt*, *court*, court; pronounced (kaos, rekoa's, kao't) or (kao'əs, rikaos, kao'ət). So also *courser*, courser (horse); *curteour*, courtier.

§ 76. **U (long).** The A. F. *u*, when long, had two different pronunciations, viz. (1) as long *u* (uu); and (2) as long *ü* (yy), as pronounced in G. *grün*. They are well

distinguished by difference of development. The former, whilst preserving its sound, came to be denoted by the late A. F. symbol *ou* (pronounced as *ou* in *soup*, or as F. *ou*). The latter was confused with the sound denoted by *ew* (eeu, eew) in the M. E. *trewe*, *newe*, *hewe*, words of A. S. origin; so that, in the time of Chaucer, there was little difference between the M. E. *ew* and the *u* in M. E. *vertu*. See Sweet's Second Eng. Primer, p. 3, where he gives the pronunciations of *newe* and *vertu* as (neeue) and (verteeu) respectively. Just as *newe* has become E. *new* (niuu), so the *-tue* in *vir-tue* has become (-tiu). In other words, the A. F. (yy) has disappeared, having given way to the sound of *ew*, which developed into (iuu), as heard in *cure*, *pure*, etc. It has come to much the same thing as if we had introduced the sound of (i) before the long *u* of the Lat. *cura*, *purus*; and, accordingly, this introductory sound of (i) is regularly heard where (long) *u* is written, except when an *r* or *l* precedes, when only the (uu) is heard, as in *cruel* (kruu'el), *exclude* (ekskluu'd). I shall take these cases separately.

§ 77. The usual E. long *u* (uu) in the A. S. *hūs*, M. E. *hous* (by the use of *ou* for *ū*), was regularly developed into (au), as in E. *house* (haus), by the insertion of *a* before the vowel, which produced a diphthong; see vol. i. § 46, p. 64. Consequently, the A. F. long *u*, when sounded as (uu), was developed in the same way, so that A. F. *gute*, M. E. *goute*, is E. *gout*. This has happened regularly in A. F. open syllables. The cases involving *un*, *ur*, require separate treatment. See also under **Ou** (§ 87), which is the late spelling of *ū*.

(1) *Cu-ard*, *cow-ard*, coward; *pru-esce*, M. E. *pruesse*, prowess; *bu-el-e*, *bow-el*, bowel; *ru-el-e*, rowel (of a spur); *tu-aile-le*, M. E. *toaille*, *towaille*, a towel; *vuu*, s., a vow; *vou-er*, to vow. *Cu-cher*, *co-cher*, to couch. *Es-pu-se*, spouse; *es-pu-sen*, to espouse. *Du-te*, M. E. *doute*, doubt (with *b* pedantically inserted); *gu-te*, gout; *ru-te*, rout (band of men). See also under **Ou**.

(2) **Un.** This is mixed up with the case of *on* (§ 69), because *on* and *un* often represented the same sound, viz. (un). There was in M. E. a strong tendency to turn (un) into (uun), mod. E. (aun), as in the case of A. S. *bunden*, E. *bounden*. This came to the same result as if the *u* had been long. I. e. both *on* (in some cases) and *un* became *ūn* (uun), and were consequently developed as *oun* (aun). All the cases can be taken together: *Renun*, renown. *Renuncer*, to renounce; *unce*, ounce. *Abunder*, to abound; *bunder*, to bound (fix a limit); *bundes*, *bondes*, *boundes*, bounds, limits; *soun*, a sound (with excrement *d*); *suner*, *soner*, to sound; *surunder*, to flood (L. R. 144), to surround.¹ *Cunseil*, *conseil*, counsel; *conseil*, *council*, council; *conseiller*, to counsel. *Acunte*, s., an account; *amunter*, *amouter*, to amount; *counte*, a count (earl); *cuntesse*, *contesse*, countess; *contē*, *countē*, county; *cunter*, *counter*, to count; *counte*, a count (in law-pleading); *contrepleder*, to counterplead; *encuntre*, s., an encounter; *funteine*, fountain; *recunter*, to recount; *munter*, to mount. See also under **Ou**.

(3) **Ur.** Here the *ū* is regularly developed into (au), but the *r* is liable to be untrilled, the result being (auə). *Devurer*, to devour; *flur*, a flower (also 'flour,' which is the same word). See also under **Ou** (§ 87).

§ 78. It has been shown that the A. F. *ū*, when written for long *ū* (yy) is developed into E. *u* (iuu, yuu), except when *r* or *l* precedes.²

(1) Taking the exceptions first, examples are: *acru*, pp. accrued (whence E. *accrue*, and the sb. *crew*, by loss of *a*; see § 42); *cruēl*, cruel; *cruēllē*, cruelty; *cruet*, cruet; *truant*, *truan*, (V.), truant; *rubi*, ruby; *crucifier*, to crucify; *crucifix*, crucifix; *prudence*, prudence; *rumour*, rumour: *scruple*, scruple; *scrupulus*, scrupulous; *bruser*, to bruise (bruuz), for

¹ See my paper on *surround*; Phil. Soc. Trans. 1882-4, p. 247.

² This rule only applies, as far as relates to *l*, to old words, such as *conclude* (konklood). In late words, the sound of *i* after *l* is apt to creep in. I hear both (soluu'shən) and (soluu'shən) for *solution*.

which see the New E. Dictionary; *intrusion*, intrusion. In the word *fruit*, the old spelling with *ui* was intended to indicate the old sound of (yi), i. e. *ū* + *i*, which was afterwards 'smoothed' to that of (yy), i. e. long *ū*; hence M. E. *fruit* (fryyt); and the spelling is retained, though it is pronounced as (fruut). [The same is true of A. F. *suite*, also *sute*, a 'suit' at law; but it is pronounced (siuut).] Examples in which *l* precedes *u* are: *blu*, *blew*, blue; *plume*, plume (pluum); *collusion*, collusion; *conclusion*, conclusion; *reclus*, recluse.

(2) Omitting the combination *ur*, the following examples involve the sound (iuu, yuu). *Annuilē*, annuity; *duēl*, duel; *eschure*, *eschuer*, to eschew (eschiuu; also eschuu); *pursiure*, *pursure*, to pursue; *suire*, M. E. *suēn*, to sue. *Duc*, duke. *Bugle* (horn), bugle. *Repugner*, to repugn. *Gule* (the throat), whence *gules* (?), *goules*, *gules* (in heraldry). *Humur*, humour. *Union*, union; *communion*, communion; *unitē*, unity. *Acuser*, to accuse; *excuser*, to excuse; *anusance*, *nusance*, nuisance; *musike*, music; *refuser*, to refuse; *usage*, usage; *us*, use; *user*, to use; *usure*, M. E. *usure*, also *usurie*, usury. *Confusioun*, confusion; *effusioun*, effusion. *Desputer*, to dispute; *duetē* (an obligation, L. A. 211), duty; *future*, future. So also *muet*, *mut*, mute; *suile*, *sute*, suit (at law).

(3) **Ur.** If a vowel follows *ur*, the *r* is trilled, as in *iurour*, juror. Otherwise, the *r* is untrilled, and we get the combination (iuuə). *Cure*, cure; *endurer*, to endure; *obscure*, obscure; *pure*, pure.

DIPHTHONGS.

§ 79. **Ai, ay.** The diphthong *ai* was originally sounded (ai), as written, i. e. with *a* (a) as in *father*, followed by short *i* (i). When another vowel followed, the (i) was liable to take the sound of *y* in *buoyant*, and it was convenient to write *ay* for it; as in A. F. *delayer*, to delay. The same symbol was usually employed at the end of a word, as in A. F. *lay*, a lay (song). This practice is now universal, so that we

now write *ay*, *ey*, or *oy* at the end of a word, but *ai*, *ei*, or *oi* in the middle. We may therefore consider *ai*, *ay* together.

It is probable that the sound of (ai) passed into that of (ei) generally, as we find that words such as *pais*, peace, *aise*, ease, are spelt *peis*, *eise*, in later texts¹; and still later, we find *pees*, *eese* (or *ese*), though this double change is not very common. At any rate, the old (ai) is now pronounced as (ei), though the spelling with *ai* or *ay* is retained. On the other hand, the old diphthong *ei* (ei) is often retained unaltered in modern English, as in *veyne*, *veine*, a vein; so that there is much confusion between the diphthongs *ai* and *ei*, and it will therefore be convenient to consider them in close connexion with each other. See § 80. In modern E., the spellings *ai* and *ei* are confused, and afford no sure guide to the etymology. *Array*, array; *arayer*, to array; *assai*, *asay*, assay (of victuals); *asayer*, to assay; *brayer*, to bray (as an ass); *delay*, delay; *guay*, *gay*, gay; *iay* (*i* as *j*), a jay; *lay*, lay (song); *paie*, s., pay; *paiement*, payment; *paer*, *paier*, to pay; *praie*, *praye*, prey; *rai*, *ray*, ray (of light); *raie*, *raye*, ray (a fish). *Aide*, aid; *aider*, to aid. *Waif*, waif. *Assailir*, to assail; *bailler*, to bail; *bailif*, a bailiff; *faillir*, to fail; *quaille*, *quayle*, a quail (bird); *taile*, tail (in a legal sense, as in *en-tail*); *taillour*, a tailor; *chaine*, *cheine*, a chain; *gain*, *gayne*, gain, s.; *gaðiner*, *gainer*, *gaigner*, to gain; *grain*, grain; *paine*, pain; *plain*, plain (flat ground); *plain*, plain, adj. (smooth); **remaindre*, *remeindre*, infin. remainder, sb.; *remain-* (present indic. stem of *remeindre*), remain²; *vain*, vain, adj. *Raisin*, raisin. **Await*, *aguait*, *agait*, await, s.; *caitif*, *caitiff*; *traiteur*, traitor. *Wayter*, *guaiter*, to wait; *wayte*, wait (a watchman).

¹ Schwan (§ 272) says that, in Central (continental) French *ai* passed into *e* (open *e*) in the former half of the thirteenth century, when *pais* is found riming with *apres*.

² In several cases, the E. verb is taken, not from the infinitive mood but from the present indicative, or rather from the stem of it. We find *remayn-ent*, 3 p. pl. pr. indic. : L. C. 62.

When the *ai* is followed by *r*, the *r* is usually untrilled in modern English, so that we get the combination (*eiə*). *Afaire*, affair; *pair*, pair.

§ 80. **Ei, ey.** As above noted, the sounds of *ai*, *ei* were confused. Accordingly some of the words given below are occasionally spelt with *ai*. The old sound of (*ei*), as in E. *vein*, *convey*, is still retained.

Affrei, *affray*, affray (also *fray*, by the loss of the former syllable); *conveier*, to convey; *obeier*, to obey; *purveier*, to purvey. *Feid*, *fei*, M. E. *feith*, *fey*, faith. *Veil*, veil. *Desdeigner*, to disdain; *demeine*, M. E. *demein*, Tudor Eng. *demain*, now altered to *domain* (by influence of late F. *domaine*); *destreindre*, to distrain; *feindre*, to feign; *ordeiner*, to ordain; *reines*, reins (part of the body); *remeindre*, to remain, also remainder, s.; *veyne*, vein; *aqueyntance*, acquaintance (with inserted *c* before *q*); *ateinte*, attain; *ateint*, pp. attained; *compleint*, complaint; *peynt*, paint; *pleinte*, plaint; *pleintif*, plaintiff; *queint*, quaint; *seint*, saint. *Preiser*, to praise; *estreit*, strait (narrow). *Weiver*, to waive.

When *ei* is followed by an untrilled *r*, we have the combination (*eiə*); *eir* and *air* being pronounced alike.

Despeir, s., despair; *empeirer*, to impair; *feire*, s., a fair; *heire*, an heir; *meire*, M. E. *meire*, *maire*, now oddly spelt *mayor* (by influence of Span. *mayor* ?); *preiere*, prayer; *repeirer* (for older * *repairer*), to repair.

The following words, viz. *aveir-de-peis*, *cheys*, choice, *peiser*, to poise (weigh), *veiage*, voyage, were replaced by continental F. forms, viz. by words derived from O. F. *avoir* and *pois*, *chois*. *poiser*, *voyage*. The difference between the A. F. *ei* and the O. F. *oi* is striking. So also we have both *convey* and *convoy*; *display* and *deploy*; *peitrel* and *poitrel*; *leal* and *loyal*; *realm* beside the adj. *royal*. The A. F. *peiser* is the origin of the verb to *peize* in Shak. Merch. Ven. iii. 2. 22; K. John ii. 1. 575; Rich. III. v. 3. 105.

There is also an A. F. *espleit* answering to E. *exploit*.

§ 81. We have now to consider the variations to which *ai*, *ay*, and *ei*, *ey* are subject. We have seen that they usually appear as (ei) in E.

(1) Under the action of the primary accent (eiz) is sometimes shortened to (ez). Examples are rare. *Leisir*, M. E. *leisir*, *leisere*, leisure (by influence of the later word *pleasure*). In the same way (ei) is shortened to (e) in A. F. *veirdit*, M. E. *verdit*, a verdict (with *c* inserted, by Latin influence). Cf. A. F. *meinoure*, M. E. *mainour*, in the phrase 'pris ou meinoure,' S. R. 161, i.e. 'taken with the *mainour*'; this should accordingly have become *mennor* (menər), but has been turned into *manner* by confusion with *manner* from A. F. *manere*. It is an A. F. translation of Lat. *in manuopera captus*, taken in the act or performance. And again, *ai* is shortened to *a* (æ) in *taille*, a tally; *vaillant*, valiant.

(2) In a few cases, both *ai* and *ei* have become (ii) in modern English. A. F. *kaië*, M. E. *quay* (= *kay*), a quay (kii). *Plait*, *plai*, M. E. *play*, *plee*, a plea; *trailer*, to treat.

Deceit, deceit; *deceivre*, to deceive; *receite*, receipt (with pedantically inserted *p*); *receivre*, to receive; *seisir*, to seize; *seisine*, seisin; *seison*, *sesoun*, season; *raisoun*, *reison*, *resoun*, M. E. *resoun*, reason; *traison*, *treison*, *tresoun*, treason. So also *aïse*, *eise*, *ese*, ease.

It is also worth while to note that *ai*, *ei* may result from contraction in some of the above words. We may here consider together various A. F. diphthongs and triphthongs, which bring about forms usually represented in mod. E. by the sounds (ei) and (ii).

Ahai. A. F. *mahaigne*, *mahaym*, *maheime*, M. E. *maim*, a maim, maiming (spelt *mahim* in Blount's *Nomolexicon*); *mahaymer*, *maymer*, *mayner*, to maim. Cf. *y-mayheymed*, pp., in P. Plowman, B. xvii. 189 (MS. C.).

Ai-e, ay-e. *Grayël* (a service-book, also called a gradual), a grail (obsolete); *quai-er*, a quire (kwaïə) of paper.

Æ. *Flaël*, a flail (Godefroy; cf. the pp. *flaele*, beaten, W. W. 5676); *paële*, a frying-pan, a peel (baker's shovel). Cf. *chaëine*, older form of *chaine*, a chain.

Ē. The diphthong *ē* is sometimes written, in a later form, *ee*; it becomes (ii) in E. *Feälte* (faithfulness), fealty (*fiælti*, *fi·lti*); *leäl* (loyal), leal; *creätüre*, M. E. *créätüre*, creature (*krii·chæ*); *reälme*, realm (*reälm*). See § 61.

Ē. The *e-e* which arose from a consonant being lost between the two vowels became simple *ē*, by contraction, as in *deēn*, *dēn*, dean; *meēn*, *mēn*, adj. mean (intermediate); *seēl*, *sēl*, seal. Similarly, *ei* became *ee* or *ē*, as *aīse*, *eīse*, *eēse*, ease; *paīs*, *peīs*, *pees*, peace. See § 61.

AO, eio. *Gaole*, *geiole*, gaol (*jeil*).

§ 82. **AU.** (1) In the combinations *aum*, *aun*, the *au* is usually the result of slightly lengthening *a* whilst at the same time giving the vowel a somewhat nasal sound. In this way *aum*, *aun* arise from an earlier *am* or *an*; § 50 and § 51 (3). A. F. exhibits this in a considerable number of words in which the mod. E. form is really derived from *am* or *an*, pronounced (*æm*) or (*æn*). Thus we find A. F. *raumper*, to ramp, whence 'rampant'¹; *saumon*, a salmon; *abaundoner*, as well as *abandoner*, to abandon; *fraunkelayn*, for *frankelayn*, a franklin; *a raundoun* as well as *de randun*, at random (properly *at randon*). Similar, but with the modern sound (*ei*), are the examples: *chaunge*, as well as *change*, change; *graunge*, as well as *grange*, grange.

(2) It is owing to this nasal sound that we find *a* lengthened into modern (*aa*) before *n*, as in these cases: *aunte*, aunt; *braunche*, branch; *chaunce*, chance; *chaunceler*, chancellor; *traunce*, trance; *chaundeler*, chandler, *chaunt*, chant; *remaunder*, to remand (*rimaa·nd*, *rimænd·*); *esclaundre*, slander (*slaa·ndæ*, rather than *slæn·dee*). For further examples, see § 51.

¹ But E. *romp* fairly represents A. F. *raumper*.

(3) We find the same effect still more strongly marked in the words in which *aun* is pronounced (aon). Examples are : *avant*, *avaunt*, *avaunt* ; *hanter*, *haunter*, to haunt ; *lande* (land, plain), *launde*, M. E. *launde*, a lawn (by loss of *d*). So also *danter*, to daunt ; *espandre*, to spawn ; *vanter*, to vaunt ; already noted in § 51. Similarly, *lavender*, a washerwoman, was contracted into M. E. *launder* (also *lavender*) ; and, by addition of the fem. suffix *-ess*, has given E. *laundress*, short for *launder-ess*.

(4) But when *m* or *n* does not succeed *au*, the diphthong *au* must be original in A. F., or (as will be seen hereafter) is due to an earlier *al*. In modern E., the corresponding diphthong is also written *au* ; but the sound has changed from (au), i. e. the *ou* in *house*, to (ao), i. e. the *au* in *cause*.

Daubour, dauber ; *hauberc*, hauberk. *Faucoun*, M. E. *faukon*, *faucon*, falcon (with *l* pedantically substituted for *u*). *Audience*, audience ; *auditour*, auditor ; *fraude*, fraud. *Augurer*, to augur. *Cause*, cause ; *clause*, clause. To these we must add two words containing the combination *aun* in which the *au* is original as far as A. F. is concerned, viz. *braun* (= *bra-ün*), brawn ; *iauniz*, M. E. *iaunys* (*i=j*), jaundice. *Gaude* (trinket), gaud, is a late word.

(5) It is remarkable that, in a few words involving *au*, the modern E. has forms in which the *u* is neglected. Thus E. *save* is from *sauver*, to save, occasionally spelt *saver*, as in S. R. 141 (A. D. 1300) ; and *safety* answers to *sauveté*. *Chafe* answers to *se chauffer*, to warm oneself, M. E. *chaufen*, to warm. For the A. F. *gauger* we still write *to gauge*, and for A. F. *gaugeour* we have *gauger*, but we pronounce the words as (geij) and (gei:jəə). Cf. A. F. *chambre*, *chaumbre*, E. *chamber*.

§ 83. **Eu.** We have seen in § 75 that the sound of A. F. *u*, when denoting (yy), was drawn towards that of the E. *ew*, and both are now represented by (iuu), with the stress on the second element. The A. F. *eu* also resembled the E. *ew*,

and must soon have coincided with it ; it has therefore become (iuu), in the same way. It was usual to write *ew* for *eu* before another vowel, and sometimes at the end of a word ; hence we do the same in modern English, as in *jewel*, *Jew*.

(1) *Adeu*, adieu ; *Geu*, Jew. *Ewere*, ewer ; *fewaile*, fuel. *Deus* (two), deuce (in dice-play) ; *Deus* (God), deuce (as an exclamation). *Beutē*, M. E. *bewtē*, beauty (conformed in spelling to late F. *beauté*).

(2) After *r* the (i)-sound disappears ; as in *reule*, M. E. *reule*, *riwle*, rule (ruul).

(3) The E. combination *su* (siuu) necessarily becomes (shuu). *Seur*, sure ; *seurtē*, surety ; *asseurer*, to assure. Cf. sugar (F. *sucre*).

(4) *Iupartie*, B. i. 318, also *iupardie*, Y. f. 171, jeopardy. In this word, the M. E. forms varied ; we find both *iupartie* or *iupardie*, and *iepardie* ; and even *iopardie*, *ieopardie*, the diphthong *eu* being variously shortened under stress. We have really adopted the form *jeopardy* in our speech, but we still use, in writing, the old form with *jeo-*.

Iew, ew, iw. Varieties of *eu*. *Veue*, Y. a. 165, *vewe*, Y. a. 67, *view*, L. A. 182, a view (viuu). *Trewes*, *triwes*, a truce¹. See also **Ui** in § 89.

§ 84. **Ie.** In this combination, the stress on the former element was extremely slight, the sound being (iee), with the stress on (ee). Hence it was developed just like (ee), and has now become (ii). It is chiefly remarkable for the fact that we retain the *i* in spelling, though we sound *ie* like *e* in *scene*, thus practically neglecting the *i* altogether. Hence its appearance in such a word as *feld*, which results from M. E. *feld* by lengthening the *e* into *ē=ee* ; the A. S. form being *fēld*.

Niece, *nece*, niece ; *piece*, *pece*, a piece. *Chief*, chief ; *grief*, *gref*, grief ; *relief*, *relef*, relief. *Siege*, *sege*, siege. *Piere*,

¹ *Truce* is really a plural noun ; and the A. F. word, also found in the singular in the form *trewē*, was probably an adaptation of O. H. G. *triunwa*, a compact, lit. a true thing.

M. E. *pere*, a pier; the spelling with *ie* is the more remarkable because the usual M. E. spelling is with *e*. See § 61 (2).

85. Oe, eo. It is difficult to know precisely what is meant by *oe*. *Oe* seems to have represented at first the sound (oè), and, somewhat later, the sound of F. *eu* in *peuple*; after which it was usually smoothed into the monophthong denoted by M. E. long *e*. Cf. § 25, p. 38. The spelling *eo* denoted a diphthong in which *e* was the prominent vowel, and which hardly differed from M. E. long *e*.

A. F. *oetaves*, *utaves*, *utavs*, meaning the 'octaves' of a festival, answers to *utas*, as used by Palsgrave in 1530, who gives: 'Utas of a feest, *octauues*.' This is generally given as the origin of *utis*, in Shakespeare, 2 Hen. IV. ii. 4. 22, where the sense is 'merriment.' We find A. F. *beof*, *bef*, beef, of which the original form was *boef*. The verb 'to move' shows various forms, viz. *mover*, *muver*, *remoever*, *remover*, to remove, *meovement*, movement. Owing to this uncertainty, we find various forms in M. E., viz. *moven*, *meoven*, *meven*¹, P. Pl. B. 17. 194. These forms would have given *move* and *meve* in mod. E., but *meve* is obsolete. So also A. F. *prover*, *pruver*, is M. E. *proven*, *preoven*, *preven*, whence we might have had both *prove* and *preve*; but *preve* is obsolete. It is curious that there is also an A. S. *prōsian*, borrowed from Latin *probare*. Besides which, the form *preve* is preserved in the compound *repreve* (Palsgrave), now spelt *reprieve*. Similarly we have the verb *retrieve*, formerly *retreue* (Palsgrave), corresponding to an O. F. *retreuver*; cf. A. F. *troever*, *trover*, to find, B. i. 45, 27. Chaucer speaks of blowing a 'moot' upon a horn, being the name of a peculiar blast blown by a huntsman; Book Duch., 376. The A. F. word is *meot*, F. F. 373. Shakespeare's *affeer* (Macb. iv. 3. 34) answers to an A. F. *affeurer*, to fix a price, to confirm, Y. f. 215; from *foer*,

¹ *Moven* and *meven* are from different stems. Thus Lat. *mouere* (with *o* unaccented) answers to A. F. *mover*, F. *mouvoir*; whilst Lat. *mouent* (with *o* accented) answers to F. *meuvent* (cf. A. F. *meovement*).

value, L. C. 304. We also find A. F. *soeffrir*, as well as *suffrir*, to suffer; *coeverfu*, as well as *courefeu*, *couverfeu*, curfew; *rekeverir* as well as *recoverir*, to recover; cf. M. E. *keveren* as well as *coveren*, to cover; and A. F. *keverchief*, a kerchief.

The equivalence of *eo* to simple long *e* is shown in *feof*, a fief, with which compare *feoffē*, *seffē*, a feoffee; *seffement*, a feoffment; *people*, M. E. *people*, *pēple*, people (in which the *eo* is still written). Compare also the various spellings of 'jeopardy' in § 83.

It is clear that A. F. *oe* corresponded exactly to no sound in English; but was developed into a M. E. *ē*, which was sometimes written *eo*; as in *beof*, beef, from *boef*.

86. Oi, oy. This sound at first varied, according as the *o* was open or close. To the former class belongs A. F. *ioie*, in which the *oi* hardly differed from the *oy* in E. *joy*. In F. *joie*, the *oi* has suffered further change.

(1) *Coy*, *coy*; *ioie* (with *i=f*), *joy*; *enjoier*, to enjoy. So O. F. *boye*, a buoy, B. B. i. 45 (a late word in E.). *Voice*, voice; *voide*, adj., void; *volder*, to void; *voidance*, voidance. *Assoile*, 1. p. s. pr., I assoil; *boillir*, to boil; *despoiller*, to despoil; *espoilles*, s. pl., spoils; *foille* (a leaf), foil; *moiller* (to wet, L. A. 724), M. E. *moillen*, to wet, E. *moil* (to drudge, as in wet); *oile*, *oille*, oil; *soil*, *soyl*, soil. *Adjoindre*, to adjoin; *coign*, *coyng*, coin; *enoint*, pp., anointed; *ioindre*, to join; *oignement*, ointment, with excrescent *t*; *point*, point. *Noise*, noise; *cloistre*, cloister; *oistre*, oyster; *poison*, poison.

In some cases, the *oi* took the place of an earlier *ei*. Thus, Gaymar has *empleier*, l. 2064; but in the Statutes of the Realm, i. 338 (A.D. 1353), we find *emploier*, to employ. *Leäl* (S. R. 29, A.D. 1275), more correctly *leial*, gave way to *loial* (S. R. 132, A.D. 1299). *Peiser*, to weigh (S. R. 218, ab. 1284), gave way to *poiser*, to poise (used at the same reference). *Veiage*, M. E. *viage*, gave way to *voyage*, voyage. *Meytē* (a half, Y. a. 219) was supplanted by *moytē* (Y. b. 441), a moiety (with inserted *e*). Here *ei* is the A. F. sound, and *oi* was due to continental influence.

(2) A few exceptional forms may be noticed here. *Iotal*, *iuel* ($i=j$), M. E. *iuel*, a jewel. *Coiller*, *cuillir*, to coil, (also) to cull; we find M. E. *cullen*, but not *coillen*, which we might expect to find. *Oynoun*, M. E. *oinoun*, onion. *Coille*, *cuilte*, a quilt. We may here note the curious occasional use of *quoi* for *coi* in English. Thus we find *quoil* for *coil*, a tumult (Halliwell); *quoif* for *coif* (id.); *quoin*, a printer's wedge, the same word as coin; *quoit*, better spelt *coit*. Cf. *quay* = *key* (kii); etc.

§ 87. **Ou, ow.** Even if the combination *ou* was once diphthongal (ou), it soon passed into simple long *u* (uu), and was developed in the same way. Indeed, it was used as a symbol for \bar{u} even in words of A.S. origin; as, *hūs*, M. E. *hous*, a house (haus). Hence the modern sound into which it is regularly developed is (au); see § 76. In one particular instance we find *ou* written instead of long open *o* before a double *l*, viz. in the word *roule* for *rolle*, a roll; see the note in Littré on the etymology of *rouler*, and see (4) below. Before a vowel, *ou* was written as *ow*; in mod. E. it is also written *ow* before a vowel and at the end of a word, as in *vowel*, *vow*. We even write *toun* for *toun*, and *powder* for *pouder*.

(1) *Alower*, to allow (əlau); *avower*, to avow; *avouëson*, advowson (with lost *e*, and inserted *d*); *bowel*, bowel; *emboweler*, to embowel; *dower*, dower; *poër*, *pouer*, *power*, power. *Voucher*, to vouch. *Poudre*, powder. *Hour*, hour; *flour*, flour, flower; *tour*, tower (in which the untrilled *r* gives the combination (auə)). *Ouster*, to oust. *Doute*, doubt (with inserted *b*); *outrage*, outrage. So also E. *housing* (horse-trapping) was formed from A. F. *huces*, *houces*, mantles, coverings¹.

(2) In the combination *oun*, the *ou* is merely lengthened from the *o* in *on*, or the *u* in *un*; see § 69. I have already given instances; but may here note the following:—

Acounte, s., account; *amounter*, to amount; *bountē*, bounty;

¹ I here note the curious forms *powe*, a paw, F. F. 383; *howe*, a hoe, W. W. 1451.

countē, county; *countenance*, countenance; *foundre*, to found (to melt metals); *founder*, to found (establish); *foundour*, founder (establisher); *goune*, gown; *noun* (a name), noun; *mountaigne*, mountain.

(3) Sometimes the *ou* is a mere variety of short *u*, it is then developed, in the same way, into the obscure vowel (ə); see § 74 (3). So also *frount*, *front*, *frunt*, front; *coureour*, a currier; *moustre*, a sample, L. A. 696, whence the phrase 'to pass *muster*,' i. e. to come up to the sample, to bear inspection.

(4) Sometimes *oul* is another spelling for *oll* (§ 72). Thus we find *roule*, *rolle*, a roll; *enrouler*, *enroller*, to enroll. Our word *scroll* is a diminutive of the law-term *scrow* or *escrow*, M. E. *scrowe*, A. F. *escrouwe*, with a dimin. form *escrouet*.

(5) We find *our* for *or* before another consonant; as in *enfourmer* for *enformer*, to inform; see § 70 (3). Also for *ur* before *s*, *t*; as in *cours*, *court*, for *curs*, *curt*; see § 75.

§ 88. **Ua.** This occurs in *assuager*, to assuage, S. R. 186.

§ 89. **Ui.** (1) This occurs in a few words, where mod. E. has *oi*, *oy*. *Destruire*, M. E. *destruiē*, to destroy; *esnui*, s., M. E. *anoy*, annoy; *esnuiet*, *ennuyer*, M. E. *annoyen*, *anoyen*, to annoy; *bruiller*, to broil; *muiller*, *moiller*, (to wet), to moil (to toil in wet); *recuiller*, to recoil. The sound was probably (ói) in these words, passing into E. (oi). *Ui* also denoted (yi), i. e. the sound of G. *ü* in *schützen* followed by short (i), as in A. F. *fruit*.

(2) In the word *fruit*, the sound became first (fryyt), with (yy) as in G. *grün* (gryyn), and afterwards (fruut), as at present; see § 78.

(3) The curious word *pui*, a stage, platform, was probably developed, first as (pyy'i), then as M. E. *pew-e*, and then became monosyllabic. It is certainly the original of E. *pew*; see *Liber Custumarum*, 216, and the Glossary. In the same way we have obtained our *puny* from the O. F. *puisnē*,

lit. 'born after,' hence, younger, inferior, the *s* being dropped as usual, before the nasal.

§ 90. **Unaccented syllables.** In all the examples given above, the vowel-changes or developments have been exemplified in the syllable which *now* receives the accent, as this is, in the present form, the most important syllable in a word. With regard to the unaccented syllables of words of A. F. origin, it is almost sufficient to say that, in the modern forms, such syllables are invariably weaker and slighter than they were originally. A few instances may suffice to show the kind of changes thus produced. The following list is by no means exhaustive; it is only intended by way of illustration.

Suffix -y. It has been shown, in § 44, that there are certain words, such as *enemy*, *mercy*, which in Chaucer end in *-y*, whilst others end in *-y-e*, such as *fol-y-e*, *compan-y-e*. In modern English, the final *-e* is invariably lost, so that these two sets of words now rime together, and a poet is allowed to pair off *enemy* with *company*, if he has no objection to ending his line with a rather weak syllable. But besides this, there was a considerable class of words ending, in A. F., in *ē* or *ēē*, for which *y* has since been substituted. Chaucer has a long list of them, viz. such as *adversitee*, *beautee*, *destinee*, *deyntee*, *difficultee*, *dignitee*, *diversitee*, *divinitee*, *entree*, *equitee*, *facultee*, *felicitee*, etc. This last set all rimed with such words as the verb *be*, whereas the word *enemy* rimed with the preposition *by*. Hence, in modern English, the substantives in *-y* are allowed to rime with either *be* or *by*. In Southey's *Battle of Blenheim*, we read—

“'Tis some poor fellow's skull,” said he,
Who fell in the great victory.’

On the other hand, in Scott's *Marmion* we read—

‘A light on Marmion's visage spread,
And fired his glazing eye:
With dying hand, above his head,
He shook the fragment of his blade,
And shouted “Victory!”’

We thus see that the three A. F. endings, viz. *-i*, *-i-e*, and *-ee*, are all 'levelled' under the E. ending *-y*, usually pronounced as short (i), as in *beauty* (biuu'ti), but occasionally lengthened into (ii) in poetry under the secondary accent, and allowed to rime with words ending either with the sound (ai) or with the sound (ii).

Suffix -ce, etc. In the suffix *-ce*, the vowel *e* is lost, and all words that once contained it are shortened by one syllable at least. The same remark is true of every suffix terminating in *-e*. Thus A. F. *gra-ce* is now *grace*, *vi-ce* is now *vice*, *chan-ce* is now *chance*, etc. The syllable preceding the *-ce* is frequently weakened; thus *bal-dun-ce* is now *bálance*; *cre-vá-ce* is now *crévice*. In a like manner *fran-ché-se* is now *fránchise*; *par-o-che* is *párish*; and *im-á-ge* is *ímage*. *Cár-i-ā-ge* is cut down to *carriage* (kær'ij).

Suffix -ail-e. Of this suffix, once dissyllabic, very often nothing more is left than a vocalic *l*. Thus *bat-aíl-e* is *battle* (bæt'l); and *vit-aíl-e* is *vittle* (vit'l), usually spelt *victual*, by an absurd pedantry. Cf. *rascaile*, rascal; *tuaille*, towel; *fewaille*, fuel; *apparaile*, apparel.

Suffixes with n. *Ma-tró-ne*, matron; *funt-aín-e*, fountain; *bar-at-ne*, barren. *Chap-e-lein*, chaplain; *chest-ein* (-nut), chestnut, chesnut; *en-seig-ne*, ensign. The suffix *-oun* is much lightened; hence *blas-oun* becomes *blazon*; and all words in *-ci-oun* now end in *-tion*, pronounced as (-shən), or as (-shn), with vocalic *n*. So also *con-clu-si-oun* becomes *conclusion* (konkluu'zhn); *ben-e-i-con* is *benison*; O. F. *mal-e-i-con* is *malison*; *ven-i-son* is *venison* (ven'zn).

Suffixes with r. The suffix *-our* was confused with A. S. *-ere*, and frequently becomes *-er*. Hence *barbour*, barber; *daubour*, dauber; *meinour*, manner (in the phrase 'taken with the manner'); *juggleour*, juggler; *abrocour*, broker. Where F. has the suffix *-aire*, the A. F. form was *-arié*, whence E. *-ary*; cf. A. F. *adversarié*, E. *adversary*. The accent was formerly on the *a* of *-árié*; a trace of which we

still see in the prov. E. *contrary*. The later A. F. sometimes has *-aire*, as in *vicaire*; hence E. *vicar*. The oldest A. F. form *armellure* gave way to a later *armure*, *armoure*; hence E. *armour*. A. F. *mireür* became M. E. *mirour*; hence E. *mirror*. A. F. *na-tür-e* is now *nature* (nei'chæ).

§ 91. **Consonantal changes.** As E. is really spelt with A. F. symbols, the consonantal changes are very few, at any rate in appearance. Indeed, we have kept up the old sounds of *ch* and *j* (written *i*) which in France have become (sh) and (zh) respectively. The old A. F. *z=ts* is lost, though traces of it are seen in E. *fitz* for A. F. *fiz*, and in E. *assets* for A. F. *assez*, i. e. sufficient; we now use *z* only in the F. manner, i. e. as *z* in *zone*. Initial *h* is dropped in *ermine*, A. F. *hermine*¹, and is sometimes silent as in *hour*, *heir*, etc. Still there are some words of A. F. origin in which it has the full force of an E. aspirate, as in *hackney*, *hamlet*, *hardy*, *harness*, *haste*, *hauberk*, *haunt*, *hazard*, *huge*, *hurt*; none of these being of Latin origin. We even aspirate *h* in the case of several words that are of Latin origin; as in *habit*, *haughty*, *hearse*, *hideous*, *homage*, *homicide*, *horrible*, *hospital*, *host*, *hostage*, *hostel*, *human*, *humid*, evidently because a silent initial *h* before a stressed vowel is opposed to the habits of the language. Even *humble* and *herb* are seldom heard with the silent *h* any longer. We also pronounce it in A. F. words of Greek origin, as in *hermit*, *heresy*, *history*, *hulk*, *hypocrite*, *hyssop*.

§ 92. Perhaps the most remarkable, but not universal, sound-change is the change of A. F. *ss* into E. *sh*. This is particularly striking in the case of the verbs that are derived from 'inceptive' stems; so called because they correspond to the inceptive stem *-sc-ere* of Latin verbs. Thus, whilst we have A. F. *flurir*, *florir*, answering to Lat. *florere*, we also find the A. F. stem *floriss-* (appearing, for example, in the present

¹ Cf. also *able*, M. E. *hable* (not an early word), from O. F. *hable*. In A. F. *hermine* and O. F. *hable*, the *h* was silent.

plural indic. *floriss-ons*, and the present participle *floriss-ant*), corresponding to the Lat. inceptive verb *florescere*. In every case, we have turned the A. F. *ss* into E. *sh*; hence the verbs *accomplish*, *banish*, *blandish*, *blemish*, *brandish*, *burnish*, *cherish*, *establisth*, *finish*, *flourish*, *furbish*, *furnish*, *garmish*, *languish*, *nourish*, *polish*, *punish*, *ravish*, *relinquish*, *skirmish*, *vanish*; with some others, imitative of these, of later origin. By analogy with these, the A. F. *amenuser*, M. E. *menusen*, was turned into *minish*; the A. F. *amonester*, M. E. *amonesten*, later *amonessen*, was turned into *amonish*, and, finally, into *admonish*; whilst the M. E. *astomien*, to *astonie*, or *astony*, has acquired a by-form, *to astonish*. So also A. F. *anguisse* is now *anguish*; A. F. *busselle*, L. A. 267, is now *bushel*; A. F. *quasser* is E. *quash*; O. F. *pousser* (A. F. * *pusser*) is E. *push*; and A. F. *usser*, G. 5995, is now *usher*. Even a single final *s* has become *sh* in A. F. and M. E. *robous*, E. *rubbish*. We may also note A. F. *faceon*, *facoun* (with *c* as *s*), E. *fashion*; A. F. *truncun* (with *c* as *s*), E. *truncheon* (*trən'shən*); A. F. *paroche*, E. *parish*. Similarly, A. F. *s* has become (*zh*) between two vowels (the latter being *u*) in *mesure*, *measure*; by analogy with which, A. F. *tresor*, *leisir*, have been turned into E. *treasure*, *leisure*.

Final *f* is lost in *jolly*, from A. F. *iòlif*, later *ioly* (with *i* as *j*); and in *hasty*, A. F. *hastif*. Final *n* is lost in *haughty*, A. F. *hautein*; the *gh* is a meaningless insertion, perhaps due to association with *high*.

Final *s* is entirely lost in the sb. *rescue* (M. E. *rescous*, A. F. *rescouse*); but this may be due to the form of the verb, A. F. *rescure*. Final *l* is lost in A. F. *conil*, a rabbit, M. E. *cony*, later *coney*. The spelling of M. E. *valiant*, E. *valiant*, suggests that the *ll* of A. F. *vaillant* was sounded as the E. *lli* in *million*; the word *brilliant*, from F. *brillant*, was not in use before the seventeenth century. The silent *s* in such words as A. F. *masle*, *blasmer*, *disner*, has disappeared in the E. *male*, *blame*, *dine*; but is written in *demesne* and *isle* and

viscount. This *s* was sounded as (*z*) in early A. F., but not for long. Cf. § 163 below.

§ 93. **Inserted consonants.** There are a few cases in which consonants have been inserted, chiefly by pedants, and from mistaken ideas as to 'etymology,' into A. F. forms. Examples are of two kinds: (1) those in which the true pronunciation has been kept up, ignoring such insertions; and (2) those in which the inserted consonant has at last succeeded in vitiating the old pronunciation. In the first class we may place such words as *Christ*, *Christian*, A. F. *Crist*, *Cristien*; *chronicle*, A. F. *cronicle*; *chrysolite*, A. F. *crisolite*; *debt* (det), A. F. *dette*; *doubt* (daut), A. F. *doute*; *falcon* (fao'kn), A. F. *faucon*; *delight*, Anglicised spelling of A. F. *delit*; *indict*, Latinised spelling of A. F. *enditer*; *receipt*, A. F. *receite*; *salmon*, A. F. *saumon*; *subtle*, A. F. *sotil*; *victual*, A. F. *vitaille*. In the second class are: *fault*, from M. E. and A. F. *faute*; *language* (with inserted *u*), from A. F. *langage*; *ointment* (with excrescent *t* after *n*), from A. F. *oinement*; *subject*, Latinised spelling of M. E. *subiet*, A. F. *subgit*, *subget*; *truant*, with excrescent *t*, from A. F. *truan*; *verdict*, Latinised spelling of A. F. *veirdit*. I have already mentioned the change of A. F. *femele* into *female*, by confusion with *male*.

In some cases, letters have been inserted purely for phonetic reasons, to mark the pronunciation more clearly. The most remarkable of such insertions are the *d* before *ge*, as in *lodge*, *judge*, and the *t* before *ch*, in *butcher*, *fletcher*, *velch*; also *c* before *k*, in *peck*, from A. F. *pek*; and the *k* after *c* in *buckle*, from A. F. *bucle*. *Flower* seems also to be a more phonetic spelling than *flour*, and to be better associated with *bower*; yet *flour* and *flower* are merely varied spellings of one and the same word.

CHAPTER VII.

ON SOME CHANGES IN PRONUNCIATION.

§ 94. In vol. i. § 313, p. 340, I have given a table showing the commoner changes in English words of A. S. origin; including the forms and spellings of certain characteristic words in the A. S., the M. E., and the modern period. In the same way a table may be given showing the changes of certain words in the A. F., the M. E., and the modern period likewise. The words in *italics* represent actual spellings, i. e. the *forms*: whilst the words in Roman letters represent the pronunciations according to the romic scheme (as slightly modified in § 312), i. e. the *sounds*. The curl over an *a* or *e* (as *ǣ* or *ǝ*) indicates a nasal sound of the vowel.

ANGLO-FRENCH.	MIDDLE ENGLISH.	MODERN ENGLISH.
<i>lampe</i> (lǣmpǝ)	<i>lampe</i> (lampǝ)	<i>lamp</i> (læmp)
<i>palmer</i> (palmer)	<i>palmer</i> (palmer)	<i>palmer</i> (paamǝ)
<i>fals</i> (fals)	<i>fals</i> (fals)	<i>false</i> (faols)
<i>lance</i> (lānsǝ)	<i>lance</i> (laansǝ, lānsǝ)	<i>lance</i> (laans)
5 <i>art</i> (art)	<i>art</i> (art)	<i>art</i> (aat)
<i>parent</i> (parǣnt)	<i>parent</i> (parent)	<i>parent</i> (paerǣnt)
<i>passer</i> (passer)	<i>passen</i> (passǝn)	<i>pass</i> (paas)
<i>fame</i> (faama)	<i>fame</i> (faamǝ)	<i>fame</i> (feim)
<i>secund</i> (sekūnd)	<i>second</i> (sekund)	<i>second</i> (seknd)
10 <i>renc</i> (rēnk) ¹	<i>renk</i> (rēnk, rank) ¹	<i>rank</i> (rænk)
<i>merci</i> (mersii)	<i>mercy</i> (mersi)	<i>mercy</i> (mǣsi)
<i>gerner</i> (gerner)	<i>gerner</i> (gerner)	<i>garner</i> (gaanǝ)
<i>veel</i> (ve-el)	<i>veel</i> (vael)	<i>veal</i> (viil)
<i>degree</i> (degree)	<i>degree</i> (degree)	<i>degree</i> (digrii)
15 <i>peine</i> (peinǝ)	<i>peyne</i> (peinǝ)	<i>pain</i> (pein)
<i>prince</i> (prinsǝ)	<i>prince</i> (prinsǝ)	<i>prince</i> (prins)
<i>cri</i> (krii)	<i>cry</i> (krii)	<i>cry</i> (krai)

¹ The *e* had a *nasal* sound; whence the change to (æ) in E. *rank*.

ANGLO-FRENCH.	MIDDLE ENGLISH.	MODERN ENGLISH.
<i>honur</i> (onuur)	<i>honour</i> (onuur)	<i>honour</i> (onə)
<i>forme</i> (furmə)	<i>forme</i> (faormə)	<i>form</i> (faom)
20 <i>trompe</i> (trumpə)	<i>trompe</i> (trumpə)	<i>trump</i> (trəmp)
<i>fol</i> (fol)	<i>fol</i> (fol, fool)	<i>fool</i> (fuul)
<i>robe</i> (raobə)	<i>robe</i> (raobə)	<i>robe</i> (roub)
<i>iuge</i> (jyǝ)	<i>iuge</i> (jygə, juǝ)	<i>judge</i> (ǝǝ)
<i>bulle</i> (bullə)	<i>bulle</i> (bullə)	<i>bull</i> (bul)
25 <i>turner</i> (turner)	<i>turnen</i> (turnən)	<i>turn</i> (təən)
<i>unce</i> (unsə)	<i>ounce</i> (uunsə)	<i>ounce</i> (auns)
<i>cure</i> (kyyrə)	<i>cure</i> (kyyrə)	<i>cure</i> (kiuuə)
<i>plume</i> (plyymə)	<i>plume</i> (plyymə, pluumə)	<i>plume</i> (pluum)
<i>lay</i> (lai)	<i>lay</i> (lai, lei)	<i>lay</i> (lei)
30 <i>plait</i> (plait)	<i>play</i> , <i>plee</i> (plai, plei, plæ)	<i>plea</i> (plii)
<i>cause</i> (kauzə)	<i>cause</i> (kauzə)	<i>cause</i> (kaoz)
<i>aunte</i> (auntə)	<i>aunte</i> (auntə)	<i>aunt</i> (aant)
<i>seel</i> (seēl)	<i>seel</i> (sael)	<i>seal</i> (siil)
<i>veil</i> (veil)	<i>veile</i> (veilə)	<i>veil</i> (veil)
35 <i>heire</i> (eir)	<i>heire</i> (eirə)	<i>heir</i> (aeə)
<i>seiser</i> (seizer)	<i>sesen</i> (seezən)	<i>seize</i> (siiz)
<i>bente</i> (bentee)	<i>bewtee</i> (beutee)	<i>beauty</i> (biuuti)
<i>chief</i> (chiēf)	<i>cheef</i> (cheef)	<i>chief</i> (chiif)
<i>voice</i> (vois)	<i>voice</i> , <i>vois</i> (vois)	<i>voice</i> (vois)
40 <i>poudre</i> (puandrə)	<i>poudre</i> (puandrə)	<i>powder</i> (pauɔə)
<i>rolle</i> (rolə)	<i>rolle</i> (raolə)	<i>roll</i> (roul).

§ 95. If we compare the above words, especially in the M. E. forms, with words of A. S. origin, we can find similar developments in a great number of cases. Thus with example 1 in § 94, we may compare A. S. *mann*, a man; and we may tabulate the results thus:—

OLD ENGLISH.	MIDDLE ENGLISH.	MODERN ENGLISH.
<i>mann</i> (mann)	<i>man</i> (man)	<i>man</i> (mænn)
<i>healf</i> (healf) ¹	<i>half</i> (half)	<i>half</i> (haaf)
<i>heall</i> (heal) ¹	<i>halle</i> (hallə)	<i>hall</i> (haol)
<i>plantian</i> (plantian)	<i>planten</i> (plantən)	<i>plant</i> (plaant)

¹ *Healf*, *heall* are A. S. (Southern); the Northern forms were *half*, *hall*; and so, probably, were the Midland.

	OLD ENGLISH.	MIDDLE ENGLISH.	MODERN ENGLISH.
5	<i>heard</i> (heard) ¹	<i>hard</i> (hard)	<i>hard</i> (hæd, haad)
	<i>starian</i> (starian)	<i>staren</i> (starən)	<i>stare</i> (staeə)
	<i>assa</i> (assa)	<i>asse</i> (assə)	<i>ass</i> (aas)
	<i>name</i> (nama)	<i>name</i> (naamə)	<i>name</i> (neim)
	<i>hnecca</i> (hnekka)	<i>nekke</i> (nekkə)	<i>neck</i> (nek)
10	<i>dranc</i> (drangk)	<i>drank</i> (drangk)	<i>drank</i> (drængk)

(Note the variation here; there is no A. S. sound like A. F. *ẽn*.)

	<i>cerfille</i> (kervillə)	<i>chervelle</i> (chervellə)	<i>chervil</i> (chævil)
	(The A. S. usually has <i>eo</i> , as in <i>ceorl</i> , churl, <i>eorþe</i> , earth.)		
	<i>gerd</i> (3erd) ²	<i>3erde</i> (3erdə)	<i>yard</i> (3aad).
	<i>ræran</i> (ræran)	<i>reren</i> (ræran)	<i>rear</i> (riiə)
	<i>seo</i> (seeo); <i>me</i> (mee)	<i>se</i> (see); <i>me</i> (mee)	<i>see</i> (sii); <i>me</i> (mii)
15	<i>regen</i> (re3en) ²	<i>reyn</i> (rein)	<i>rain</i> (rein)
	<i>witan</i> (witan)	<i>witen</i> (witən)	<i>wit</i> (wit)
	<i>wīn</i> (wiin)	<i>wyn</i> (wiin)	<i>wine</i> (wain)
	<i>on</i> (aon, on)	<i>on</i> (aon, on)	<i>on</i> (on)
	<i>forma</i> (faorma)	<i>former</i> (faormer)	<i>former</i> (faoməə)
20	<i>sunu</i> (sunu)	<i>some</i> (sunə)	<i>son</i> (sən)

(No A. S. *o*=(u); compare no. 23 below.)

	<i>tō</i> (too)	<i>to</i> (too)	<i>to, too</i> (tuu)
	<i>hōl</i> (hol)	<i>hool</i> (hool, haol)	<i>hole</i> (houl)
	<i>up</i> (up)	<i>up</i> (up)	<i>up</i> (əp)
	<i>full</i> (ful)	<i>ful</i> (ful)	<i>full</i> (ful)
25	<i>spurnan</i> (spurnan)	<i>spurnen</i> (spurnən)	<i>spurn</i> (spæn)
	<i>pund</i> (pund)	<i>pound</i> (puund)	<i>pound</i> (paund)
	<i>fȳr</i> (fyyr)	<i>fyr</i> (fir)	<i>fire</i> (faiaə)
	<i>rūm</i> (ruum) ³	<i>roum</i> (ruum)	<i>room</i> (ruum)

(Quite an exceptional case; the A. S. *ū*=E. (au) by rule.)

	<i>læg</i> (læg, læi)	<i>lay</i> (lai)	<i>lay</i> (lei)
30	<i>sā</i> (sae)	<i>see</i> (sae)	<i>sea</i> (sii)
	<i>dragan</i> (dra3an)	<i>dra3en</i> (dra3en)	<i>draw</i> (drao)
	<i>plantian</i> (plantian), etc.; <i>the same</i> as No. 4 above.		
	<i>dæl</i> (dael)	<i>del, deel</i> (dael)	<i>deal</i> (diil)
	<i>seġl</i> (se3əl)	<i>seil</i> (seil)	<i>sail</i> (seil)

¹ Answering to Mercian *hard*, whence the modern form.

² I here use the *3* for the *y* (consonant).

³ The A. S. *rūm* is an adj., meaning roomy, spacious; so too is the M. E. *roum* in many instances.

OLD ENGLISH.	MIDDLE ENGLISH.	MODERN ENGLISH.
35 <i>leger</i> (leʒər) [None.] <i>dēaw</i> (deəu) [None.] [None.]	<i>leir</i> (leir) <i>dew</i> (deu) <i>hous</i> (huus)	<i>lair</i> (leɪə) <i>dew</i> (diu) <i>house</i> (haus)
40 <i>hūs</i> (huus)		
(No A. S. <i>ou</i> ; compare No. 26 above.)		

§ 96. On comparing the results given in § 95 with those in § 94, it will be seen that, in some cases, the A. S. and A. F. sounds agree, and in other cases are only approximate. The following conclusions may be drawn.

In the following cases the A. S. and A. F. symbols and sounds agree, either altogether or very nearly.

(1) The A. F. *a* (a) agrees with the A. S. *a* (a), except that it is never 'broken' into *ea*; but it is probable that this use of *ea* for *a* was confined to the Southern dialect of English; or, if it affected the Midland dialect, did so only to a slight extent. On the other hand, we see (from l. 32) that there was a tendency to nasalise and to lengthen the A. F. *an*, so that it was liable to become *aun*, whence the modern E. sound of (aan), as heard in *lance*, *plant*. Further the A. F. *a* in *fame* (faa·mə) was originally *long*, whilst the A. S. *a* in *nama* (na·ma) was *short*. The result was that the A. S. *a*, in an open syllable, was lengthened; and both alike answer to the modern E. *a* (ei) in *fame*, *name*. Hence it has arisen that all the modern E. so-called long *a*'s, that have always been long, are of A. F. origin. The A. S. *ā* became E. *oa*, *ō* (ou); as in *āc*, oak, *stān*, stone.

(2) The A. F. short *e* answers to the A. S. short *e* in general. In M. E. the short *e*, from either source, had the open sound, as in E. *men* (Ten Brink, *Chaucers Sprache*, §§ 11, 79). The A. F. *e* in *en* had a nasal sound, and A. F. *renc*, M. E. *renk*, confused with F. *rang*, has produced E. *rank*; there is nothing of the kind in A. S. The A. S. almost invariably has *eor* for *er*, as in *eorðe*, earth;

and even in the Ancren Riwe we still find *heorte*, heart; but in Chaucer we have *er* only, as in *herle*, heart; *merci*, mercy. The A. S. often has *ear* for *ar*, as in *geard*, a yard (enclosure); but this became *er* in M. E., which at last made no distinction between this word and the A. S. *gerd*, *gierd*, a yard (rod). Both alike became M. E. *gerd*, E. *yard*; just as A. F. *gerner* is the M. E. *gerner*, E. *garner*.

(3) The A. S. *ē* and *ēo* both became M. E. *ē*, *ee*; cf. A. S. *mē*, *sēo*, A. F. *degreē*, with E. *me*, *see*, *degree*. In such words the *e* usually had the close sound (Ten Brink, as above, §§ 23, 67); and modern English usually has the spelling *ē* or *ee*. The A. S. *æ* and *ēa* also became M. E. *ē*, *ee*; but in this case the *e* usually had the open sound, and mod. E. usually has the spelling *ea* (id. § 24). The A. F. *veël* soon became monosyllabic, and this *ē* also had the open sound; cf. A. S. *ræran*, *hæap*, A. F. *vël*, with E. *rear*, *heap*, *veal*.

(4) The diphthongs *ai*, *ei*, *ay*, *ey*, are characteristic of A. F., and were, at any rate in Chaucer's time, indistinguishable in words of A. F. origin; in mod. E., *peine* is spelt *pain*, whilst *veine* is spelt *vein*, the rime being perfect; cf. A. F. *vain*, *vein*, vain. In words of A. S. origin, *ai*, &c., can only arise from a vowel or diphthong followed by *h* or *g*; cf. A. S. *eahta*, *ehhta*, eight; *brægen*, brain, *regen*, rain, *weg*, way. Curiously enough, the diphthong *ei* (*ey*) is not much used in words of A. S. origin; the commonest examples, in modern spelling, are *eight*, *eighty*, *eighth*; *either*, *neither*; *eye*, *heifer*, *height*, *key*, *neigh*, *neighbour*; *weigh*, *weight*, *wey*; *weird*, *why*; to which we may add the Norse words *they*, *their*. We also find *grey* for *gray*. Examples of *ai*, *ay* are more numerous.

(5) The A. S. *i* answers to A. F. *i*, whether short or long; the mod. E. has *i* (i) short, whilst the long *i* (ai) is now a diphthong. Note, too, that the E. short *i* (as in *bit*) is really the 'high-front-wide' vowel; whilst the A. F. (and probably the A. S.) short *i* was the 'high-front-narrow,' as in F. *fini* (Sweet).

(6) The M. E. short *o*, whether of A. S. or of A. F. origin, had the open sound, as in E. *on*, *honour* (Ten Brink, *Chaucer's Sprache*, §§ 13, 81). In A. F., but not in A. S., the symbol *o* was used for short *u* (u), or for a vowel very closely approximating to it; and this use occurs in M. E. even in words of A. S. origin; cf. A. F. *trompe*, A. S. *sunu*; E. *trump* (træmp), *son* (sən). The A. S. *ā* passed into a M. E. long open *ō*, still preserved in E. *broad*, and represented by *oa* in Tudor-English spelling; in mod. E. this *oa* (except in *broad*) is close, with an after-sound of *u*; cf. A. S. *āc*, E. *oak*. M. E. long open *ō* also resulted from vowel-lengthening, as in A. S. *hol*, M. E. *hool*, E. *hole*. The A. S. *ō* passed into M. E. close *o*, and is now *ū* (uu); cf. A. S. *tō*, E. *to*. The A. F. *ō* had the open sound, and therefore has likewise produced the mod. E. close *ō*, with an after-sound of *u*, as in *robe* (rao'bə), E. *robe* (roub). See also ex. 41, in § 94. The mod. E. sound of *ū* (uu) can only result from A. F. by the lengthening of a short *o*, as in A. F. *fol*, E. *fool* (fuul).

(7) The A. S. and A. F. short *u* (u) were the same, and were similarly treated; see examples 23-26 in §§ 94, 95. The A. S. long *ū* (uu) is very seldom preserved, as in *rūm*, room, *uncūð*, uncouth; it usually becomes *ou*, *ow* (au), as in *hūs*, house (haus); see exx. 28, 40, in § 95. The A. F. long *ū*, from various sources, was commonly written *ou* (as in early A. F. *honūr*, later *honour*), and in accented syllables likewise becomes *ou*, *ow* (au); see § 94, ex. 40. On the other hand, the A. F. symbol *u*, when representing a long sound, really stood for (yy), the sound in G. *grün* (gryyn); but this (yy) passed into (iuu) in course of time, so that A. F. *cure* (kyyrə) is now *cure* (kiuuə). But after *r* (and sometimes after *l*) the short *i*-sound dropped, giving simple (uu); as in A. F. *plume* (plyymə), E. *plume* (pluum). The A. S. *ȳ* (yy) was early identified with long *i* (ii), and is now (ai).

(8) The diphthongs can be understood from the examples in §§ 94, 95. We may note the confusion between M. E. *ai*

and *ei* (see above); the passage of A. F. *aïse*, later *eïse*, into M. E. *eise*, *eeise*, and lastly, in E. *ease* (iiz), with which cf. A. F. *plait*, E. *plea* (plii); and the entire absence of the symbols *ai*, *ay*, *au*, *ei*, *ey*, *eu*, *ie*, *oi*, *oy*, *ou*, from A. S. spelling, though we find *aw* (as in *cnāwan*), *ow* (as in *blōwan*), and even *eaw*, *cow* (as in *dēaw*, *trēow*). Words of A. F. origin prefer the spelling *au* to *aw*, as in *fraud*, *cause*, etc.; exceptions being *bawd*, *brawn*, *lawn*. Most noteworthy is the peculiarly A. F. sound *oi*, preserved nearly unchanged in E. (but not in F.) to the present day. I know of no example of it in any word of true A. S. origin, except the remarkable sb. *boil*, in the sense of 'tumour,' where the A. S. *bȳle* proves that the correct development of the word is into the mod. E. *bile*, now considered a vulgar pronunciation. It seems to have been confused, in popular estimation, with the verb to *boil* (A. F. *boillir*), with which it has nothing to do, unless the two words happen to be, ultimately, from the same root. *Hoy* and *toy*, and either all or a part of *decoy*, are loan words from Dutch; whilst *boy*, not found before 1300, is a Frisian form.

§ 97. **Symbols for the close and open e and o.** This is a convenient place for noting the symbols employed by Ten Brink for the close and open *e* and *o*. He uses (e) and (o) for the close sounds, and (ē) and (ō) for the open sounds. Schwan uses (ɛ) and (ɔ) for the close sounds, and (ɛ̃) and (ɔ̃) for the open ones; which is even more distinct. Others, again, use (é) and (ó) for the close sounds, and (è) and (ò) for the open ones. I have used (e) and (o) above for the *short* vowels, because they are not likely to be misunderstood; still it should be remembered that these vowels are really open. This is seen in the case of *e*, by prolonging the sound of *e* in *bed*, when it is heard to be more nearly related to the *e* in *there* than to the *e* in *vein*; whilst the prolonged sound of *o* in *not* approaches the *au* in *naught* and the *o* in *story*, and is quite distinct from the close *o* which begins the diphthongal *o* in *no* (nou).'

As regards the long *e* and *o*, the open sounds have been denoted hitherto by the symbols (ae) and (ao), as in *Mary*, *story* (Maeri, staori). The close sounds hardly now exist as pure vowels, but form the chief elements of the diphthongs *ei* and *o* as heard in *vein* (vein) and *no* (nou). In the word *note* the (u) element is very slight, and the close *o* is nearly pure. With Ten Brink's notation, we should write (bəd) and (nət) to denote the short open vowels in *bed* and *not*; and we should write *Mary*, *story* as (Məri, stəri). Both the close and open *e* occur in *tell-tale* (tɛltɛil) and in *mare's-tail* (mɛəz-tɛil); and the two *o*'s occur in *hollow* (hɒlɒu) and *forego* (fɔəgɒu).

It is worth while to repeat here that the long open *e* and *o* were usually written as *ea* and *oa* respectively in Elizabethan English. Also, that the M. E. long open *e* answers to A. S. *ē*, *ēa*, as in *hēlan*, to *heal* (hiil), and *drēam*, a *dream* (driim). In words of A. F. origin it is not common, but chiefly occurs in contractions, such as *veġl* = *vēl*, *veal* (viil); and in *ee* from earlier *ei*, as in *eise*, *eese*, M. E. *ēse*, mod. E. *ease* (iiz). M. E. long close *e* answers to A. S. *ē*, *ēo*, A. F. *ē*, as in *mē*, *me*, *sēo*, I see, *degree*, *degree* (mii, sii, digrii). Thus the distinction is now, in many cases, quite lost; though we still make a difference between *there* (thaeə, theə) from A. S. *pær*, and *here* (hiia) from A. S. *hēr*. The M. E. long open *o* answers (as above) to A. S. *ā*, A. F. *ō*, but is now close; as in *āc*, *oak* (ouk), *rōbe*, *robe* (roub). The M. E. long close *o* answers to A. S. *ō* or A. F. short *o* lengthened, and is now (uu); as in *tō*, to (tuu); *fol*, *fool* (fuul).

§ 98. I shall also here take the opportunity of reminding the reader of the extremely powerful argument which the A. F. forms afford, in proof of the fact that our E. vowel-sounds have undergone most violent alterations, and are now represented by most inappropriate symbols. It amounts, in fact, to a mathematical demonstration, and is appreciable by all who have the most moderate knowledge of French, even

though they should have no belief in the values attached by scholars to the symbols employed in Anglo-Saxon.

The four words *fame*, *degree*, *vice*, *doubt* are quite sufficient to demonstrate that the sounds which we now call (ei, ii, ai, au) as in (feim, digrii, vais, daut) are denoted by symbols which *must*, at least as late as the fourteenth century, when A. F. was still spoken, have had totally different sounds, viz. (aa, ee, ii, uu). For these very words are preserved in late French in the forms *fâme* (obsolete), *degré*, *vice*, *doute* (faam, degree, viis, duut); and these pronunciations may be relied upon, unless it can be shown, on the contrary, that it is the pronunciation of *French*, and not of *English*, that has changed. This view is not tenable, because there are other Romance languages besides French to appeal to. Thus we have Ital., Span., and Port. *fama* (faama); Ital. *vizio* (viitsio), Span. *vicio* (viithio), Port. *vicio* (viisio); Ital. *dubbio* (dubbio), Span. *duda* (duudha), Port. *duvida* (duuvida); and, on comparing these with Lat. *fama*, *uitium*, and the verb *dubitare* (remembering at the same time that all these languages are written with Latin symbols), it becomes *impossible* to believe that the A. F. *fame* was ever pronounced as (feimə), or *vice* as (vaisə), or *doute*, also written *dute*, as (dautə). As to *degree*, the Ital. and Span. *grado*, Lat. *gradus*, prove indeed a change of sound in the A. F. word, but only through *one* variation, that of (a) to (e), not through *two*, viz. from (a) to (e), and again from (e) to (i). Besides, there are plenty of words to prove that the value of F. *e* was certainly not (i) or (ii); thus the F. *règle* is the same word as Ital. *regola* (reegola), Span. *regla* (reegla), Port. *regra* (reegra); all from Lat. *rēgula*. This argument needs no further pressing, as the accumulative evidence from thousands of words in the various Romance languages must be overwhelming except to those who still maintain and believe that the Latin symbols *a*, *e*, *i*, *u* (not to mention *o*), were, in the time of Augustus, pronounced *precisely as in modern English*, and that the said

sounds have been preserved *in English only*. To those who are willing to admit that such a belief is monstrous, I have only two questions to ask, viz. is it moral to insist that schoolboys shall continue to be trained and taught to pronounce Latin with the *modern English sounds*? And is it consistent with even common fairness to stigmatise the sounding of *ā* as (aa) by the stupid appellation of 'the *new* pronunciation'? I conceive it to be the simple and bounden duty of every schoolmaster who still prefers to pronounce Latin as if it were English, at the very least to allow his boys to know that such a device is a makeshift. My experience is, on the contrary, that this fact is commonly suppressed, in the hope that the boys will not find it out till after they have left school; the present inaccurate pronunciation being due to a carelessness that declines to investigate the facts. And all this is done, to save the masters from having to understand the phonetics of a language which they undertake to teach.

I do not press the same argument as regards Greek, because the pronunciation of it is more obscure, and does not directly bear upon the teaching of the Romance languages and of English. The boy who has been allowed (as I was not) to know that the modern English symbols are in no way equivalent in value to the same as used in Latin, will easily guess for himself that they can be no safe guide to Greek; and to know this is to know much more than is at all common. 'What a noble language is Greek!' says the rightly enthusiastic Englishman; and at once proceeds to declaim Homer in a way that no Greek, of any province or period, could possibly comprehend.

§ 99. When once it is granted that the sounds of the A. F. and M. E. vowels were fairly well represented by the Latin symbols, employed to represent the old Latin pronunciation, it becomes easy to believe that the same is true of Anglo-Saxon, and that it is the modern E. that has changed. This has been sufficiently shown in vol. i, § 51, where the

following examples are given, viz. L. *pāpa*, A. S. *pāpa*, E. *pope*; L. *bēta*, A. S. *bēte*, E. *beet*; L. *scrīnium*, A. S. *scrīn*, E. *shrine*; L. *nōna*, A. S. *nōn*, E. *noon*; L. *mūlus*, A. S. *mūl*. The last of these would have given us an E. *moul*, but the form *mule*, borrowed from O. F. *mule*, has replaced it. These are all long vowels; but they involve the most violent of the modern E. changes, and are therefore sufficient to be quoted here.

It is worth noting, further, that the changes of the vowel-sounds in English can be proved independently of all the above considerations, by the evidence of the rimes found in our poets; and yet again, independently, by observation of some changes of form. We know, e. g., that the names *Price* and *Rice* were once spelt *Preece* and *Reece*, because the latter forms also occur, and because the Welsh *Rhys*, pronounced as *Reece* (Riis), still exists. Again, the fish called a *dace* (deis) was formerly called a *darce* (L. C. 279), and the *r* is radical; so that *dace* was once (daas). The verb to *gash* was once (gaash); this we know from the fact that it was once spelt *garsh* (garsh). No other explanations are possible.

CHAPTER VIII.

WORDS OF CENTRAL FRENCH ORIGIN.

§ 100. In Chapters VI and VII I have endeavoured to treat of the words that seem to have come to us through the medium of Anglo-French, words that were either brought in with the Conquest, or were modified from such words, or were used in particular by Anglo-French writers. Of course such words frequently agree in form with such as are used on the Continent, or they may have been actually imported thence; we cannot say, in some cases, that the F. words are necessarily *Anglo-French* in form. Owing to our communications with the Continent, foreign French terms were continually brought over, but I do not think they were very numerous or important till the fourteenth century; and I think that a very large proportion of the words which I have already cited as being specifically Anglo-French are really such as I have assumed them to be, and belong, as a rule, to the dialect of Normandy or Northern French, though doubtless many of them assumed forms due to the peculiar development which that dialect underwent in England. The words that were specifically imported from the French of France seem to have come to us mostly from that dialect of French which was spoken in the neighbourhood of Paris, and I shall call this dialect, for convenience, by the name of **Central French**; it being understood that when the word 'French' is used alone, the same dialect is intended, as it has become the literary language.

I must, however, caution the reader that it is possible that, among the words cited as Central French, I may sometimes

include a few that do not really belong to it, but rather to some other dialect. I do not possess sufficient knowledge to be always sure upon this point, especially as the *history* of a large number of words is, as yet, imperfectly recorded. As the New English Dictionary advances, we learn, for the first time, many new facts as to the history and chronology of words, which will modify, in some cases, the results here given. In the absence of sufficient evidence, I have to do the best I can.

§ 101. A glance at such books as the *Liber Albus*, or the *Liber Custumarum*, will often prove instructive. We there frequently find notices of imports, some of which bear very curious names, and are, occasionally, words drawn from the far East, and not of European origin at all. And I here beg leave to make a note, by the way, that it is sometimes extremely surprising to find that a word which has all the appearance of being French, is merely English (Anglo-Saxon) in disguise; and we must beware of looking to the far East for the origin of words such as these. If this remark seems inappropriate to the present subject, my excuse is, that it is forced upon my notice by a certain passage in the *Liber Albus* to which I wish to refer, viz. that on pp. 223, 224, in the chapter headed 'De Scawanga.' *Scawanga* is the Latinised form of a word which, in A. F., was turned into *scavage*, the form under which it is given, for example, in Blount's *Nomolexicon*. The word, however, which gave rise to *scawanga* is no other than the A. S. *scedwung*, whence the modern E. *showing*; and the *scavage* was, in fact, a *showage*, a displaying of merchandise; or, as the passage referred to expresses it:—'Et fait assavoir qe *Scawenge* est dit come *demonstraunce*, pur ceo qe y covient qe marchauntz demonstrent as viscountz marchaundises des queux deit estre pris custume, einz qe riens de ceo soit vendue;' i. e. 'and take notice that *Scawenge* (showing) has the same sense as *demonstrance* (showing), because it is fit that merchants *show* the

sheriffs the wares of which custom should be taken, before that any part of them be sold.' The officers who inspected the merchants' goods were, accordingly, called *Scavegeours*, to use the very spelling of the Liber Albus, at p. 38, where they are ranked with the Constables, Ale-conners, and Beadles, and other officers. At p. 313 of the same, the spelling is *Scawageours* (showing that the *v* was once *w*); and we there learn a new fact about these officers, viz. that one of their special duties was to see that the streets and lanes were kept clean, by the removal of all filth and dirt; and this duty was of such importance that the modern form of the word, viz. *scavenger*, implies nothing else. (For the insertion of the *n*, compare *messenger*, *passenger*, for *messenger*, *passager*, etc.) But for the clear and certain history of the word, we should hardly guess that the name of *scavenger* was derived from A. S. *scedwian*, to show. Such was one of the curious effects of the Norman Conquest.

§ 102. To resume. The same passage goes on to explain that, after the 'showage' of goods, custom or toll (in fact, import-duty) was to be paid for them according to the *karke* or load; and that the *karke* of most goods was 4 centaines (hundred weight); but the *karke* of grain was only 3 cwt., whilst that of pepper was 3½ cwt.¹ I well remember how, on first coming across this passage, I at once perceived the previously unknown fact, that our modern E. *carke* is nothing but this very same word; and that, moreover, *karke* is merely the Northern F. form of the common F. *charge*, and means neither more or less than 'load' or 'burden,' as fully explained in the Supplement to the second edition of my Dictionary².

¹ Mr. Riley supposes that these enactments are as early as the time of Edward I. The date of the MS. is about 1420, but it is copied from earlier authorities.

² Dr. Murray has adopted this view; see the New Eng. Dict. I ought to say that the word *karke* is also spelt *charge* on the same page of the MS.

It is well used in the sense of 'charge' or 'responsibility,' in the Tale of Gamelyn, l. 760:—

'Now I see that al the *carke* schal fallen on myn heed
[head].'

Then follows an interesting list of imports, which is worthy of a full description. A 'karke' of grain is to be charged half a mark (6s. 8d.) for duty [because of its great value]; for a 'karke de *alom*,' i.e. alum, is to be paid 16d.; and then follows a long list of articles on which the duty per 'karke' was 12d. These include:—'peivere, zucre, comyn, alemaundes, brasille, argent vif, gingivre, cetewale, lycorys, lak, spicerie, vermiloun, glasce, figes, reysins, symak, soufre, yvoire, canelle, ensens, pyoine, anys, dates, chestaine, orpyment, oille dolive, gingebed, rys, tirmounte¹, cotounn, baleyne.' I.e. 'pepper, sugar, cummin, almonds, brazil, quicksilver, ginger, zedoary, liquorice, lake [fine linen], spices, vermilion, glass, figs, raisins, sumach, sulphur, ivory, canelle [cinnamon], incense, pæony², anise, dates, chestnuts, orpiment, olive oil, gingerbread, rice, turpentine, cotton, whalebone.' Just below, there is a mention of *saffran*, i.e. saffron. Again, on p. 225 is another list, in which the articles are:—mercerie, leyne despayne, wadmal, canevas, draps, genetie, conyng, forure, peletrie, lienge teile, fustain, feutre, lymere, pyles, coreis, hapertas, crute texture et autres choses veignaunt de Linoges, esquireus despaigne, parmentrye, chalouns et draps du Reyns, draps de soy.' I.e. 'mercery, Spanish wool, wadmal, canvas, cloths, genêt-skins, coney-skins, fur-trimmings, peltry, linen cloth, fustian, felt, a kind of serge (F. *limestre*), piles (cloth with a *pile* or nap), thongs (*courroies* ?), hapertas, raw textures and other things

¹ Riley prints *cirmounte*, making the usual mistake of confounding *c* with *t*. But he notes that the translation in Arnold's Chronicle (1502) has *termenteyne*; cf. Portuguese *termentina*, turpentine.

² M. E. *pyoine*, pæony-seeds; in one MS. of P. Plowman, B. v. 312; see my note on the passage. They were used as a sort of spice.

coming from Limoges, squirrel-skins from Spain, parmentry (tailors' cloth, O. F. *parementerie*), shalloons and cloths of Rheims, cloths of silk.' In the very next chapter, we find names of other commodities, such as: 'cordewane, baseyne, cire, argoil, quivere, estein, gryns overe,' i.e. 'Cordovan leather, basil (prepared sheep-skin), wax, argol (tartar found in wine-casks), copper, tin, *gris*-work (*gris* being the fur of the grey squirrel).'

§ 103. No doubt some of the above words belong really to the old Anglo-French; thus *peivere* (pepper) shows the characteristic *ei* in place of F. *oi* in *poivre*. *Argent* (silver) had long been used as a term in heraldry. *Encens*, incense, and *oille*, oil, both occur in the Life of Edward the Confessor, and are old ecclesiastical terms. The latter part of 'gingebred' is native English. But it can hardly be doubted that many of the words are really foreign, and some, perhaps, occur in this passage, as far as England is concerned, *for the first time*. *Karke* is not an A. F. form, nor even Central French, but a distinctive Picard form, showing that the goods came by way of Picardy, i.e. from Calais. *Zucre*, sugar, and *gingivre*, ginger, are words of Sanskrit origin; *comyn*, cummin, is really Hebrew; *almond* is ultimately Greek, and so are *liquorice*, *peony*, *anise*, *chest(nut)*, *oil*, *olive*, *turpentine*, *canvas*, *squirrel*, *copper* (from Cyprus). Some of the words are Arabic; such as *sumach*, *cotton*, *saffron*, *genet*, *basil* (leather). *Brasil*, *canelle* (cinnamon), *dates*, *rice*, are probably of Eastern origin; whilst *fustian* is Egyptian. *Cetewale* is a curious perversion of *zedoary*, which is Persian.

We may hence conclude that many entirely foreign terms came to us, in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, by way of France, and in French (probably Central French) forms; long voyages by sea being attended with difficulty, and even danger, at that period. By way of illustration, we may compare many of the above words with their representatives in Modern French. For this purpose I may cite

F. *sucre*, *amande* (which becomes *al-amande* by prefixing the Arabic def. article *al*), *brésil* (Littré; but our word is the Span. *brasil*, for which see *brazil* in Murray's Dictionary), *gingembre*, *épicerie*, *vermillon*, *figues*, *raisins* (grapes), *sumac*, *soufre*, *ivoire*, *cannelle*, *encens*, *pivoine*, *anis*, *dattes*, *châtaigne*, *orpiment*, *olive*, *riz*, *coton*, *baleine*; and further, *safran*, *mercerie*, *laine d'Espagne*, *canevas*, *draps*, *genette* (a genet), *fourrure*, *pelletterie*, *linge*, *toile* (note the A. F. *ei* in the form *teile*), *fulaine* (*s* lost), *feutre*, *limestre* (obsolete), *courroies* (?), *écureuil* (note the A. F. *es* and *qui*), *chalon* (Littré); also, *basane*, *cire*, *cuivre*, *étain*, *gris* (gray). *Cetewale* occurs in Chaucer's *Sir Topas* (B. 1951) in company with *lycoris*; it answers to the O. F. *citoal*, *citoual*, from Pers. *zadwâr*, *jadwâr*, zedoary; whilst *lycorys* is an older form than the *liquerice* in Cotgrave's F. Dict., and much nearer to the original Greek γλυκύριζα than is the F. *réglisse*. *Lake* (fine linen) also occurs in Chaucer's *Sir Topas* (B. 2048), but the word is really Dutch; from Du. *laken*, cloth, etc. *Wadmal* is Icelandic; Icel. *vaðmál*, a plain woollen stuff. *Hapertas* is the name of the stuff which has given rise to our *haberdasher*; its origin is obscure. *Shalloon* is really a place-name, from *Chalons*, east of Paris; and we may note here (1) the Central F. *ch* (sh), as distinct from the A. F. *ch* (ch); and (2) the suffix *-oon* for F. *-ons*, *-on*, of which we have many other examples. Before leaving this list, I will just note, with reference to *parmentrie*, that Cotgrave gives *parmentier* in the sense of 'tailor,' which is clearly the origin of the proper names *Parmenter*, *Parminter*, and *Parmiter*. The etymology is from O. F. *parement*, Low Lat. *paramentum*, ornament, apparel; from Lat. *parare*.

§ 104. All the above words have been gathered from a single, but comprehensive, passage in the *Liber Albus*. Many more of the same character could be adduced from this book, from the *Liber Custumarum*, and from other books of a like character; but it is sufficient to point out the

nature of the words that may be gleaned from such sources. We have already noticed that the spellings of many of them do not materially differ from their French equivalents, and may thus be easily found in Littré, or in Cotgrave's French Dictionary, a book of great value for the present purpose.

After all, the number of Central French words thus imported, as the names of foreign products, is not very large, though they form a very interesting class. We have next to consider a much larger class of words of the same origin, that were borrowed directly from the Central French *literature*. Here again it is often impossible to separate these words from Anglo-French, as that dialect was continually being reinforced by words borrowed from abroad, especially when the literature of France became more and more known and studied in England. At first we find that many Early English poems were more or less translated or imitated from older poems in Anglo-French; such is the case, for example, with the *Lay of Havelok*, borrowed from the A. F. *Lai d'Havelock*, by Geoffrey Gaimar, edited by T. Wright for the Caxton Society in 1850, as an Appendix to Gaimar's Metrical Chronicle. So also, *The Lay of Horn* is from the A. F. version of Horn, of which a good edition is that by Brede and Stengel, published at Marburg in 1883. Robert of Brunne's Chronicle is a translation from the A. F. Chronicle by Piers de Langtoft. The English poem called *The Castel of Love* (ed. Weymouth) is translated from the A. F. poem by Robert Grosseteste, entitled *Chateau d'Amour* (ed. Cooke, Caxton Soc., 1852). There are likewise A. F. originals of Robert of Brunne's *Handlyng Synne*, and of several romances, such as those of Guy of Warwick and Bevis of Hampton. But attention was gradually directed to continental French literature, though it is not easy to say how soon, or, in the earlier period, to what extent. Layamon's *Brut* is imitated from the *Brut* of Wace, which was written, not in Anglo-French, but in the closely-allied dialect

of Normandy itself. The *Ayenbite of Inuyl*, written by Dan Michel of Northgate in 1340, is chiefly taken from *La Somme des Vices et des Vertus* by a Dominican friar named Lorens, who is said to have written the same in 1279 for the use of Philip III of France; and a considerable portion of the *Persones Tale* is imitated from the same source. About 1350-9, *William of Palerne* was translated from a version written 'en Roumans,' i.e. in continental French, for the Countess Yolande, daughter of Baldwin IV of Hainault. The subject-matter of *Sir Gawayne and the Green Knight* is largely borrowed from the *Perceval*, or *Conte del Graal*, of Crestien of Troyes; see Ten Brink, *Eng. Lit.* bk. iv. § 2. When we come to Chaucer, we recognise in him one who was a great student of the poetry of France, and well acquainted with the writings of Guillaume de Machault, Jean de Froissart, and others; and we have it on his own authority that he translated the *Roman de la Rose*, a poem with which his extant works display great familiarity, though there is no reason to suppose that either of the existing fragments of the English version of that poem (both preserved in the same MS. at Glasgow) form any part of his translation. It is interesting to remember that he drew upon Anglo-French materials also; since his *Man of Lawes Tale* is taken from the A.F. Chronicle of Nicholas Trivet. And thus it had come to pass, by the middle of the fourteenth century, when England was (as Ten Brink remarks) no longer a truly bilingual country, that the English language was deeply interpenetrated by an admixture with Central French. It is idle, in fact ridiculous, to speak of Chaucer as specially 'introducing' French words into English; he merely employed, with great skill and with plastic effect, a language which was common to himself and his contemporaries; indeed, as Marsh well remarks, the percentage of French words found in Langland's *Piers the Plowman* is slightly greater than that found in the *Canterbury Tales*. Whenever

he was so ill-advised as to bring in words that were not really current, such as *corniculere*, or *vitremyte*, or *radevore*, he was probably quite as unintelligible then as he is now.

§ 105. A careful analysis of the sources of Chaucer's language would probably be profitable, but it would certainly be difficult and tedious. Taking, by way of example, the first 42 lines of his celebrated Prologue, I find there 303 words, of which 263 (or all but 40) are native English, showing a percentage of foreign words of about 13 per cent. This is very near the estimate given by Marsh, who makes the proportion of foreign words in the *whole* of the Prologue, to be about 12 per cent. Among the foreign words are *martir*, which had already been borrowed in A. S. times (vol. i. § 401, p. 439). *Zephirus* looks like a Latin form; but, in fact, it was borrowed from the F. *Roman de la Rose*, l. 8449; see my edition of Chaucer's *Minor Poems*, p. 249. The other foreign words are all A. F. or F., viz. *Aprille*, *Marche*, *perced*, *veyne*, *licour*, *vertue*, *engendred*, *flour*, *inspired*, *tendre*, *cours*, *melodye*, *nature*, *corages* (also *corage*), *pilgrimages* (also *pilgrimage*), *palmers*, *straunge*, *specially*, *sesoun*, *Tabard*, *devout*, *hostelrye*, *companye*, *aventure*, *pilgrims*, *chambres*, *stables*, *esed* (with E. suffix), *devyse*, *space*, *pace*, *acordaunt*, *resoun*, *condicioun*, *degree*, *array*.

When we look at these words a little more closely, we shall find that much the larger portion of them is Anglo-French, and can be found even in my two imperfect lists¹. I cannot agree with the remark in Marsh's *Origin and History of the English Language*, lect. ix., that 'Chaucer did not introduce into the English language words which it had rejected as aliens before, but out of those which had been already received, he invested the better portion with the

¹ The chief exceptions are *licour*, *inspired*, *tabard*, *pilgrims*, *stables*, all probably true A. F. words, except the learned word *inspired*, which may have been taken from the Vulgate version of Gen. ii. 7; and except (perhaps) *pilgrim*, which I take to be Italian.

rights of citizenship, and stamped them with the mint-mark of English coinage.' There is, of course, a substratum of truth in this, but it is altogether a great exaggeration; the English people had already made up their minds as to many of the words, and they could not be always reading Chaucer's poetry in order to learn how to use familiar prose. The mistake is partly due to the date which Marsh gives just above for the intermixture of the Anglo-French words with native English; this he puts at the middle of the fourteenth century, which is much too late. A simple statement of facts will help to show where the fallacies lie. If we look at the list of 'French' words given in Morris's English Grammar as occurring in *King Alisaunder*, a poem written about 1300 (certainly not much later), we find in it these words following, viz. *perced*, *veyn*, *flour*, *cours*, *nature*, *corage*, *pilgrimage*, *palmer*, *special*, *seysoun*, *aventure*, *chambre*, *stable*, *ese* (ease), *devise*. Even a century earlier, we already find in the *Ancren Riwele*, written not long after 1200, such words as *flur* (flower), *speciale*, *aventure*, *chaumbre*, *eise* (ease), together with *licur*¹, *vertu*², *tendre*³, *devot*, *pilgrimes*, *passen*, *reisun*, *degre*, not noticed in the last list. The verb *acorden*, to agree, appears even in the A. S. Chronicle under the date 1120, and the very form *acordaunt* is in Shoreham's Poems, p. 89 (ab. 1315). *Strange* is in Robert of Gloucester, l. 379 (about A. D. 1300); *melodye* in St. Christopher, l. 18 (about 1300); *space* in The Assumption of our Lady, l. 178 (before 1300). *Aray*, sb. is in *William of Palerne*, written not later than 1359. Again, we may note how many of the words under discussion occur in *Piers Plowman*, which certainly contains *Aprille*, *percen*, *licour*, *vertu*, *engendred*, *flour*, *cours*, *pilgrimages*, *palmer*s, *sesoun*, *tabard*, *pilgrimage*, *devout*, *companye*, *aventures*,

¹ Not in Morris's list; but it occurs in *Anc. Riw.* p. 164, l. 13.

² Not in Morris's list; but see A. R. p. 268, last line.

³ Not in Morris's list; see A. R. p. 112, l. 11, etc. (several times). Neither does Morris give *degre* (below); see A. R. p. 288, l. 5.

pilgrims, chambres, ese, devyse, space, passe, resoun, degree, aray; and perhaps some others, for my Glossary is not exhaustive as to the words occurring in the poem. *Condition* is in Hampole's *Prick of Conscience*, l. 3955. *Companie* is the last word in the early poem called *The Proverbs of Alfred* (Text II.).

§ 106. The above notes are merely such as I could collect in a brief time, from imperfect materials; but I think they are quite enough to show that Chaucer, in general, merely employed words which were *already* in common use; and indeed, I take it that Marsh's words, above quoted, imply as much. There seems, then, to be small ground for the reservation, to him alone, of the peculiar privilege 'to invest' such words 'with the rights of citizenship,' or 'to stamp them with the mint-mark of English coinage.' We may be sure that the works of such writers as Robert of Gloucester, Robert of Brunne, Richard Rolle de Hampole, and William Langland (not to mention the most influential of all, viz. John Wyclif, Nicholas de Hereford, and John Purvey, authors of the famous early translation of the Bible), had a considerable influence in their time; and there is absolutely no reason for robbing them of all merit. I look upon Chaucer's ordinary language as evidence of the results that had been already achieved rather than as originating, or even settling, a new phase of English. His greatest influence was exercised upon Hoccleve, Lydgate, and the Scottish poets of the fifteenth century; but their most remarkable imitations of his language appear in their adoption of expressions which were of weak vitality, and have, in several instances, become obsolete. His influence, in fact, was greatest in the realm of poetry, whereas the most vital part of our language is often sadly prosaic¹. I do not mean to say that Chaucer's

¹ 'By a transition which marks the wonderful genius of the man [Wyclif], the schoolman was transformed into the pamphleteer. If Chaucer is the father of our later English poetry, Wyclif is the father of

influence was not both considerable and beneficial; but I regard it as altogether a mistake to ascribe to him such a dictatorial or authoritative power as he neither aimed at nor attained.

§ 107. I hope the discussion in the two last sections (§§ 105, 106) is not altogether irrelevant, though it helps little towards the solution of the question, as to the introduction into English of Central French forms. It is very difficult to estimate aright the exact amount of influence which is exerted upon a language by the authors who employ it; especially when we are treating of a time when printing was not yet invented, and books were both expensive and scarce. I think there is always a danger of exaggerating such influence; for, after all, most writers desire to be, in the main, intelligible; and, in order to do this, must often pause before they employ a word which they feel will not be understood. When we find Chaucer, Hoccleve, Lydgate, and others, employing words which seem to belong rather to Central French than to the old Anglo-French stock, we may well believe that they presupposed that those for whom they wrote had some greater or less knowledge of the French of the Continent, both because many of them had learnt something of it as being likely to prove a useful accomplishment, and had perhaps actually crossed the Channel at least once in their lives; and because the commercial relations between the two countries were frequent and intimate. The English still held, more or less securely, a considerable portion of France, so that the presence of English officers and soldiers was constantly required there. When Chaucer's 'Shipman,' who knew every haven, from Gothland to Finisterre, and every creek in Britain and Spain, so often drew a draught of wine

our later English prose.'—Green, *Hist. of the Eng. People*. ch. v. § 3. This is another of those statements that are meant rather to adorn a paragraph than to be taken in the literal sense. All such hasty talk requires to be largely discounted.

'from Bourdeaux-ward,' he merely removed it from one part of the English dominions to the other. In those days of restricted voyages, our commerce with France was unusually large as compared with that from other countries. Hence it is that, in the wise book entitled 'The Libell of English Policie,' written in 1436, the author shows the immense importance to the English of controlling 'the narowe see,' meaning the English Channel, and records the sagacious advice of the Emperor Sigismund to Henry V, to keep the two English towns of Dover and Calais as his 'twein eyen' (two eyes). Thus the influence of Central French upon English was not due merely to its literature, at that time the leading one of Europe, but also to the intimate political and commercial relationships between the two countries. The presence of Frenchmen at the court of Richard II is strikingly illustrated by the 'Chronicque de la Traison et Mort de Richard II,'¹ which is the fullest record of the king's last days. The 'Recueil de Croniques' by Jehan de Wavrin, temp. Edward IV, is written, of course, in Central French; as Anglo-French was, by that time, a dead language, except among law-students.

§ 108. One more remark is necessary here, to guard against another source of misapprehension. During the whole of our earlier history until, at least, the Tudor period, our language never ceased to be strongly influenced by Latin, the language of the Church. The familiarity of educated persons with the Vulgate version of the Bible, especially throughout the Psalms and Gospels, needs no comment. Owing to this, it has constantly happened that words *having a French form and aspect* were really adopted from Latin *directly*, and were then conformed to others of a like character by the operation of analogy. Such a process was perfectly easy. When we had already borrowed *charity*,

¹ Ed. B. Williams, London, 1846 (Eng. Historical Society).

quality, quantity, and many more, from Anglo-French, we knew precisely what to do with a Latin word in *-itas*, when required for immediate use. Thus the Lat. *pugnacitas* readily supplied us with *pugnacity*, which occurs in Minshew (1627); it does not in the least follow that it was preceded by a F. *pugnacité*. On the contrary, it is a curious fact that the F. word is, in this case, actually borrowed from English, if we may trust Littré's Dictionary. His quotation for it is dated 1863, and has reference 'aux instincts de pugnacité de la race anglaise.' We naturally wanted the word, and acquired it by the nearest way. This example is sufficient. Our language swarms with words of Latin origin in a French dress, that were never French at all; but, for the purposes of etymology, it is usually best to treat them as of F. origin, and I shall not hesitate to class them as if they really were so. It will cause no difficulty nor ambiguity, now that the caution has been given, and the method has been duly exemplified¹.

§ 109. After the above digression, I return to the main question, viz. what words of Central French origin do we find in Chaucer? I must now admit that this is a question which I cannot definitely answer. The investigation in § 105 has cleared the way. Out of the first forty F. words in Chaucer's Prologue, there is no clear proof that any of them are such; most of them are words which had been previously incorporated into English. Yet that some words borrowed from the Continent may be found in his works, I have no doubt; amongst them will probably be found several words which his 'mint-mark of English coinage' (§ 105) entirely failed to render current. In his *ABC*, he borrows *desperacioun* (21), *misericorde* (25), *governeresse* (141), etc., from the F. original; yet, even among these, *misericorde* had already appeared in

¹ By way of another example, take *ancille* in Chaucer's *ABC*, l. 109, plainly borrowed from Lat. *ancilla*, Lu. i. 38. The correct O. F. form was *ancele*.

the Ancren Riwe, p. 30. In the House of Fame, he has *foudre*, l. 535, from Machault; *cornemuse*, 1218, from the same; *lapidaire*, 1352, the name of a treatise on precious stones. He seems to be the only author who has used such words as *golee*, Parl. Foules, 556; *chevauchee*, Mars, 144; *vache*, Truth, 22; *corbet*, Ho. Fame, 1304; but these words are of little value, having disappeared. However, the mod. E. *corbel* answers to the last of these. Perhaps we may credit him with the introduction of some of his terms of metrical art, such as *balade*, a ballad; *cadence*; *ditee*, a ditty; *envoy*; *poetrie*; *refrein*, a refrain; *roundel*; *virelay*. Not to mention words now obsolete, perhaps he was the first, or among the first, to use the words *advertence*¹, *agonie*, *alabastre*, *alambic*=*alembic* (F. from Arab.), *amalgam*, *ambassiatour*, i. e. ambassador, *annex*, *apotecarie*, *ascendent*, *boras*, borax (F. from Arab.); *captif*, captive (O. F. *captif*, as distinct from A. F. *cailif*, whence E. *cailiff*), *casuel*, *citrine*, *complexion*, *composicion*, *conserve*, *conservatif*, *constellation*, *cordial*, *dis-simulacion*, *dominacion*, *ducat*, *duracion*, *existence*, *exorcisacioun*, *fantastike*, *fumigacioun*, *fustian*, *herce* (E. *hearse*), *ymagerie* (E. *imagery*), etc. See § 110. Here again, it is hardly possible to be sure that none of these were ever current in A. F.; thus *herce* appears in the Royal Wills, ed. Nichols, p. 45 (A. D. 1361).

I may here remark that, whilst it is clear that Chaucer was intimate with Italian literature, there is not, as far as I am aware, a single instance in which he has introduced an Italian word². He comes very near it in one instance, when he introduces the word *armipotent* in the Knightes Tale, l. 1124; for the original passage of Boccaccio's Teseide (vii. 32), which he had before him, has *armipotente*; but he could

¹ For references, see the New E. Dictionary, or the glossaries to the selections in the Clarendon Press, and that in Moxon's edition; also Cromie's Ryme-index.

² *Pilgrim*, if Italian, is at any rate far older than Chaucer's time.

easily have excused himself by the plea that the word was really Latin, as the corresponding passage in Statius (*Theb.* vii. 78) has *armipotens*.

§ 110. It is also worth while to note that F. words may be divided into two classes, viz. popular and learned. To the former class belong some of the commonest and oldest words of A. F. origin, such as *peace, treasure, prison, justice, rent, standard, empress, countess, tower, court*, all of which occur in the A. S. Chronicle, before A. D. 1160. To the latter class belong a large number of words which are mere Latin in a French dress, such as *privilege, procession*, also in the A. S. Chronicle; and, since the A. F. and Central F. forms are alike, and the A. F. form is frequently not to be found, it is just as well to class them with the Central French forms. Chaucer has several words of this class, such as *antartik, conservatif, constellacion, dissimulacion* (H. F. 687), *examinen, fructifye* (to Scogan, 48), *imaginacion* (C. T. 1094), *impression* (H. F. 39), *inquisitif* (C. T. 3163), *interrogacion* (C. T. 3194), *licenciat* (C. T. Prol.), *logike, magike, magnificence, martial* (T. iv. 1669), *misconstrue* (T. i. 346), *moralitee* (C. T. 3180), *multiplicacion* (H. F. 784), *mutabilitee* (T. i. 851), *oracle, palpable, permutacion* (T. v. 1554), *persuasion* (H. F. 872), *philosophical* (T. v. 1869), *presumpcion* (H. F. 94), *protestacion* (T. ii. 484), *reprehende* (T. i. 510), *reparacion* (H. F. 688), *revelacion* (H. F. 8), *revolucioun* (Mars, 30), *Saturnine* (H. F. 1432), *similitude* (C. T. 3228), *superfluete, transitorie* (T. iii. 827), *tribulacion* (C. T. 5738), *trumphe* (Anelida, 43), *urne* (T. v. 311), *volume* (C. T. 4480), *vulgar*. We may also class as Central French such words as *alambic* (T. iv. 520), and most of the other words mentioned above, in § 109; to which we may add *astrolabie, clarioun, cormeraunt* (P. Foules, 362), *crevace* (crevice, H. F. 2086), *curiositee* (Venus, 81), *diademe, fantome* (phantom), *fantasye* (H. F. 593), *fugitif* (H. F. 146), *gaud, geometrie, hemisperie* (T. iii. 1439), *licoris* (C. T. 3207) *magicien* (H. F.

1260), *narcotike* (C. T. 1474), *portraiture* (B. Duch. 626), *satin* (B. Duch. 253), etc. Our *primrose* is an altered form, due to popular etymology, of Chaucer's *primerole* (C. T. 3268), which he found in Le Roman de la Rose, 3264. *Renegade* answers to his *renegat* (C. T. 5353), which is mere Latin. *Cinnamon* is his *sinamome* (C. T. 3699), which is from *cinnamomum* in the Vulgate version, Exod. xxx. 23. Perhaps these examples may suffice.

§ III. I have no space to discuss here the various Central French words in such works as the *Ayenbite of Inwyte*, *Piers the Plowman*, *Mandeville's Travels*, and the rest; though much is doubtless to be learnt from such investigation. I will merely note here a few remarkable words that occur in *Mandeville*, as edited by Halliwell. Such are: *amber*, p. 197; *aromatyk*, 174; *cane*, 190; *mace* (spice), 187; *mastyk*, 21; *morteys* (mortise), 76; *ryzs* (rice), 310; *scleye* (sleigh), 130; *turbentine* (turpentine), 51.

As we advance into the fifteenth century, the traces of Central French become clearer. Lydgate, for example, translated the *Falls of Princes*, not from the original of Boccaccio, but from a F. version made by Laurent de Premierfait, an ecclesiastic of the diocese of Troyes; and it can hardly be doubted that a close comparison of the English with the F. version would reveal the introduction into the former of some F. words, for which earlier authority is not forthcoming. But it is more convenient to glance at the edition of his *Minor Poems*, edited by Halliwell for the Percy Society in 1840. Some of the words which I suppose to be Central French and not much older than Lydgate's time, are these: *adulacion*, p. 67, *ambiguitee*, 100, *antelope*, 6, *artificere*, 81, *avaunt*! 35, 166; *benedictioun*, 137, *blase*, to *blason*, 203; *combine*, 61, *condigne*, 136, *cronicle*, 124 (older form *cronike*); *damysyn* (damson), 15, *decepcion*, 76, *decoccion*, 82, *demure*, 29, *dilectable* (for *delectable*), 22, *dissent*, v., 44, *doublet*, 53; *encoraged*, 27; *fagot*, 92, *founderesse*, 11, *fragilite*, 44, *fraudu-*

lent, 160; *garnet*, 188; *hospitalite*, 96; *immutable*, 25, *inclination*, 91, *influence*, 9, *inspeccioun*, 144, *interesse*, s. (interest), 170, 172; *kreuys* (now turned into *crayfish*!), 154; *lineal*, 17; *malapert*, 23; *parcialitee*, 120, *pechis* (peaches), 15, *preparatif*, 168, *preservatif*, 91, *presumptuous*, 175, *provision*, 22, *puisaunce*, 25; *quinces*, 15, *quyntencense* (error for *quyntesence*), 51; *ravynous* (ravenous), 159; *serpentyne*, adj., 98, *subbarbis* (suburbs), 4; *tankard*, 52, *tapcery* (short for *tapisery*, now altered to *tapestry*), 6, *tysik* (now pedantically spelt *phthisic*, but pronounced in the old way), 51; *velym*, from F. *velim* (now spelt *vellum*, which is a phonetic spelling), 204.

Of course this list is merely tentative; it is extremely hazardous to attempt to chronicle the first introduction of a word¹. Still, if a majority of the examples are correct, we can see that the supply of Central French words was fairly copious and continual.

§ 112. Passing on to the works of William Caxton, we may well believe that he was one of those who materially assisted in recording, and perhaps in augmenting, the list of Central French words which English, owing to its Anglo-French element, so easily absorbed and turned to good account. In Vol. i. I have already given, at p. 511, an extract from Caxton's translation of *Le Recueil des Histoires de Troye*, written in French by Raoulle le Fevre in 1464; so that there is no doubt as to his familiarity with Central French. Even in that short extract we may note the use of *malenygne* in the sense of 'evil design'; and, in the very next line we have *leueyed*, i. e. levied, which seems to have been introduced just at this time. (In the Supplement to the Second Edition of my Dictionary, I give the earliest example of this verb that I have yet found, dated only four years earlier.) In the

¹ I supposed, at one time, that Lydgate was the first to use *limon* (lemon), *orange* (orange), and *pomegarnade* (pomegranate); all found in his *Minor Poems*, p. 15. But the first is in *Mandeville*, *Trav.* ch. xviii. p. 199; and the others in *Early Eng. Allit. Poems* (ed. Morris).

extract from the same work, as printed in my Specimens of English, p. 89, we even find other French words that, like *malengyne*, never took root in our language and are now obsolete. Such are *esmayed* (with the same sense as *dis-mayed*), l. 53; *tristes*, i. e. sadness, l. 129; *esperance*, hope, l. 166; *fureur*, fury, l. 184. I know of no earlier examples than in Caxton of the verb *resist*, l. 24, and of the sb. *playsir*, l. 70. The latter was afterwards turned into *plesure*, probably by form-association with M. E. *mesure*; and, still later, we find *pleasure* and *measure*. He also uses *tradicion*, l. 65, in the obsolete sense of 'betrayal,' though it occurs with the modern sense in Wyclif's Bible, Col. ii. 8.

§ 113. A very interesting and accessible work by Caxton is his translation of Reynard the Fox, first printed in 1481, and cheaply reprinted by Prof. Arber in his 'English Scholar's Library.' Some years ago Miss Wilkinson (to whom I was much indebted for assistance in preparing my glossary to Chaucer's Man of Lawe, and the much more comprehensive glossary to the Wars of Alexander) compiled for me a list of the French words occurring in the above-named work, which has frequently proved very serviceable. On reading this over, I do not observe many words that strictly belong to the latter half of the fifteenth century. Most of them were in use long before, and very many are of A. F. origin. Still, the following notes upon some of the more remarkable forms may be of interest.

At p. 11, l. 22, we find the sb. *aduys*, advice; and he also has the verb *aduyse*, to advise. The M. E. forms are *avis*, *avisen*, and Dr. Murray notes that the insertion of *d* is due to Caxton, who followed the Central French scribes in making this alteration. At p. 43, l. 23, he has *agrauate* as a past participle, but this is a Latinism; he is the first author who uses the word. *Bombardes* occurs in the sense of 'cannons,' p. 58, l. 9; but Lydgate had used the word before him (Murray); hence our verb to *bombard*. Other words for

which I suppose Caxton to be an early authority are these : *censure*, sb., p. 43 ; *checked*, in the heraldic sense of 'checky,' i.e. chequered, p. 83, l. 32 ; cf. Cotgrave's '*Escheque*, checkered, or (as blasoners) checky' ; *dompte*, p. 81, l. 39, borrowed from the F. *dompter*, but superseded by the older *daunt*, of A. F. origin ; *endevoire*, used reflexively, as in 'he sholde *endevoire hym* to seche hem,' p. 93, l. 21 ; *falacye*, p. 67, l. 10 ; *fyret*, a ferret, p. 79, l. 29 ; *genete*, a gennet, p. 79, l. 29 ; *martre*, the animal now called the marten, p. 112, l. 18, and spelt *martron* at p. 79, l. 28 ; *orguillous*, proud, p. 36, l. 31, afterwards used by Shakespeare, Troil. Prol. 2 ; *polley*, a pulley, p. 96, l. 36 (Chaucer's form is *polive*) ; *preferre*, v., p. 78, l. 28 ; *progenitour*, p. 91, l. 25 ; *saufgarde*, now *safeguard*, p. 7, l. 3 ; *secretarye*, p. 52, l. 19 ; *stuffe*, v., p. 56, l. 28 ; *subdue*, in place of M. E. *soduen*, p. 85, l. 33 ; *viscose*, viscous, p. 90, l. 1. I may add that he uses *hebenus*, the Latin form, instead of *ebony*, p. 84, l. 38 ; and the verb *plaghe*, i.e. to plague, also from Latin, p. 70, l. 9. Caxton was also acquainted with Dutch, which may account for his use of *growle*, p. 78, l. 37 ; see the quotation in the Supplement to my Dictionary (2nd ed.).

§ 114. It would be interesting to trace the early use of Central French words by later authors, but the problem of determining the first appearance of a word in English, which is always a difficult one, becomes more so as we descend towards modern times. There can be little doubt that the borrowing of F. words continued throughout the sixteenth century ; in fact, England held both Calais and Guines down to 1558. We find in Shakespeare a few uncommon words of F. origin, which are but little older than his time. Such are *accost*, in Tw. Nt. i. 3. 52, which he probably introduces by way of ridicule ; it had been used by Bp. Hall only two years before, but no earlier quotation for it is known. Curiously enough, it has now become a recognised word, and there is nothing very ridiculous about it. *Aglet*, occur-

ring in *aglet-baby*, a doll dressed up with aglets (Tam. Shrew, i. 2. 79), is found as early as 1440, in the *Promptorium Parvulorum*. *Agnize*, to recognise, own, first found in 1535, is a made-up word, suggested by *cognize* and *recognise*. *All amort* (Tam. Shrew, iv. 3. 36) is a curious corruption of the F. *a la mort*¹, to death; it had previously been used by Greene, in the first scene of his *Friar Bacon*. *Astringer*, occurring in a stage direction in *All's Well*, v. 1, should rather be *austringer*; it has an inserted *n* before the *ge*, as in *passenger*, *messenger* (for *passager*, *messenger*), and is a variant of *ostreger*, used in the Book of St. Albans (A. D. 1486) to signify a man who kept goshawks; from O. F. *ostour* (F. *autour*), a goshawk. *Bawcock* (Tw. Nt. iii. 4. 125) is a made-up word; from F. *beau coq*, fine cock. *Biggin* or *biggen*, a night-cap, first occurs in Palsgrave (1430), who has 'Byggen for a chyldes heed, *beguynne*'; where *beguynne* is the F. form. *Bruit*, a rumour, Troil. v. 9. 4, occurs as early as 1450. *Burgonet*, a close-fitting helmet, 2 Hen. VI. v. 1. 200, is first found in 1563. *Caliver*, a kind of musket, 1 Henry IV. iv. 2. 21, seems to be a corruption of *calibre*; it first appears in 1568. *Carcanet*, a collar of jewels, Com. Err. iii. 1. 4, is a late dimin. of F. *carcan*, a collar. *Casque*, a helmet, Troil. v. 2. 170, first occurs in 1580. In *chaudron*, entrails, Macb. iv. 1. 33, the *r* is inserted by confusion with *chaudron*, a caldron. The correct form is rather *chawdon*, from O. F. *chaudun*, earlier form *caldun*, entrails (Godefroy); cf. G. *Kaldaunen*. *Clinquant*, glittering, Hen. VIII. i. 1. 19; from F. *cliquant*, 'thinne plate-lace of gold or silver,' Cotgrave: cf. Du. *klinckende*, 'tinckling,' Hexham. *Cozier*, a botcher, cobbler, Tw. Nt. ii. 3. 97, is from O. F. *cousere*, nom., given by Godefroy (s.v. *couseor*), and explained by *couturier*; the latter answers to Cotgrave's '*Cousturier*, a Tailor, or Botcher, a Seamster.' The O. F. *cousere* is from Lat.

¹ Dryden so writes it: 'Mirth was there none, the man was *a-la-mort*'; *Wife of Bath's Tale*, 340.

consuere, to sew together, cf. F. *cous-ant*, pres. p. of *coudre*. *Durance*, imprisonment, Meas. iii. 1. 67, is used earlier by Fabyan; it is probably short for *endurance*, since the form *durance* is very scarce in French, though Godefroy gives a few examples of it in the sense 'duration of time.' *Egal*, equal, Merch. iii. 4. 13, is plainly borrowed from F. '*egal*, equal,' as given by Cotgrave; the form *equal* is Latin, and the A. F. form was *owel*, as in the glossary to Britton. *Extravagant*, in the sense of 'vagrant,' Hamlet i. 1. 154. *Fives*, a swelling of the parotid glands of horses, is a corruption of *vives*, which again is a shortened form of *avives*; Cotgrave has: '*Avives*, the *vives*, a disease in horses.' This curious word, borrowed from Span. *adivas*, explained by Minsheu as 'the quincie, or squinancie in a beast,' is of Arabic origin; see *avives* in Devic's supplement to Littré¹. *Frank*, a pig-sty, 2 Hen. IV. ii. 2. 160, is borrowed from F. *franc*, which Cotgrave explains by 'a franke, or stie, to feed and fatten hogs in.' *Gallimaufry*, a medley or hotchpotch, Mer. Wives, ii. 1. 119, is from F. *galimafrée*, a sort of ragout (Littré); which was spelt *calimafrée* in F. in the fourteenth century. *Garboil*, a disturbance, Ant. i. 3. 61, is from F. *garbouil*, which Cotgrave explains by 'a garboile, hurliburly, great stirre.' *Gimmel-bit* (old editions *Iymold Bitt*), Hen. V. iv. 2. 49, means a bit furnished with *gimmals*, or twin-links; from O. F. *jumel*, a twin (Lat. *gemellus*); see Littré, s. v. *jumeau*; also *gimmel* in Nares, and *gimbals* in my Dictionary. *Guardant*, a guard, 1 Hen. VI. iv. 7. 9, is merely the F. pres. pt. *gardant*. *Guidon*, a standard-bearer, is inserted in modern editions, in Hen. V. iv. 2. 60, where the old editions have *guard*; however, *guidon*, in the sense of standard, is used by Drayton and others (see Nares); Cotgrave has, '*Guidon*, a

¹ In Richardson's Arab. Dict., ed. Johnson, p. 712, I find *zi-bat*, a disease in the throats of horses. This *z* is also transliterated by *dh*, and is now pronounced like E. *th* in *this*. The Span. form is due to this sb., preceded by the Arab. article *al*.

Standard, Ensigne, or Banner . . . also, he that bears it.' *Havoc* is a most interesting word, the etymology of which was explained by me in a paper read at the Philological Society, June 7, 1889; it answers to the O. F. *havot*, pillage, plunder, either because the *t* was misread as *c* (which is one of the commonest of mistakes), or because the final *c* and *t* were confused, as in M. E. *bakke*, a bat, M. E. *make*, a mate; etc. The matter is quite certain, because we borrowed the phrase *cry havoc* (K. John, ii. 1. 357) from O. F. *crier havot*, to cry 'pillage,' i. e. to give the signal for plunder, of which Godefroy gives two examples. Related words are the following: *haver*, 'to hooke, or grapple with a hook,' Cotgrave; *havet*, 'a little hooke,' id.; *havée*, 'a gripe, or handfull, also a booty or prey,' id. Cf. G. *Haft*, a rivet, *Heft*, a handle, also a hook, *heben*, to lift. *Hurly-burly*, Macb. i. 1. 3, which also occurs, somewhat earlier, in Bale's *Kynge Johan* (ed. Collier, p. 63), is a reduplicated form of *hurly*, a tumult, K. John, iii. 4. 169; from O. F. *hurlee*, *hullee*, tumult (Godefroy), once the fem. pp. of *hurler* (L. *ululare*). *Incarnadine*, Macb. ii. 2. 62, is from F. *incarnadin*, of the colour of carnation (Cotgrave). *Jauncing*, Rich. II. v. 5. 94, is from F. *jancer*, 'to stirre a horse in the stable till he be swart withall;' Cotgrave. This O. F. *jancer* also meant to sweep clean (Godefroy). Other words, many of which are sufficiently explained in my Dictionary, are *jutty*; *lunes* (from F. *lune*); *module* (F. *module*, Cotg.); *musit*; *mutine*, to rebel (F. *mutiner*); *mutine*, a rebel (F. *mutin*, Cotg.); *oeillade* (F. *œillade*, 'an amorous look,' Cotg.); *orgulous*, proud, previously used by Caxton, see § 113. Also *parle*, *parley*, both sb. and v.; *partisan*, a kind of halberd; *perdurable* (F. *perdurable*, Cotg.); *periapt*, amulet, 1 Hen. VI. v. 3. 2, from F. *periapte*, 'a medicine hanged about any part of the body,' Cotg.; *perspectives*; *pestered*, impeded; *pioner*, a pioneer (also used by Lord Berners); *planned*, boarded, Meas. iv. 1. 30, from F. *planche*, a plank; *plantage* (F. *plantage*, a planting, Cotg.); *pouncet-*

box, from F. *ponce*, pumice; *puzzel*, a hussy, 1 Hen. VI. i. 4. 107, from F. *pucelle*. *Quart d'écu* is needlessly substituted for the *cardecue* of the old editions in All's Well, iv. 3. 311, v. 2. 35, *cardecue* being the E. phonetic spelling of F. *quart d'écu*¹. *Relume*, Oth. v. 2. 13, is an E. adaptation of F. *rallumer*, 'to light, kindle, or set on fire again,' Cotgrave; *reverb*, short for *reverber*, from F. *reverberer*; *rivage*, Hen. V. iii. chor. 14, from F. *rivage*, 'the sea-shore,' Cotg.; *rondure*, *roundure*, from F. *rondeur*, 'roundness,' Cotg.; *roynish*, scurvy (as a term of contempt), from F. *roigneux*, 'scabbie, mangie, scurvie,' Cotg.; to which *ronyon* is said to be a related word. *Sallet*, a kind of helmet, occurs in Palsgrave. *Scroyles*, scabby rogues, K. John, ii. 373, is from M. F. *les escroelles* (later form *escrouelles*), 'the kings evill,' i.e. scrofula, Cotg. The phrase 'tickle o' the *sere*' in Hamlet, ii. 2. 337, means 'ready to go off at a light touch,' or 'easily excited to laugh'; *tickle* means 'ticklish, unsteady'; and *sere* is mod. E. *sear*, defined by Ogilvie as 'the pivoted piece in a gun-lock which enters the notches of the tumbler, and holds the hammer at half-cock or full-cock.' See the note in Aldis Wright's edition of Hamlet. The derivation is from F. *serrer*, to pinch, lock, hold fast; cf. F. *serrure*, a lock. *Tester*, a coin worth about sixpence, is for *testern*, a corruption of F. *teston*; the E. coin is not older than the time of Henry VIII. *Vaunt-courier*, for *avaunt-courier*, i.e. fore-runner. *Velure*, Tam. Shr. iii. 2. 62, a much later form than *velvet*, is from F. *velours*.

It hardly need be added that Shakespeare's works abound with F. words of an earlier period. Thus *vail*, to lower, is short for *avale*, used by Chaucer. *Foison* also occurs in Chaucer, and so does *taste*, in the sense of 'feel.' *Tabor* is in Havelok the Dane; and so is *pateyn*, a doublet of Shakespeare's *patine*. *Surcease* is the A. F. *sursise*, which

¹ The silver *quart d'écu* was first coined in 1580; see the New E. Dict., s. v. *cardecue*.

occurs in the Laws of William the Conqueror, § 50¹. *Affeered* (often mis-derived) is an A. F. law-term, and means 'confirmed'; it is derived from the late Latin *afforare*, to fix the market-value of a thing, from *forum*, market; see the New E. Dictionary. And so on.

§ 115. The close relationship between England and France did not cease with the loss of Calais. Charles I., for example, married Henrietta Maria, the daughter of Henry IV. of France. But, as we are here only concerned with the history of the language, it is sufficient to consider that the saturation of English with French terms, and the proximity of the two countries, fully explain the continual interest which we have ever taken in the French language and literature. In this connection, there is one author in particular, viz. Dryden, who is much too important to be passed over. Even before his time, Butler had already written a Satire on our Ridiculous Imitation of the French, whom (he says) the English copied like monkeys, and from whom they borrowed the newest fashions in dress—

‘And, while they idly think t’ enrich,
Adulterate their native speech :
For, though to smatter ends of Greek
Or Latin, be the rethorique
Of pedants counted, and vain-glorious,
To smatter French is meritorious ;
And, to forget their mother-tongue,
Or purposely to speak it wrong,
A hopeful sign of parts and wit,
And that they improve and benefit.’

I cannot here do better than refer my readers to the excellent essay by Prof. A. Beljame, entitled ‘Quae e Gallicis

² ‘E ki le cri orat e sursera, la *sursise* [enuers] li rei amend, u sen espurget’; i. e. and whoever hears the hue and cry, and then desists, let him pay for his desisting to the king, or clear himself of it. The Latin version is—‘Qui, clamore audito, insequi *supersederit*, de *sursisa* erga regem emendet; nisi se iuramento purgare potuerit.’

verbis in Anglicam linguam Johannes Dryden introduxerit'; printed at Paris in 1881. It is from this essay that all the following remarks upon Dryden's language are derived. It abounds in quotations shewing his use of words, with full and exact references. In many instances Prof. Beljame has found, in Dryden's works, earlier examples of words than are given in my Dictionary.

The accession of Charles II., in particular, gave a fresh impulse to the study of French in England at a time when French literature was in the ascendant. See, on this point, the remarks in Chap. III. of Macaulay's History of England. 'No other country could produce a tragic poet equal to Racine, a comic poet equal to Moliere, a trifler so agreeable as La Fontaine, a rhetorician so skilful as Bossuet . . . French was fast becoming the universal language¹, the language of fashionable society, the language of diplomacy . . . Our prose became less majestic, less artfully involved, less variously musical than that of an earlier age, but more lucid, more easy, and better fitted for controversy and narrative. In these changes it is impossible not to recognise the influence of French precept and of French example.' Macaulay gives a striking instance, from Dryden, of the way in which a French word could be substituted for an English one which would better have served the turn.

'Hither in summer evenings you repair
To taste the *fraicheur* of the purer air.'

To His Sacred Majesty, l. 101.

When Dryden said *fraicheur*, of course he meant *freshness*; and one wonders why he could not have said so. But it is probable that the poet well knew his business; for I fear His

¹ This present century has seen a marked change. It is no longer French, but English, which takes the lead. Even in diplomacy, the year 1889 has witnessed a new thing, viz. the use of English at Berlin for the settlement of affairs between America and Germany.

Sacred Majesty preferred *fraicheur*. An instance such as this is extremely significant.

§ 116. M. Beljame cites a passage from Act III. of Dryden's *Marriage a-la-Mode* (a play with a French title), in which Philotis brings Melantha a supply of new French words, in order to furnish her 'with new words' for her 'daily conversation.' The list includes *sottises* (a word of which Melantha at once highly approves), *figure*, *naïve*, *naïveté*, *foible*, *chagrin*, *grimace*, *embarrasse*, *double entendre*, *équivoque*, *éclaircissement* (sic), *suitte*, *beveue*, *façon*, *penchant* (sic), *coup d'étourdy*, and *ridicule*¹. A little further on, in the same scene, we find *languissant*, *billets doux*, *gallant*, *tendre*, *repartee*. The remarks on *figure*, *naïve*, and *naïveté* are worth giving.

'Phil. *Figure*: As, what a *figure*² of a man is there! *Naïve*, and *naïveté*.

'Mel. *Naïve*! as how?

'Phil. Speaking of a thing that was naturally said, it was so *naïve*; or such an innocent piece of simplicity, 'twas such a *naïveté*.'

Observe how many of these are still in use. We have absolutely adopted this use of *figure* as well as *naïve*, *naïveté*, *foible*, *chagrin*, *grimace*, *embarrass* as a verb, *double entendre*, *éclaircissement*, *suite*, *penchant*, *billet doux*. By *gallant*, Dryden does not mean the old word *gállant* (romic *gæl·ənt*), but the later *gallánt* (romic *gəlænt*), in the sense of 'courtly.'

Our attention is also drawn to Act V. sc. 1 of the same play, where we again find *chagrin*, *suitte* (also spelt *suite*), *douceurs*, *embarrass* (used as an E. verb), *beveue* (in the sense

¹ *Suitte* is shown by other passages to be a misprint for *suite*, better spelt *suite*. *Beveue* is for *bévue*, a blunder. *Façon* was needless, as *fashion* had long been in use. Our *ridicule* is a sb., not an adj., as in French.

² *Figure* is an old word, and occurs in Chaucer. Dryden refers merely to a peculiar use of it, as when we say 'he makes a regular *figure* of himself.'

of 'blunder'), *eclaircissement*, *sottises*, etc., all introduced as E. words, as in—'I have so great a *tendre* for your person, and such a *panchant* to do you service'—'how could I make that *coup d'élourdy* to think him one?'—'That the princess should thus *rompre en visiere*, without occasion'—'I am *desespéré au dernier*'—'how durst you interrupt me so *mal a propos*.' We also find here *malheur*, *contretemps*, *la raillerie gallante*, *un cavalier accomply*, a *minuét*¹, *en cavalier*, a *chanson à boire*, in *cabarets*, an *eveillé*, I begin to have a *tendre* for you, your *gayeté d'esprit*, *sans nulle reserve*, stay but a *minuite* (sic). We here see many more words which we still retain, viz. *douceur*, *mal a propos*², *contretemps*, *raillery*, *cavalier*, *minuet*, *esprit*, *reserve*, sb. *Gaiety* and *minute* are much older words; Dryden's spelling *minuite* probably means no more than that the word was to be pronounced as in French.

§ 117. M. Beljame gives a fairly complete and useful list, with quotations and references, of words that were used for the first time either by Dryden himself, or also (in not many instances) by authors who wrote but a little while before him, such as Butler and Milton. I regret that I have no space for more than the bare list of words; I must refer the reader to the book itself for further information.

The word-list contains the following: *Adroit* (in Evelyn, 1652); *agressour* (also spelt *aggressor*, as if from Latin); *agonize* (used by Stubbes, 1583); *alamode*; *alamort* (Shakespeare's *all-amort*, as explained in § 114); *alexandrine* (verse); *ambuscade* (occurs in 1582); *amnesty* (in Bacon, *Adv. Learn.*

¹ So in Sir W. Scott's edition, 1808; M. Beljame has '*a minuét*,' as he follows the edition of 1673.

² I think it is a mistake to suppose that French words are not used by the lower orders in England. In the first place, the old A. F. words, such as *ease*, *crown*, *glory*, are a necessary part of their language; and secondly, the lower orders are often glad to use a F. word if they can get hold of it. Only lately, a poor old woman told a friend of mine that her cottage had been done up, and 'made quite *a propos*'; which was pronounced as it often is, viz. (æp'rəpou'), riming with *no* (nou).

ii. 23. § 6); *amour* (in Chaucer, and earlier, but not much used in the fifteenth century); *antechamber* (spelt *antichamber*, because the F. form is *antichambre*); *apartment*; *apropos*; *assassin* (see New E. D.); *attaque*, *attacque*, now *attack*, both as v. and sb. (spelt *attack* by Holland in 1600); *attitude*.

Bagatelle, a trifle; *ball*, a dance (Chapman and Shirley wrote a play called *The Ball* ab. 1632); *ballet*; *bandit*, as in Milton, *Com.* 426 (but Shakespeare has *bandetto*, and it may be Italian; see New E. D.); *barricade*, s.; *baston*, spelt *battoon* by Butler; *beau*, s., pl. *beaux*; *belvedere* (F. from Italian); *billet-doux*; *bizarre*; *bravade*, which has been superseded by *bravado*, a false form of Span. *bravada*; *brillant*, s., a diamond, now spelt *brilliant*, like the adj.; *brunet*, now *brunette*; *brutal* (a much older word, used by Henryson, ab. 1450); *brutality* (in Latimer, 1549); *burlesque*, s. and v.

Cadet; *cajole*; *caleche*, now *calash*; *camisade*, a night attack (obsolescent); *campaign*, in a military sense; *cannonade*; *capot*, v., to win all the tricks at the game of piquet; *caprice*; *caress*, v.; *carnival* (see Massinger, *City Madam*, iv. 4); *carousel*, a kind of tournament, confused with our *carousal*, though originally distinct from it; *carte-blanche*; *cavalcade*; *chacon*, a dance (F. *chaconne*, Ital. *ciaccona*); *chagrin*; *cirque*; *code*; *commandant*; *complaisance*, *complaisant*; *confidant* (spelt *confident*); *console*, v.; *counterband*, now *contraband*, which is more Italian in form; *contrast*, v.; *coquette*; *corps* (of soldiers); *couchee* (see Hind and Panther, i. 516); *courant*, adj.; *cravat*; *critique*; *cuirassier* (in Butler, *Hud.* iii. 3. 362).

Debauchee; *decry*; *deference*; *despotic*; *dessert*; *detach*; *disapprove*; *disencumber*; *diversion*; *divertise*, v., to divert, amuse; *divertisement*, amusement; *dome*; *double entendre* (yet F. has only *double entente*); *douceur*; *dragoon*; *drugget*; *dupe*, s. and v.

Eclaircissement; *embarrass*; *embroil*, whence also *disembroil*; *engineer* (older form *enginier*); *epopee* (epic poem); *escalade*; *escapade*.

Fatigue, s.; *festoon*; *flagelet*, now *flageolet*; *flambeau*; *flutedoux*; *foible*; *foliage*; *fougue*, fury, spelt *fogue* (*Astræa Redux*, 203); *fraicheur*, or *fraischeur* (see p. 162); *fricassee*; *fund* (spelt *fond*, *Albion* and *Albanus*, *proœmium*).

Gazette; *gendarme*, pl. *gensdarms*; *gimp*, spelt *guimp*; *grandeur*; *grimace*; *grotesque*; *group*; *guitar*.

Harangue; *harlequin*; *harpoon*; *houss*, in the pl. *housses*, i. e. housings, trappings for a horse.

Impertinence (cf. *Milton*, P. L. viii. 195); *impromptu*; *incommode*, v.; *incontestable*; *instructive*; *integral*; *intendant*, s.; *intrigue*.

Justacorps, a close-fitting dress for a woman (F. *justaucorps*; obsolete).

Lampoon; *legislative*; *levee*; *louis-d'or*.

Mal-apropos; *mallreat*; *masquerade*; *memoir*; *messieurs*, pl.; *mien*; *miniature*; *minuet*; *mosque*.

Naïve, *naïveté*; *nom-de-guerre*.

Ombre; cf. *Waller's* epigram, 'written on a card that Her Majesty [i. e. the queen of Charles II.] tore at *Ombre*.'

Peinture (obsolete); *paladin*; *palette*; *palisade*; *palliard*, a rake (obsolete; F. *paillard*); *panacee* (we now use Lat. *panacæa*); *pantaloon*; *papa* (imported from France; see N. and Q. 1881, p. 273); *parry*; *parterre*; *Pasquin*; *passe-partout*; *payable*; *peruke*; *petrify*; *piquet*; *pistole*; *plastron*, a breast-piece (Ital. *piastrone*, obsolete); *platoon*; (*Ottoman*) *Porte*; *portmanteau*; *preference*; *prelude*; *profile* (F. *profil*, in *Littre*); *prolific*.

Quatrain; *quatre* (in dice-play; also spelt *cater*); *quint*, a sequence of five, in piquet.

Ragout; *raillery*; *rally*, v.; *rebuff*; *recitative*; *refugee*; *refund* (F. *refonder*, in *Cotgrave*); *regorge*; *remand*; *repartee*; *reprimand*; *retard*; *retouch*; *retrench*; *retrenchment*; *reveille*; *ridicule* (see my *Dict.*); *risque*, now *risk*; *ritornelle* (also *ritornella*, as in Italian); *rodomontade*; *rondache*, a buckler, *The Assigination*, A. ii. sc. 1 (obsolete); *rondeau*;

ruelle (we even find *ruel* in P. Plowman, C. x. 79, on which see my note).

Salve, in the sense of *salvo*, a salute; *sap*, to undermine (used by Howell; see my Dict.); *saraband*; *satirise*; *scaramouch*; *serenade*; *simagre* (= *simagree*), a grimace (obsolete); *simarre*, *symarr*, *cymarr*, a kind of gown (F. *simarre*, from Ital. *zimarra*); *suite*, oddly spelt *suitte*; *sur-tout*; *sylph*; *symphony*.

Tendre, a tender feeling (obsolete); *tocsin*; *tour*; *tout*, all (obsolete, except in *tout ensemble*); *transpierce* (F. *transpercer*).

Valet (the older form is *varlet*, Fuller has *valett*); *valet-de-chambre*; *vase*; *verve*, animation (rare); *vol*, *vole*, a deal at cards that draws all the tricks; *volunteer* (used by Drayton).

Truly, a remarkable list.

§ 118. In his third Chapter, Prof. Beljame very properly draws attention to the fact that, of the above words, quite two hundred have remained in use, and that the number of them which is now obsolete is extremely small; so that, in fact, Johnson was entirely wrong in his estimate of Dryden's choice of words, when he says, not far from the end of his Life of Dryden, that 'he had a vanity, unworthy of his abilities, to show, as may be suspected, the rank of the company with whom he lived, by the use of French words, which had then crept into conversation; such as *fraicheur* for *coolness*, *fougue* for *turbulence*, and a few more, none of which the language has incorporated or retained. They continue only where they stood first, perpetual warnings to future innovators.' There is here no hint of the far more important truth, that his use of French words has been largely approved of and endorsed by the whole English nation down to the present day. I beg leave to repeat here what I have already said with respect to Chaucer, that great authors are rather the servants than the masters of the general public, and are rather ruled by than rule the speech of their contemporaries. If they become 'authorities' for

the use of words, it is mainly because of their copiousness, because they reflect *the general speech* of their age rather than that of a few individuals. To use Johnson's own words, if Dryden wrote so as to shew 'the rank of the company with whom he lived,' I should say it was at once the most natural and the wisest thing to do. At the same time, it is of course true that the loss of such words as *fraicheur* and *fougue* is not to be regretted; they failed to take root for the precise reason that has condemned them, viz. that they had no general acceptance, and therefore were not wanted.

§ 119. Prof. Beljame draws attention, with a praiseworthy patriotism, to the fact which Macaulay so clearly expresses when he says, with reference to this period:—'France united at that time almost every species of ascendancy. Her military glory was at the height. . . . Her authority was supreme in all matters of good breeding, from a duel to a minuet. . . . In literature, she gave law to the world.'—Hist. Eng. ch. iii. Accordingly, the words in the above list attest the supremacy of French in many directions. 'Nos etiam armis tum praevaluisse testantur *attack, detach, retrench, ambushade, escalade, cannonade, barricade, palisade, commandant, engineer, volunteer, cuirassier, dragoon, gendarme, campaign, corps, platoon*; litteris: *alexandrine, quatrain, epopee, impromptu, gazette, lampoon, memoir, critique*; artibus: *contrast, relouch, attitude, group, profile, palette, miniature,—flageolet, guitar, prelude, recitative, ritornelle, rondeau, serenade, symphony*; variis urbanae vitae elegantibus, oblectamentis, atque voluptatibus: *belvedere, calash, flambeau, vase,—ombre, piquet, capot, quint, vole,—amour, caprice, intrigue, foible, tendre, beau, coquette, brunette*. Denique, ne ullum gentis nostrae omittatur laudis genus, exteris etiam coquis et vestificis nos leges dedisse nonnulla manifestum faciunt, ut: *dessert, fricassee, ragout, cravat, peruke, pantaloons; surtout, gimp*.'

120. The next point in Prof. Beljame's essay is of great

importance, viz. the retention, in many words, of the French accent and even of the French pronunciation. Thus, *grimáce* is accented on the latter syllable, quite differently from the older words *ménace*, *pálace*, *sólace*. *Carteblanche*, *gendarme*, *rondeau*, *eclaircissement*, *parterre*, *valet*, *douceur*, *caprice*, *critique*, *intrigue*, etc., retain enough of their old pronunciation to remind every one of their French origin. We have not treated *ballet*, *piquet*, *valet* as we have *drugget*, which has been thoroughly Anglicised; nor *douceur* as *grandeur*; nor *caprice* as *service*; nor *chagrin* as *satín*; nor *amour* as *honour*, nor even as *enamour*. *Ambuscade*, *apropos*, *guitar*, *rondeau*, *dragoon*, *critique*, are, respectively, closely related to *ambush*, to (the) *purpose*, *gilttern* or *cilttern*, *roundel*, *dragon*, and *critic*; all of which throw back the accent on to the former syllable, and thus prove their higher antiquity. We may also contrast *beau* with *beauty*, *corps* with *corpse*, *suite* with *suit*, *tour* with *turn*, *memoir* with *memory* and *memorial*, *eclaircissement* with *clear*, *foible* with *feeble*, and *rally*, to banter, with the verb *to rail*. On the whole, this question of the pronunciation of the French words introduced into English in the age of Dryden, or at a later period, is of sufficient importance to be discussed in a new Chapter.

CHAPTER IX.

WORDS OF LATE FRENCH ORIGIN.

§ 121. At the end of the last Chapter I spoke of words introduced in the time of Dryden, or later, some of which still retain, more or less, the French pronunciation. The fact is, that there are at least *three* sets of French words in English, though they are not sharply distinguishable, and sometimes can hardly be distinguished at all. First, there are the words of ANGLO-FRENCH origin, which came into the language before 1350, and form part and parcel of the good old stock, being of equal value and use with the words of native origin (§ 7). Secondly, there are the CENTRAL FRENCH words of the MIDDLE FRENCH period, imported chiefly between 1350 and 1660 (the date of the accession of Charles II). These words also conformed to the English accent and pronunciation, and abound, like the former class, in our famous authors of the time of Elizabeth and James I. Thirdly, we have a set which may well be called LATE FRENCH words, introduced into the language since 1660, or thereabouts. Many of these have also become thoroughly English, both in accent and pronunciation, but at the same time there is among them no inconsiderable number that still retain some French peculiarity, either of accent or of pronunciation, or of both. I greatly doubt the value of some of them; they are, on the whole, of far less value than those in the two former classes.

As regards accent, the tendency is to accent these words on the *last* syllable, contrary to the English habit of throwing the accent back. If such words be trisyllabic, they are

frequently accented twice, viz. on the first and third syllables, and the accent on the third syllable is much more marked than in the case of older words. Thus, the late French words *lemonade*, *masquerade*, *pantaloön*, *arabesque*, *repartee*, *bombardier*, *volunteer*, etc. have the principal accent on the third syllable, whilst the old words *elephant*, *countenance*, *negligence*, *obsequies*, *banishment*, &c. have the principal accent on the first syllable. This is only true to a limited extent; for the habit of throwing back the accent is much the stronger one, and it is very easy to alter the accent of an individual word. *Parachûte*, for example, is easily changed to *párachute*, which is now common; indeed, it is so marked in Ogilvie's Dictionary. As regards dissyllables, we still accent the latter syllable in *grimace*, *campaign*, *harangue*, *bizarre*, *guitar*, *cravat*, *parterre*, *burlesque*, *grotesque*, *cadet*, *brunette*, *coquette*, *gazette*, *caprice*, *critique*, *fatigue*, *intrigue*, *cajole*, *dragoon*, *festoon*, *harpoon*, *lampoon*, *platoon*, *ragout*, *surtout*, *peruke*, and some others; all of which are of late French origin.

§ 122. In § 10 I have already noted most of the peculiarities of pronunciation found in words of late French origin, and have already shewn how necessary it is that children who are being taught to read should be taught the usual sounds of the *French* alphabet as well as the usual sounds of the *English* one; since the knowledge of *both* sources would at once explain some of the peculiarities of our symbols. It might easily be explained, for example, that the symbol *ou* has two distinct values in modern English; viz. (1) the E. value (au), as in *house* (haus), *mouth* (mauth), *out* (aut), this value being much the commoner one of the two; and (2) the F. value (uu), as in *soup* (suup), *group* (gruup), *tour* (tuuə), *rouge* (ruuzh), *roulette* (ruulet'), *routine* (ruutiin), *recoup* (rikuu'p, riikuu'p), *trousseau* (truusou'); and so on. An honest admission of the truth of such a fact as this would do something to lessen the apparent anomalies of our

spelling. This point is so much neglected, as far as I know, by teachers, that it is worth while to give numerous examples; especially noting such peculiarities as point out the lateness of the period at which such words as retain (or partially retain) their F. pronunciation, were borrowed. I shall now discuss the vowels and diphthongs, &c. in due order.

§ 123. No words fluctuate more in pronunciation than the late French words which we are here considering. There is a constant tendency to assimilate their pronunciation to that of native words, and rapid changes in this direction are not unfrequent. Many of them have two pronunciations at least, and a few (such as *vase*) have more. In many cases, I do not myself know how to pronounce them; I find, for example, on reference to Ogilvie's Dictionary, that he not unfrequently marks the pronunciation quite differently from what I should have supposed. Some of his pronunciations are given below; I transliterate them, however, into 'broad romic' (see vol. i. § 310, p. 336). Thus for *avalanche*, O. gives (æv'ælənsh'), whereas I am accustomed to (æv'əlaonsh'). For *glacis*, which I used to pronounce nearly in the F. way, viz. as (glaasii), he gives, to my astonishment, (glei'sis), as if it rimed to *basis*. For *badinage*, he gives both the E. (bæd'-inei'j) and the F. (badinaazh). Hence it will be understood that, in the examples below, I am reduced to giving my own pronunciation, without being at all aware whether it will be generally considered as 'correct'; when I give Ogilvie's pronunciation also, it is because his views may be preferred to mine. I am not aware that there is any real standard in some of these cases. As our spelling is so poor a guide to the sound, one can seldom be sure of a word unless one has frequently heard it; and there are many words which one seldom hears, such as *enfilade*, *glacis*, *complaisance*, and so on. Other words may be heard often, and yet heard differently; in *menagerie*, I have heard the *g* sometimes sounded like the E. *j*, and, just as often, like the F. *j*. The

only safe prediction is that the E. method will prevail at last, and the late French words, like the Middle French words before them, must conform, sooner or later, to the present (or future) pronunciation of native and of Anglo-French words.

§ 124. A. The F. sound (aa) of this vowel is somewhat scarce, and is chiefly kept up by fresh borrowings. We still keep it in *menage* (meenaa'zh); *mirage* (miiraa'zh); *éclat* (eeklaa'), which in the last century seems to have been called (eeklaa')¹, just as *spa* (spaa) was called (spaa'), and even spelt *spaw*. *Papier-maché* is still pronounced nearly as in French, but often with that peculiar E. mode of pronouncing French, which turns (aa) into (æ), as if it contained the syllables *pap* and *mash*. For *avalanche*, *badinage*, *glacis*, see above (§ 123). Few E. people keep the F. *a* in *chaperon*, *chateau*, *glacier*, &c.; it is constantly turned into the E. (æ) in *cat* (kæt). The suffix *-ade* is very commonly (eid), as in *lemonade*, *cannonade*; Ogilvie gives the same sound for *enfilade*, *façade*, *gasconade*, *pomade*, *rodomontade*, *tirade*, but admits (fasaa'd) as a variation. For myself, I say (pomaa'd, rodomontaa'd, tiraa'd), and sound *promenade* as (prom'enaad); but when it comes to *façade*, *gasconade*, I am doubtful. But I say (en'fileid). For *moustache*, I say (mustaa'sh), but O. has (mustæsh'). Sometimes the English make some sort of attempt to sound the nasal F. *an* in *restaurant*, *surveillance*, *gourmand*, *nonchalant*, *nonchalance*; but in *charlatan*, it is usually unattempted.

In the word *tamper*, we have an interesting example in which *am* is due to the nasal F. *em*; it is a mere variant of the verb to *temper*. In *adroit*, the *a* is much less clear than in French; it is commonly (ə), the obscure vowel. It is clearer in *patois*, in which the F. pronunciation is attempted.

¹ Even in 'Marie Mignot,' in the Ingoldsby Legends, *éclat* rimes with E. *law*; and in 'Some Account of A New Play,' in the same, E. *law* rimes with F. *faux pas*.

It is quite clear in the second syllable of *papa* (pəpaʔ). The word *vase* causes great difficulty, because it is isolated. For myself, I call it (vaaz). Those who associate it with *phrase* call it (veiz). Those who associate it with *chase* call it (veis). And others think they have *cause* to call it (vaoz); cf. *spaw* for *spa* above.

On the whole, it will be seen that the F. *a* has but a precarious tenure amongst us; and considering that we already possess the *a* (æ) in *cat* (kæt), the *a* (ei) in *fate* (feit), and the *a* (ao) in *call* (kaol), it may be expected that the F. *a* will often be confused with one of these and disappear, except in particular combinations where we are accustomed to it, as, e. g. before *ss*, *st*, &c.; cf. *pass*, *past*, &c.

§ 125. E. The F. *e* is seldom kept in English. We find it, initially, in *écarté*, *éclat*, *éclaircissement*, *élan*, *épergne*; but Ogilvie marks it, in the last of these, as being like E. *e* in *met*. *Echelon*, *eglantine*, *epaulet*, &c., have the E. sound of *e*. We also find the F. *é*, finally, in *congé*¹, *écarté*, *naïveté*, *roué*, *soirée*, *papiermâché*; and in some words ending in *et* in which the *t* is silent, such as *ballet*, *bouquet*, *cabriolet*, *corset* (O. gives the suffix as E. *-et*), *croquet*, *tournoiement* (also with E. suffix *-et*), *valet* (also vœl'et). In *rendezvous*, the F. *ez* is often turned into an E. short *i*. The *é* in *fête* keeps its F. sound, but not always; it is a word that often appears in advertisements, and the readers of them who do not know French are apt to call it *feet* (fiit). I have so heard it; in fact, it rhymes with *greet* in The 'Monstre' Balloon, by T. Ingoldsby. *Tête-à-tête* also shews F. *é*; and so does the phrase *bête noire*.

The F. *en* (with the nasal sound) is sometimes attempted, the commonest word of this character being *encore*, in which there is a tendency to sound *en* as (ong). So also *rencontre*, *rendezvous*; *enceinte*, *ennui*, *en route*, *en famille*, *en passant*,

¹ Formerly also *congee*, *congie*; and, probably, with a variable pronunciation.

double entendre; cf. *embonpoint*. I remember the time when the F. pronunciation of *envelope* was general. It is now commonly Anglicised; doubtless because we also possess the old verb *to envelop*.

§ 126. I. The F. long *i* (ii) is fairly common, especially in the termination *-ine* (iin). Exx. *brigantine* (Ogilvie gives the E. sound to the long *i*); *bombasine*, *crinoline*, *fascine*, *gelatine*, *glycerine*, *guillotine*, *machine*, *magazine*, *marine* (so also *submarine*, *transmarine*, *ultramarine*), *nectarine*, *paraffine*, *quarantine*, *quinine*, *ravine*, *routine*, *sardine*, *tambourine*, *tontine*, *wolverine* (or *wolvereen*). So also *antique*, *critique*, *oblique*, also (oblai'k), *pique*, *unique*, *pique*; *fatigue*, *intrigue*; *caprice*, *police*, *pelisse*; *bastile*, *deshabille*, *vaudeville*; *fleur-de-lis*, *vis-a-vis*, *glacis*, for which Ogilvie gives the very modern pronunciation (glei'sis); *chemise*, *cheval-de-frise*; *élite*, *suite*; *souvenir*, *sortie*. The F. short *i* is sometimes heard in *vignette*. The most interesting cases are those in which the F. *i* is absolutely represented by the E. *ee*. Thus *guarantee* was formerly *guaranty*, and represents F. *garantie*; *repartee*, formerly *reparty*, represents F. *repartie*; *fusee*, a fuse, match, is from F. *fusil*, with mute *l*; *genteel* represents F. *gentil*, *gentille*. So also *canteen*, F. *cantine*; *lateen*, F. *Latine*; *ratteen*, F. *ratine*. The last is perhaps obsolete, but occurs in Swift's Epilogue to a Play for the benefit of the distressed weavers, 1721; and meant a kind of thick twilled woollen stuff.

We'll rig from Meath-Street Ægypt's haughty queen,
And Antony shall court her in *ratteen*.

The F. *terrine* was first spelt *terreen*, and then (phonetically) *tureen*, the *u* being used to denote the unemphatic vowel; its etymology is now forgotten, and the *tu* is consequently often pronounced like the *tu*- in *tumultuous*. The *i* in *oblige* had the F. sound in Pope's time, as is well known¹; but the word is old, and such a pronunciation of it was an affectation.

¹ 'And so *obliging*, that he ne'er *obliged*' rimes with *besieged*; *Prol. to Satires*, 208.

§ 127. **OU.** The F. *ou*, as has already been remarked, is also common. Examples are :—*accoutre*, *accoutrement*, *amour*, *bijou*, *billet-doux*, *boudoir*, *bouquet*, *cartouche*, *contour*, *coup*, *coupon*, *croupier*, *debouch*, *detour*, *embouchure*, *group*, *moustache*, *pirouette*, *ragout*, *recoup*, *roué*, *rouge*, *rouleau*, *roulette*, *route*, *routine*, *silhouette*, *sou*, *soup*, *souvenir*, *surtout*, *tour*, *troubadour* (F., from Provençal), *trousseau*. *Tournament* and *tourney* are old words; hence the pronunciation of the first syllable varies. In the word *troop*, we have an interesting example of E. phonetic spelling; it was formerly spelt *troupe*, as in French; see Spenser, F. Q. i. 11. 6. As for *manœuvre*, we get over the difficulty of the F. sound of *œu* by using the sound of F. *ou* instead.

§ 128. **U, AU, EAU, IEU.** There is but little attempt to sound the F. *u*; it usually becomes the E. *û* in *rune* (*ruun*). It is also scarce. I only know of *ormolu*, *parvenu*; the latter of which often has the F. pronunciation. *Perdu*, according to Ogilvie, is pronounced (*pædiu*), as if it were English; yet it often has the F. pronunciation. But *impromptu* is treated as English.

The F. *au*, pronounced as E. *ō* (*ou*) is rare, and only occurs in words of late importation. Examples: *hautboy*, *mauve*, *noyau*, *Sauterne*, *vaudeville*. *Dauphin* is a much older word, and hence is often (*dao'fin*), as if English. In the same way, the *au* of *hauteur* varies between E. *ō* (*ou*) and E. *au* (*ao*); cf. *haughty* (*hao'ti*).

The F. *eau* is also scarce. We have *beau*, *bureau*, *chateau*, *flambeau*, *morceau*, *plateau*, *rondeau*, *trousseau*. The A. F. *eau* is now (*iuu*), as in *beauty* (*biuu'ti*), *Beaulieu* (*biuu'li*).

The F. *ieu* has become the ordinary E. long *u*, as heard in *duty*. It occurs in *adieu*, *lieu*, *purlieu*, which really belong to a much older time, and therefore take the E. sound. These three words occur in Shakespeare.

OI. The F. *oi* is very scarce. We have something like it in *devoir*, *memoir*, *reservoir*, *au revoir*, where the *oir* is

practically identified with E. *war*. So also in *patois*, *soirée* (Sam Weller's *swarry*).

§ 129. **IER.** The F. final *-ier*, when accented, is now sounded as in E. *bier*, *pier*, *tier*, &c. Examples: *bombardier*, *brigadier*, *brevier*, *carabinier*, *cashier*, s., *cavalier*, *chandelier*, *chevalier*, *chiffonier*, *cuirassier*, *fusilier*, *gondolier*, *grenadier*, *halberdier*, *harquebussier*, *saltier* (in heraldry). Observe how many of these terms are military. Sometimes the spelling is Englished to *-eer*, as in *buccaneer*, also *buccanier*, *cannoneer* (formerly also *cannonier*), *gazetteer*, *muleteer*; and, being thus established as a suffix, is put for the F. *-aire* in *musqueteer* (F. *mousquetaire*), *pamphleteer* (F. *pamphlétaire*), *volunteer* (F. *volontaire*); and is further used where there is no corresponding F. sb., as in *auctioneer*, *charioteer*, *electioneer*, *mountaineer*, *privateer*, *scrutineer*, *sonneteer*. The old *enginer* and *pioner* (both in Shakespeare) are now *engineer* and *pioneer*. *Career* occurs before 1600, and is from Mid. F. *carriere*. *Barrier* has been modified, by the influence of F. *barrière*, from the M. E. *barere*, which became *barreere* in the 15th century, and should have given a mod. E. *barreer*. This explains at once why Pope rimed it with *near*; Essay on Man, i. 223.

§ 130. **EUR.** The sound of the F. suffix *-eur* is more or less attempted in some words, such as *colporteur*, *connoisseur*, *douceur*, *hauteur*, *liqueur*. The pronunciation of E. *monsieur* is not easy to define. *Grandeur* occurs in Milton, *P. R.* iv. 110, and has quite lost the F. sound. It is often pronounced (græn'jəə).

§ 131. **ON.** The F. suffix *-on*, with the nasal sound, is sometimes heard in *chaperon*, also pronounced (shæp'erou'n) with long ō, *chignon*, *coupon*, *crayon*, *jupon*, *ton* (in the sense of 'fashion'). In several words, the F. suffix *-on* is represented by mod. E. *-oon* (-uun). The most striking example of this appears in the adj. *boon*, as used in the phrase 'a *boon* companion'; the said *boon* being simply borrowed from the

F. *bon*; see the New E. Dictionary. In the same way we have *balloon*, *bassoon*, *batoon*, *buffoon*, *cardoon* (a plant resembling an artichoke), *cartoon*, *cocoon*, *dragoon*, *doubloon*, *festoon*, *galloon*, *harpoon*, *lampoon*, *macaroon*, *musketoon*, *pantaloon*, *platoon* (F. *peloton*), *pontoon*, *saloon*, *shalloon*. Even *mushroom* belongs to this list, as it is a mistake for *mushroon*, from the Mid. F. *mouscheron*, also spelt *mousseron* (as at present), which Cotgrave explains by 'mushrome.' *Rigadoon* should rather be *rigodoon* (F. *rigodon*, or *rigaudon*, the name of a dance said to have been invented by one *Rigaud*).

I do not think the E. suffix *-oon* is intended to represent the nasal sound of F. *-on*. On the contrary, I take it to be a survival of the O. F. suffix *-on*, which (at any rate in late Anglo-French) was also spelt *-un* or *-oun*, and was sounded, as I suppose, very much like our modern *-oon*. The history of the words *button* and *mutton* is sufficient to shew this. The M. E. forms were *botoun*, Sir Gawain and the Grene Knight, 220, and *motoun*, P. Plowman, B. iii. 24, pronounced (but'uun, mut'uun), from older forms (butuu'n, mutuu'n) accented on the *latter* syllable. The present pronunciation of these words is due to the strong stress on the former syllable, giving first (but'un, mut'un), and afterwards (bət'n, mət'n). Another illustration of the same fact is afforded by the very numerous words which, in Chaucer, end in *-ioun*; thus the sb. *toun* (tuun), a town, rimes with *abhominacioun*, *affectioun*, *ascencioun*, *conclusioun*, *condicioun*, *eleccioun*, *confessioun*, *confusioun*, and twelve more words of the same character. I should conclude that, but for the shifting of the accent, the modern English forms of *button* and *mutton* would certainly have been *butoon* and *mutoon* respectively.

§ 132. CH. Some consonantal peculiarities should also be noticed. I have already drawn attention, in § 10, to the difference between the M. E. *ch*, as in *chandler*, and the late E. *ch*, as in *chandelier*. Other examples of the late *ch* (=sh) appear in *avalanche*, *brochure*, *chagrin*, *chaise*, *chamois*, *cham-*

pagne, chaperon, charade, charlatan, chateau, chatelaine, chef-d'œuvre, chemise, chevaux-de-frise, chevalier, chicanery (shik-ənri, or shikei-nəri), *chiffonier, chignon*. *Chivalry* is sometimes (shiv-əlri), by the influence of *chevalier*; but it is an old word, and should keep the old *ch*. Campbell's alliteration, in *Hohenlinden*, is quite 'correct':—

'And charge with all thy chivalry.'

So also in *cartouche* or *cartouch, debouch, debouchure, embouchure, moustache; echelon, papier-maché, parachute, ricochet*. In some instances we actually substitute the phonetic spelling *sh*; as in *calash* (F. *calèche*); *hash* (F. *hachis*), as distinguished from the much older *hatchet* (F. *hachette*); *plush*, short for **pelush* (F. *peluche*); *shagreen* (F. *chagrin*). The old *galoche*, which, in Chaucer, Squi. Ta. 555, rimes with *approche*, has become *galoshe, goloshe, or golosh*. The old *squach*, M. E. *squachen*, O. F. *esquacher*, is now *squash* (skwosh).

§ 133. **GE, J, GUE.** The old suffix *-ge* is sounded as (j), as in *age, page, adage, cabbage*. But very late F. words keep the mod. F. sound of (zh). Examples are: *badinage, mirage, prestige, rouge*; but the sound is disliked, and many sound the *ge*, in *badinage* and *prestige*, as E. *j*. *Gendarme* keeps the F. sound. The sound of the F. *j* is the same as that of F. *ge*, and is also extremely rare; we have, however, *bijou, jupon, and jeu d'esprit*. *Jeu*, it may be observed, is a doublet of *joke*. We also have *jujube*, F. *jujube*, but it is often called (juu·juub), and is so marked by Ogilvie.

The F. *-gue* is common in Tudor English, as in *epilogue, &c.*, and therefore affords no criterion of late date. But the words *fatigue, intrigue* (with F. *i*) are late. *Vogue* is in Cotgrave (s. v. *vogue*). Both *fugue* and *harangue* occur in Milton; *P. L.* xi. 563, 663. *Exergue* (see my Supplement) was added by Todd to Johnson's Dictionary.

§ 134. **QU, QUE.** The old *qu* is sounded as (kw), as in *quart* (kwaot). The late F. words sometimes have the mod.

F. *qu*, sounded as *k*; but this sound is disliked and avoided. Thus *quadrille*, *quattrain*, *quinine*, which, etymologically, have the *k*-sound, are often pronounced with *qu* (kw). In the case of *quinine*, the F. *qu* is merely copied from the Span. *qu*, which had the *k*-sound even in the 16th century, and is meant to represent a *k*-sound in the original Peruvian word. Hence it is contrary to the etymology to say (kwini'n) or (kwina'i'n); yet both these may be heard. The F. *-que* is also pronounced as *k*, and many of the words containing it are rather late, as *arabesque*, *burlesque*, *grotesque*, *odalisque*, *picturesque*; *brusque*, *marque*, *mosque*; but *antique*, *casque*, *oblique*, *pique*, all go back to the 16th century, and Cotgrave gives the spelling *pike* for the last of these. *Piquet* is somewhat later. In the middle of a word the same combination occurs; as in *bouquet*, *coquette*, *croquet*, *lacquer*, *liqueur*, *piquet*, *touriquet*. At billiards, the F. *queue* has become *cue* (kiuu'); here the *c* represents F. *qu*, whilst the *eue* has been assimilated to the final *ew* in *few*. The words *quoif*, *quoin*, *quoit* are quite exceptional, being merely variant spellings of *coif*, *coin*, and *coit*. So also *quay*, formerly also *kay*, *key*, is a late spelling of M. E. *key*.

§ 135. **Loss of final *s* and *t*.** That the loss of final *s* and *t* is recent in French, appears from the fact that it is invariably retained in E. words borrowed before 1500, and perhaps later. Comparé E. *advice*, *anise*, *bice*, *juice*, *paradise*, *rice*, *voice*, with F. *avis*, *anis*, *bis*, *jus*, *paradis*, *riz*, *voix*; and E. *biscuit*, *bruit*, *conduit*, *fruit*, *habit*, *portrait*, and nearly all E. words in *-ent*, with F. *biscuit*, *bruit*, *conduit*, *fruit*, *habit*, *portrait*, and nearly all F. words in *-ent*. Consequently, all E. words in which final *s* or *t* is dropped, are late borrowings. Examples are: *apropos*, *chamois*, *corps*, *débris*, *pas*, *patois*, *tapis*; also *glacis*, when the F. pronunciation of it is kept. Also: *ballet*; *bouquet*; *buffet*, in the sense of 'refreshment-bar'; *cabriolet*, *croquet*, *depot*, *jeu-d'esprit*, *touriquet*, *trail*, *hors-de-combat*. The spelling *petty* occurs in Shakespeare,

but in P. Plowman we have *petit*, in which the *t* must have been sounded. The word *éclaircissement* also drops the final *t*, as it only dates from the time of Dryden. Cf. *restaurant*, *nonchalant*. In the same way the final *d* is dropped in *canard*, from the F. *canard*; and in *gourmand*.

We even meet with the loss of final *l*; as in É. *fusee*, from F. *fusil*, with mute *l*.

Another well-marked characteristic of modern F. is the loss of *s* before *t*, as in *bête*, *fête*, *tête*, for O. F. *beste*, *feste*, *teste*; cf. E. *beast*, *feast*, *tester*. Modern E. has adopted *bête* in the phrase *bête noire*; also *fête* and *tête-à-tête*. Compare also *castle*, *castellain*, *hostel*, with the late words *chateau*, *chatelaine*, *hotel*. Chaucer's *wastel* is the same word as the mod. F. *gâteau*, and E. *pasty* is the mod. F. *pâté*, which we now spell *patty*. E. *cullet* is from F. *côtelette*, from O. F. *costelette*, a little rib, diminutive of *coste*, a rib. An *s* is also lost in *accoutre*, from F. *accoutrer*, older spelling *accoustrer*. Also in *éclat*, from the verb *éclater*, which, like the Prov. *esclatar* and the E. *slate*, is of Germanic origin; and in *écarté*, from the M. F. verb *escarter*, to discard.

CHAPTER X.

FRENCH WORDS OF LATIN ORIGIN.—THE VOWELS.

§ 136. IT has already been pointed out, in § 17, that French, like its sister Romance languages, is unoriginal; and that all the words in it are due to some other language, though the derivations of many words are not certainly known. Its words are not all due, however, to one source; like many others, it is a composite language, and it is necessary to consider all the possible sources of it. Just as, in England, the history of the language is explained by the history of the people, so it is in France. The tribes of Gaul, before the Christian era, spoke, in the main, various Celtic dialects. The campaigns of Cæsar introduced the popular Latin of the camp and the market, and that to such an extent that the original Celtic dialects were almost entirely superseded, and have left but very slight traces in the modern literary language of France. In the fifth century, various Germanic tribes, especially Franks and Burgundians, who had long harassed the country, invaded it in increased numbers, and established themselves as conquerors; the name of the former tribe being perpetuated in the modern name of the country itself. During the ninth century the northern part of the country was perpetually invaded by Danes or Northmen, to whom Charles the Simple ceded the duchy of Normandy in 911. This introduced some Danish or Norse words, many of which are sea-faring terms. After that date, the principal accessions to the language were, first, 'learned words' introduced from literary Latin, and, at a still later date, from

Greek (excepting some Greek words of an early date, many of which, as in English, are of ecclesiastical origin); secondly, at the time of the Crusades, a certain number of Oriental words; and lastly, in the modern period, after 1500, words introduced from Italian, from Spanish, and even, chiefly in the present century, from English. It has also accepted, like English, several words of Low German origin, and a number of exotic words from many languages.

§ 137. It is worth observing that numerous parallelisms may be drawn (involving, however, certain differences) between the histories of the English and French languages.

In both countries the original inhabitants were Celtic; yet the Celtic element, in both, is quite insignificant.

Just as, in England, the Celtic element¹ was almost completely overpowered by the English, which forms the real basis of the language, so, in France, the same element had widely disappeared before the popular Latin, which forms the real basis of the French language². In spite of all additions from a great variety of sources, the English language remains English, and the French remains Latin, as regards grammatical construction. In England the invasions of the Danes brought in many Norse words; France also had its Norman invaders, but they almost at once adopted the language of the invaded country, so that the Norse element in French is inconsiderable. Next, in England, the Norman conquest brought in the French element, which

¹ It must be borne in mind that, in the fifth century, the Celtic element in England was already limited; for the more educated part of the population doubtless spoke Latin, as in France. This fact helps to account for the slowness of the Celtic element in English.

² But it is probable that the peculiar Celtic pronunciation of Latin is the real cause of the difference of French from all other Romance languages in many of its modes of development. Thus the disappearance of the *t* in L. *patrem*, as compared with O. F. *pedre*, *pere*, F. *père*, may perhaps be explained by remembering that the Celts aspirated the *d* in *pedre*, and the aspirated *d* (*dh*) is more apt to vanish.

was, to us, of very great importance. In France the Frankish conquest brought in the German element, but not to such an important extent. Both languages have been considerably recruited by the introduction of 'learned words' from literary Latin, and of Greek ecclesiastical or learned words in Latin spellings; and, especially after the period of the Renaissance, from Greek more directly. Both have been further increased by loans from Oriental languages, from Italian and Spanish, and from various languages of an entirely foreign character. In fact, a considerable number of foreign words have reached us from France, and in a French dress.

§ 138. It thus appears that the chief basis of French is the popular Latin; not the classical Latin of the great ancient poets and orators, but the common Latin of every-day life, the speech brought in by the soldiers, and used in the markets. This was, at the first, an unwritten language, and it had some peculiar words of its own of an unexpected character. Thus, to take some examples from Brachet's Historical French Grammar, the popular word for 'horse' was not *equus*, but *caballus*, whence was derived, not only the F. *cheval*, but the Ital. and Port. *cavallo*, Span. *caballo*, Prov. *caval*, and even the Welsh *ceffyl*. A 'battle' was not *pugna*, but *battalia*, whence F. *bataille*, the origin of E. *battle*. 'To beat' was not *uerberare*, but *batuere*, whence a vulgar form **battere*, the original of O. F. *batre*, and of E. *batter*. 'To help' was, in popular speech, not *iuvare*¹, but *adiutare* or *aiutare*, whence F. *aider*, the origin of E. *aid*. 'To turn' was not usually *uertere* or *uertere*, but *tornare*, whence O. F. *torner*, the origin of E. *turn*. So also the E. *beau*, borrowed from F. *beau*, O. F. *bel*, is derived from Lat. *bellus*, not from *formosus*. Moreover, the popular Latin had many peculiarities of form and grammar. The F. verb *doubler*, to

¹ Such is the spelling common in MSS., which the editors of classical works usually turn into *iuvare*, or even *juvare*. The Lat. *i* was not a *j*; neither was the consonantal *u* a *v*.

double, answers, not to the classical Lat. *duplicare*, but to the form *duplare*. The E. *razor*, M. E. *rasour*, borrowed from O. F. *rasour*¹, answers to a Lat. acc. *rasorem*; derived, like the popular Latin *rasare*, from the pp. *rasus* of the classical verb *radere*. Almost at every turn we meet with some variation from the classical Latin of the schools; and, unless this be borne in mind, it is impossible to follow the phonetic changes through which French forms have been developed. Over and above this, we must further bear in mind the fact that Middle English forms, being derived from Anglo-French or various Old French forms, preserve many peculiarities which in modern French have disappeared. Thus E. *beast*, M. E. *beste*, preserves the *s* of the A. F. *beste* (Lat. *bestia*), which is only represented by a circumflex in the F. *bête*. In many cases the mod. E. word is older in form than the corresponding mod. F. word by many centuries.

§ 139. It thus becomes plain that some idea of the nature of the popular Latin which forms the basis of French is of much importance; and, in this respect, the famous Dictionary, by Ducange, of Medieval Latin², is often of more assistance than the excellent Dictionary of classical Latin by Lewis and Short³. A general sketch of the condition of the vulgar Latin of Gaul in olden times is given in Schwan's *Grammatik des Altfranzösischen*; Leipzig, 1888. It is impossible to enter here into particulars; I must beg leave to refer the reader to the work itself, for a detailed account of the vowels and consonants. I give, however,

¹ Not quite the same form as mod. F. *rasoir*, which answers to Lat. *rasorium*.

² The latest reprint, edited by L. Favre, Paris, 1884-7, in ten handy quarto volumes, is the most convenient. The single-volume epitome, by Maigne d'Arnis, Paris, 1866, is often useful, but cannot always be relied upon, as it omits the quotations.

³ However, this Dictionary often admits some useful non-classical forms.

several of his results below, and I have borrowed a great many of his useful examples. Another account, in English, will be found in the Introduction to Brachet's Etymological French Dictionary, Third Edition, 1882; but the information is not all of the latest character. Still less valuable is the Introduction to Old French, by F. F. Roget, 1887; a book which 'contains no independent research, and little scientific method;' but it gives some useful hints, especially in the Introduction and in the sketch of Old French Grammar. There is an excellent and scientific summary, in French, of the phonetic laws of the dialect of the Isle of France (or Central French), which is now the literary language of France, in the first forty-two pages of *La Langue et la Littérature Françaises*, by K. Bartsch and A. Horning; Paris, 1887. From this work I extract the more important remarks on the general laws which govern the development of Central French; for which see § 141 below. Before doing this, it will be useful to make some remarks upon the various languages and dialects of Romance origin.

§ 140. Schwan enumerates eight languages of Latin origin. These are: Italian, Sardinian (which Diez includes in Italian), Roumanian or Wallachian, and Rhæto-romanic or the Roumansch of the canton Grisons in Switzerland, on the South-East; Spanish and Portuguese, to the South-West; and French and Provençal, to the North-West. As regards France, the country was divided, nearly equally, into two well-marked sets of dialects. Those in the south were said to belong to the *Langue d'Oc*, and those in the north to the *Langue d'Oïl*; because the southerners used *oc* (Lat. *hoc*) to mean 'yes,' where the northerners used the word *oïl* (mod. F. *oui*, from Lat. *hoc illic*, meaning 'that is so') to signify the same thing. In the south, the literary language took the form known as Provençal, at one time an important language, and famous for its troubadours, but now sunk into a patois like the rest. Other southern dialects were the Gascon, the Limou-

sin, the dialects of Béarn, Auvergne, and Dauphiné, Lyonnais, and the dialect of the province of Languedoc, properly so called. In the north, Schwan enumerates seven principal dialects, the Norman, the Picard, the Walloon¹, the dialect of Lorraine, Burgundian, Poitevin, or the dialect of Poitou, and that of the Isle of France. The last is that which I have above called Central French, and which has become the literary language. The Anglo-French, as has been explained already, was a special development, in England, of what was once identical with the Norman. Next to the Norman, an interesting dialect, to us, is the Picard, spoken in Picardy, the province in which are situate Cressy, Boulogne, and Calais, and also (according to Diez) in Artois, in which is situate Agincourt. Part of Picardy was long held by the English, and imports mostly came by way of Calais; with the result that Picard has influenced the forms of some of our French words. It has already been noted that one word, *cark*, is due to the Picard *carker*², for which Central F. has *charger*; and it is a general rule (see Brachet, Hist. Gram. p. 21) that the Lat. *ca-*, whence comes the Central F. *cha-*, remains unchanged, i. e. as *ca-*, in Picard. Our word *case*, for example, as in *packing-case*, is from the Picard form *casse*, not from F. *châsse*, which is used in the sense of 'shrine'; it is curious that the earliest examples of M. E. *case* have the sense of 'shrine,' or 'reliquary,' as in French. It is thus, too, that we must explain the difficult word *catch*, M. E. *cacchen*, which is derived from the Picard form *cachier* or *cacher*, the equivalent of O. F. *chacier*, mod. F. *chasser*; the A. F. form was *chacer* (P. de Thaun, Bestiary, 46), whence mod. E. *chase*. Hence *catch* and *chase* are, after all, merely doublets.

¹ Spoken in parts of Belgium, as in the provinces of Hainault, Namur, Liège, South Brabant, and Western Luxemburg.

² Brachet, Hist. Gram. p. 21, gives the Picard form as *carguer*; but *karker* was the older form; I have already given a reference for it. See the New E. Dict., s. v. *cark*.

See Littré, s. v. *chasser*. The explanation of the pt. t. *caughte*, pp. *caught*, is, that the pt. t. and pp. were formed by form-association with M. E. *lacchen*, which had much the same sense, and had the pt. t. *laughte*, and the pp. *laught*. And the end of the matter was that *catch* entirely superseded *latch* in its verbal function, so that *latch* only survives as a substantive, in the sense of a 'catch' on a door. Perhaps it is worth while to add, by way of warning, that the F. *campagne* (whence E. *campaign*), was not taken in, as Brachet says, from the Picard dialect, but rather borrowed from the Ital. *campagna*, a field. It was, to use Brachet's own expression (see Etym. Dict. p. xxi) one of the 'Italian words, brought in by the Italian wars' in the sixteenth century. In the same way the F. *canceller*, whence our verb to *cancel*, was not from Picard, but was a mere 'learned word,' adapted from the Law-Latin *cancellare*; and the F. *carte*, which we have turned into *card*, by voicing the *t* to *d*, was borrowed from Ital. *carta*; for playing-cards were already in use, in Italy, at the end of the thirteenth century. These examples may further serve to show what care is necessary in tracing the *history* of words, and the mode in which they were transferred from one language to another.

§ 141. I now return to the consideration of some of the chief general laws that regulate the development of Central French sounds; which I copy, almost entirely and with very slight alteration, from Horning's introduction to Bartsch's work; see § 139.

Definitions and symbols. A vowel is called *free* (*libre*) when it ends a word or is followed by another vowel, or by a single consonant and a vowel, or by one of the groups *pr*, *br*, *tr*, *dr*, and a vowel; as the accented vowels in *ubi*, *amāre*, *pātrēm*, *lēp(o)rēm*, *héd(e)rām*¹. A vowel is called *enclosed* (*en-*

¹ Schwan adds that the vowel is free in monosyllables, as in *cor*, *tres*, *mel*, *fel*; which became, in O. F. *cuer*, *treis*, *miel*, *fiel*. Observe that *lēp'rēm*, *héd'rām*, are the true 'folk-Latin' forms; see note 2, p. 189.

travée) when it is followed by any other group of consonants, like the *a* in *astrum* or *campus*.

The consonant which follows the last vowel (supposed to be unaccented) in a word, is never counted as causing a vowel to be enclosed. Thus in the Lat. *fēr(i)t*, *vál(e)t*, which become in O. F. *fíert*, *vált*, the *é* and *á* are not enclosed.

Open syllables are those which end with a free vowel, as *u-bi*, *ama-re*, *pa-trem*; *closed* syllables are such as end in a consonant, as *as-trum*, *cam-pus*.

An apostrophe is used to mark the loss of a vowel; as *fac're* < *facere*.

An asterisk is prefixed to hypothetical forms of Low Latin words (*latin vulgaire*). Ex. **battere*, for *batuere*; see p. 184.

The symbol *y* (=G. *j* in *jahr*, E. *y* in *you*) is used to denote the consonantal *i*. The symbols *o*, *e*, are used to denote, respectively, the open *o* in *mordre* and the open *e* in *bel*. The symbols *o*, *e*, are used to denote, respectively, the close *o* in *pauvre* and the close *e* in *clé* (variant of *clef*, a key; see Littré). (Other symbols are (ò, è) for the open, and (ó, é) for the close sounds.)

§ 142. **Vowels.** (1) The Latin tonic accent and the accented vowel remain in French: *amāre* > *amér*; *filius* > *filz*; *ámant* > *aiment*.

Most French nouns are derived, as is well known, from the form of the Latin accusative¹; thus *raison* is from *rationem*, *chaleur* from *calōrem*. The most important exceptions to the law of the persistence of the accent are the following.

(a) Classical Latin accented the following words as marked, viz. *cólubra*, *íntegrum*, *pálpebra*; but folk-Latin²

¹ So also in Italian, Spanish, etc.; cf. Ital. *nationem*, Sp. *nacion*, Port. *nação* = *nação(n)*, F. *nation*; all from Lat. acc. *nationem*.

² Horning has 'le latin vulgaire'; Schwan has 'Volkslatein.' I propose 'folk-Latin' as a most convenient substitute for 'Low-Latin.' It may be denoted by the symbol 'f-L,' or 'fL,' or 'F. L.' I employ the last of these.

had *colōbra* > *couleuvre*; *intēgrum* > *entier*¹; *palpētra*² > *paupière*.

(b) *ĕ*, *ī*, and *ŭ*, when in an antepenultimate syllable and preceding a short vowel, cannot receive an accent in folk-Latin. Where Latin has *caprēolus*, *lusciniolus*, *filiolus*, *partetem*, *battuere*, French has *chevreuil* from *caprēolum*, *filleul* from *filiolum*, *parei* (in the Romance of Tristan) from *par'ētem*, and *battre* from *bāttēre*. The *e* and *i* were changed into *y* (*capryolum*, *filyolum*); the *i* and *u* of *parietem* and *battuere* disappeared.

(c) Folk-Latin, unlike classical Latin, accented *amāverunt*³, *cantāverunt*, *mōrdere*, *tōrquere*, *plācere*, *tācere* as here marked; this explains the F. forms *amèrent*, *chantèrent*, *mordre*, *tordre*, *plaire*, *taire*.

2. Enclosed tonic [accented] vowels are treated differently from free tonic vowels in this respect, that they are not subject to diphthongisation, at least in most of the Romance dialects. But enclosure modifies neither their nature nor their quality. The open *o* of *mordere* does not become close *o* because it occurs before *rd*, nor does the close *o* of *tornare* become open before *rn*. That is to say, the theory which makes vowels 'long by position' does not apply. The fact which proves that such enclosure does not alter the quality of tonic vowels is, that in certain dialects *ē* and *ō* become diphthongs, even when enclosed. Certain Lorraine dialects have *fié*, iron, from *ferrum*; *tiërre*, earth, from *terra*; *mouûde*, to bite, from *mordere*; and *touûde*, to twist, from *tōrquere*. This diphthongisation of enclosed open *o* and *e* in certain dialects is one of the proofs which assists science in establishing the nature of these vowels.

¹ Cf. Ital. *intero*; Sp. *entero*; E. *entire* (from French).

² Littré gives *palpetra* as a variant of *palpebra*, but adduces no authority; cf. Diez, *Etym. Wörterb.*, 4th ed., p. 726; 5th ed., p. 738.

³ Whilst it is best to spell *amauerunt* with the consonantal *u* (w) in Latin, it is also well to write *amaverunt* in folk-Latin, which changed the old *u* into *v*.

3. The essential character of a vowel, on which depend the modifications to which it is subject, is its *quality* or *tone* (*son, timbre*). As for the duration of a sound, i. e. its *quantity*, it plays but a secondary part, which has not been precisely defined. Folk-Latin puts no difference between Latin *ă* and *ā*; confuses *ē* and *ī* under one sound, viz. close *e*; and *ō* and *ū* under one sound, viz. close *o*; whilst *ě* and *ǝ* have become open *e* and open *o*¹.

4. Diphthongs are distinguished as *falling* diphthongs and *rising* diphthongs. A *falling* (*decreasing*) diphthong is one in which an accented vowel is followed by an adventitious vowel (*i* or *u*), as in *făire* (*facere*), *plăist* (*placet*), *avăir* (*habere*). *Făire* and *plăist* assonate (i. e. correspond in vowel-sound) with words having pure *a*, which proves that the *i* was originally a sound apart from the *a*. A *rising* (*increasing*) diphthong is composed of an accented vowel preceded by an adventitious vowel; as in *pié* (*pedem*); *bubna* (*bona*) in the first line of the Cantilène de Sainte Eulalie.

5. French does not admit of triphthongs. They are reduced to diphthongs by eliminating the medial vowel, even if it originally had the tonic accent; thus *nueit* (*noctem*) became *nuit*; *cieire* (*ceram*) became *cire*; *giais* (*iaceo*) became *gis*; *lieit* (*lectum*) became *lit*.

6. Non-accented or atonic vowels disappear in certain cases.

(a) The last vowel of a Latin word regularly disappears, except in the case of *a*; cf. *clef* (*clauem*); O. F. *aim* (*amo*); *dit* (*dictum*); *aime* (*amat*). But there are three sets of exceptions. The first comprises only a few dissyllables in which the atonic *u* (or *o*) remains, when preceded by a vowel; as in *meum* (whence *mieon*, *mien*, *mon*²), *deus* (whence *deus*, *dieus*), *duos* (whence O. F. *dous*, *deus*). The second comprises such dissyllables as *père* (*pa-trem*), *lièvre* (*le-p'rem*), *fièvre* (*fe-*

¹ Compare E. short open *e* and *o* in *set*, *not*.

² *Mtūm*, with full stress, gives *mieon*, *mien*; *meum*, in proclitic use, gives *mon*.

brem); where the groups *tr*, *pr*, *br* which do not belong to the former *free* syllable require the support of the vowel *e*. The third set it is more difficult to define; it comprises trisyllables such as O. F. *pulce* (pulicem, F. *puce*), *asnes*, *adnes* (asinos, F. *ânes*), *herse* (**erpicem*, for *hirpicem*). The difficulty is to say why the groups *lc*, *sn*, *rs* have a supporting *e*, whilst *chald* (calidum, F. *chaud*), *vert* (uiridem) have none. It is probably because the *i* of *calidum* and *uiridem* disappeared by syncope, very early; so that *caldum*, *viridem* naturally lost the atonic vowel, like all dissyllables not included in the second set. In *pulicem*, *asinum*, on the contrary, the syncope of *i* took place much later, so that the law which regulated the loss of atonic vowels in dissyllables did not apply, and the groups *lc*, *sn*, *rs* required the support of the final *e*. The words *rage* (rabiem), *rouge* (rubeum), O. F. *eage* (aetaticum, F. *âge*, E. *age*), have a final *e*, because the palatal *g* (like *ch*) could not be final in French¹.

(*b*) The penultimate vowel of every word that is accented on the antepenultimate disappears; thus *cûmulum* gives *comble*; *cogito* gives *cuit* (later *cuide*); *cubitum* gives *coude*: as if from *cum'lum*, *cog'to*, *cu'b'tum*.

(*c*) In a word of more than three syllables, the vowel preceding the tonic syllable disappears, whether it be short or long: thus O. F. *maisniée*² < **mansiōnalām*; *mangier* (now *manger*) < *mandūcare*; *vergogne* < *verēcundiam*; *corvée* < *corrōgatām*; *bonté* < *bonitatem*; *barnage* < **baronaticum*; except when the vowel is preserved by help of a group of consonants, as in O. F. *sospeçon* < *suspectionem* (whence also A. F. *suspecium*, E. *suspicion*). *A* is the only vowel which resists such disappearance, though it constantly becomes *e*;

¹ And so, in English, to this day, we must not write *j* for the final *j*-sound; we keep the symbol *ge* (or *dge*) in *judge*, *age*, *rage*, though the *e* is no longer sounded.

² Hence M. E. *meinee* (for *meisnee*), a household; preserved in the E. adj. *menial*.

as in O. F. *sairement* (F. *serment*) < *sagramentum* (for Lat. *sacramentum*); *marcheant* (F. *marchand*) < *mercatorum* (cf. A. F. *marchant*, *merchant*, E. *merchant*); O. F. *paremenz* (M. E. *par-e-ments*, as in Chaucer, Squi. Ta. 269, meaning 'ornaments'; from Lat. *parare*).

(d) The atonic vowel in the first syllable of a word remains; as in *maturum* > *meur*; *securum* > *seur*; *caballum* > *cheval*. The mod. F. forms *mûr*, *sûr* result from a later contraction. In O. F., we find *reuser*, with hiatus, from Lat. *recusare*; this became mod. F. *ruser*, whence E. *ruse*, a verbal sb. See *ruser* in Littré.

7. A hiatus occurring in an original Latin word usually disappears in French. In *lusciniolum*, *capreolum*, the *i* and *e* were changed into a consonantal *y*, giving *luscinyolum*, *capryolum* (F. *rossignol*, *chevreuil*). In *somniare*, *abbreviare*, the *i* combines with the preceding consonant so as to form a palatal *g*; hence F. *songer*, *abrégér*. In *quietum*, which became *coi* (E. *coy*), and in *parietem*, which became *parei*, now *paroi*, the *i* has disappeared. In *battuere*, which became *battre* (E. *batter*), the *u* has disappeared; in *Ianuarium*, which became *Janvier*, it is changed to *v*. The hiatus remains in *deum*, F. *dieu*; and in *suavem*, O. F. *soef*. It remains, also, in a large number of words of 'learned' origin, such as *nation*, *vision*, *fusion*, *glorieux*, *chrétien*. [For *fusion*, a 'popular' form occurs in A. F. *foisun*, Shakespeare's *foison*, abundance. Hence also arise several doublets, such as *benediction*, *benison*, &c.]

8. The following is the order of vowels in the vocal scale:

i *ɛ* *ɛ* *a* *ɔ* *o* *u*.

This shows that *a* could not pass into *ɛ* without passing through *ɛ*, nor into *o* without passing through *ɔ*.

§ 143. Consonants. 9. Consonants are divided into different groups, named after the organs which help to articulate them. The palatals are *c*, *g*, *q*; the dentals, *t*, *d*, *n*, *s*, *z*, *j*, *ch*, *l*; the labials, *p*, *b*, *f*, *v*, *m*; the nasals, *m*, *n*. It

is especially necessary to note the difference, in the first three groups, between the surd or voiceless consonants, *c*, *t*, *ch*, *s*, *p*, *f*, and the sonant or voiced consonants, *g*, *d*, *j*, *z*, *b*, *v*. [See vol. i. p. 346; the F. *ch* is now our *sh*, and the F. *j* is now our (*zh*), though they once had the same sounds as with us.]

10. Initial consonants undergo no change, as in *père* (patrem), *toit* (tectum); or, if modified, they still remain voiceless, or voiced, as at first. Hence we have *cheval* (caballum), *joie* (gaudia). A solitary exception is seen in *fois* (vicem), where the voiced *v* has become the voiceless *f*.

11. A single medial consonant, occurring between two vowels, either disappears, as in *meur*, now *mûr* (maturum), *veoir*, now *voir* (videre); or else is voiced, as in *cheveu* (capillum); or becomes a voiced fricative sound, as in *cheval* (caballum). *L*, *m*, *n*, *r* are not included in this law.

12. The final (single) consonant of a word, as pronounced when it stands alone, or when the next word begins with a vowel, is always voiceless. Hence *bovem* has become *bœuf*; *ovum* has become *œuf*; *grandem* became *grant* (now spelt *grand*). French, like many other languages¹, dislikes a voiced consonant at the end of a word. [The treatment of *s* is exceptional. In *nous venons*, the former *s* is dropped; in *nous avons*, it is voiced.]

13. In a group of three consonants, the middle one often disappears, as in O. F. *suscher*, cf. *souchier* (Ducange, ix. 361), to suspect, from *suspicare* (sus(p)'care); *blasmer*, F. *blâmer*, E. *blame*, from *blasphemare* (blas(ph)'mare); O. F. *forment* < *fortment*; O. F. *oste*, M. E. *oste*, E. *host*, from *hospitem* (hos(p)'tem); O. F. *esmer*, from *aestimare* (aes(t)'mare). In such groups, we must except *ntr*, *ndr*, *rdr*, *ncr*, *mbl*, and above all *str*. Cf. O. F. *nuitantre* (noctant'r = noctanter), by night; *vendre* (vendere), whence E. *vend*;

¹ This does not apply to English. We have turned F. *carte* into *card*. The F. words *cab*, *club*, *brig*, *grog*, are borrowed from English.

cendre (cin[d]'rem < cinerem); *perdre* (perdere); *ancre* (an-coram); *ambler* (amb'lare = ambulare), whence E. *amble*. *Str* frequently arises from an intercalated *t* between *s* and *r*; as in O. F. *croistre*, F. *croître* (cres(c)'re = crescere); O. F. *paistre*, F. *paître* (pas(c)'re = pascere). Indeed, *str* is so agreeable to the F. language that it is introduced into words where it has no etymological authority; as in O. F. *celestre* (caelestem); O. F. *tristre* (tristem); O. F. *salmistre* (psalm-istam). [Hence the intrusive *r* in E. *alchemist* (M. E. *alchem-istre*), *barrister* (= *barristre*), *chorister* (= *choristre*), &c. See Phil. Soc. Trans. Nov. 7, 1884.]

14. Double consonants are reduced, in pronunciation and often in writing, to a single consonant; as in O. F. *letre*, F. *lettre*, whence E. *letter*, from Lat. *litteram*; *nul*, E. *null*, from Lat. *nullum*; O. F. *tur*, A. F. *tour*, E. *tower*, from Lat. *turrem*; O. F. *sufrir*, F. *souffrir*, E. *suffer* [from **sufferire*, for *sufferre*].

§ 144. **Exceptions to phonetic laws.** 15. Since phonetic laws operate like physical ones, the same sounds ought always, under the same conditions, to go through the same changes. Nevertheless, there are numerous exceptions; yet they are not due to chance, but to secondary laws which interfere to counteract the primary ones, and which science does not always succeed in explaining. Most of the exceptions, however, can be explained in one of the ways following.

(a) In a large number of cases it is the principle of *analogy* which has modified the action of phonetic laws. Whilst *ámo*, *ámas*, *ámat* became in Old French, regularly, *aime*, *aimes*, *aimet* [now *aime*], it happened that *amámus* and *amátis* became, no less regularly, *amons*, *amez*. But it was an obvious suggestion that the conjugation should be simplified, and made more *apparently* regular; hence *amons*, *amez* became *aimons*, *aimez*, to suit the rest. The influence of analogy is peculiarly powerful in this matter of conjugation;

but instances also occur elsewhere. Thus the O. F. *ned*, nor, which cannot regularly be derived from Lat. *nec*, seems to have been formed by analogy with O. F. *qued* (quod). Both forms occur in the Cantilène de Sainte Eulalie.

(b) We must not forget that the forms of words are partly determined by the position which they occupy in the sentence. It has been said that the linguistic unit is not the word, but the sentence. Thus we say *lez hommes* where *les* precedes a vowel, but *le(s) maisons* before a consonant. So, in O. F. we find *em prison* for *en prison*, because the *en* precedes a labial; cf. E. *imprison*. The pronouns *nós*, *vós* should have become, regularly, *neus*, *veus*. But they often occur before words with which they are more or less closely combined; and, in such a case, the *o* no longer had the tonic accent, so that it became, regularly, *ou* instead of *eu*. Hence the forms *nous*, *vous* supplanted the O. F. *neus*, *veus* (which represented the accented *nós*, *vós*) so early and so completely, that the latter are not to be found. Again, it is by its very common use as a proclitic that we explain the short form of the word *sire* (senior), whence E. *sire*, *sir*, which became, regularly, *sendra*, in the Strasbourg Oaths of A.D. 842. An attempt has been made to account in the same way for the change of *o* to *a* in the O. F. *danz* (dominus). This is the M. E. *dan*, as occurring in the phrase '*dan* Chaucer.'

(c) By virtue of the law of *dissimilation*, the language avoids the repetition of the same sound at too close an interval. Hence folk-Latin used the form *cinque* for *quinque*, whence F. *cing* and the Tudor E. *sink*. So also F. has *le rossignol* instead of *le lossignol*, and *faible* instead of *flaible* (fleibilem). The latter is the same word as the A. F. *feble* and the E. *feeble*.

By virtue of the contrary principle, that of *assimilation*, the language sometimes prefers a repetition of the same sound; hence the O. F. *cerchier* (circare), has become F. *chercher*. The A. F. form was *sercher*, whence E. *search*.

(d) A large number of F. words never formed part of the ordinary speech of the people, but were borrowed, at various times, from literary Latin. Such words never underwent the same changes as the popular words. Thus the Lat. *facilem*, *nationem*, *miraculum*, which have given rise to F. *facile*, *nation*, *miracle*, would have given, in popular speech, such forms as *faisle*, *naison*, *mirail*. It has even happened that a word, after first passing into the language in a 'popular' form, has done so again in a 'learned' form. Such is the origin of the terms which have been called *doublets*. Thus *integrum* has produced both *entier* and *intègre*; *rationem* has produced both *raison* and *ration*; *factionem*, both *façon* and *faction*. [And such doublets have sometimes passed into English also; we also have both *reason* and *ration*, *fashion* and *faction*.] Lastly, some phonetic laws are more powerful than others, and make their operation felt for a longer time. Hence, in the words *estuide* (F. *étude*) from *studium*, and *charité* (whence E. *charity*) from *caritatem*, the *s* and *c* were treated according to the laws of popular formation, whilst the rest of these words was treated as if they were of learned origin, which was the fact. Cf. F. *cherté*, also from *caritatem*, as exhibiting the popular form.

Exceptions to the general law of derivation from Lat. *accusatives* appear in a small number of words which preserve the Lat. *nominative*. Amongst these are F. *Charles*, from L. *Carolus*; F. *filz*, A. F. *fiz*, E. *fitz*, from L. *filius*; *lis*, as in *fleur-de-lis*, from F. L. *lilius*, for L. *lilium*; &c.

Other noticeable points are: the use of neuters plural as feminines singular, the use of inceptive verbs, the derivation of E. verbs from the present tense indicative, &c., &c.

§ 145. For a careful and detailed account of the vowels and consonants, I must refer the reader to Horning's own work; or he may consult the Preface to Brachet's Etymological Dictionary, in the third edition (1882). I add,

however, a few notes upon some of the points of most importance.

In the folk-Latin from which Central French is derived, the vowels actually in use were fewer than in the classical Latin. Thus the Latin long and short *a* (*ā*, *ă*) were treated alike; and the Latin short *e* and the diphthong *æ* were both pronounced alike, viz. as an open *e*. The correspondences of the vowels of Latin with those of folk-Latin are shown by the following table:

<i>Latin</i>	<i>ā, ă</i>	<i>ē, æ</i>	<i>ē, æ, ĭ</i>	<i>ī</i>	<i>ō</i>	<i>ō, ŭ</i>	<i>ū</i>	<i>au</i>
<i>Folk-Latin</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>ω</i>

It is from the vowels in the *lower* line that we really have to start when we investigate the vowel-changes that have taken place in Central French.

The symbol *ω*, used by Schwan to represent the F. L. sound of the Lat. *au*, denotes a kind of open *o*. That it did not precisely agree with the sound of *o*, appears from the fact that it was not developed in quite the same way. This best appears by considering a few examples. Thus, from the Lat. *novum* we have O. F. *nuef*, F. *neuf*; and from the Lat. *cor* we have O. F. *cuer*, F. *cœur*. On the other hand, from the Lat. *causam* we have F. *chose*, and from the Lat. *aurum* we have F. *or*.

I here exhibit a Table showing the *principal* changes that have taken place in the Latin vowel-sounds, and giving their *usual* equivalents in modern French. It is only a general guide, but is better than none. It explains a considerable number of the modern F. forms, but does not pretend to solve the many difficulties of modern F. philology. The use of this Table is fully illustrated by the select examples given on pp. 200-204; where each of the horizontal lines is discussed separately.

TABLE OF THE PRINCIPAL VOWEL-SOUNDS.

Latin.	Folk-Latin.	1. FREE TONIC.	2. With nasal.	3. With <i>y</i> (palatalised).	4. Nasal (and palatalised).	5. Between two <i>y</i> 's.	6. ENCLOSED TONIC.	7. With nasal.	8. With <i>y</i> (palatalised).	9. Nasal (and palatalised).	10. ATONIC.	11. With nasal.	12. With <i>y</i> (palatalised).	13. With <i>w</i> or <i>v</i> (labialised).
(1) <i>ā, ã, ā</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>ai</i>	<i>ie</i>	<i>ie</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>ai</i>	<i>ai</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>a, ai</i>	<i>ou</i>
(2) <i>ĕ, æ</i>	<i>ĕ</i>	<i>ie</i> <i>e</i>	<i>ie</i>	<i>ie</i>	<i>ie</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>ĕ</i>	<i>e</i> <i>a</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>ai</i>	<i>e</i> <i>i</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>(ei)</i> <i>oi, i</i>	<i>u</i>
(3) <i>ē, ĭ</i>	<i>ē</i>	<i>(ei)</i> <i>oi</i>	<i>ei</i>	<i>i</i>		<i>i</i>	<i>ē</i>	<i>(a)</i> <i>e</i>	<i>ei</i> <i>oi</i>	<i>ei</i>	<i>e</i> <i>a</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>(ei)</i> <i>oi, i</i>	<i>u</i> <i>eu</i>
(4) <i>ī</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>i</i>			<i>i</i>	<i>i</i>			<i>i</i> <i>e</i>			
(5) <i>ō</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>(ue)</i> <i>eu</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>ui</i>			<i>o</i> <i>ou</i>	<i>o</i> <i>a</i>	<i>ui</i>	<i>oi</i>	<i>o</i> <i>ou</i>		<i>oi</i>	<i>(ou)</i> <i>eu</i>
(6) <i>ō, ū</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>(ou)</i> <i>eu</i>	<i>o</i>				<i>o</i> <i>ou</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>oi</i>	<i>oi</i>	<i>(o)</i> <i>ou</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>oi</i>	
(7) <i>ū</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>ui</i>	<i>ui</i>		<i>u</i>				<i>u</i>		<i>ui</i>	
(8) <i>au</i>	<i>au, o</i>	<i>o</i>		<i>oi</i>			<i>o</i>	<i>o</i>			<i>ou</i>		<i>oi</i>	

As has been already said, the vowels with dots below them are *close*, and those with hooks below them are *open*. Vowels and diphthongs within marks of parenthesis are O. F.; or (in the case of nasal *e* only) refer to the pronunciation.

The phrase 'with *y*' means that there is often a development (under certain circumstances) of a parasitic or epenthetic *y*-sound, due to palatalisation, which always becomes *i* and helps to form a diphthong. The development of this *y* is extremely common, and is not always easy to explain. It frequently arises after the sound of *k*; and even *before* it. Thus L. *carum* became **kyer* (O. F. *kier*), **kyier*, **tshier*, O. F. *chier* (with *ch* as in E.); F. *cher*: the change from *a* to *e* being regular. L. *placet* became O. F. *plaist*, F. *platt*.

Examples. In the following examples, the numbers refer to the lines and columns in the above table. F.L. = Folk-Latin. (1) means *line* 1; 1. means *column* 1.

(1) L. *ā, ā*; F.L.a. **Free.** 1. L. *clarum*, A. F. *cler*, E. *clear*; L. *parem*, equal, A. F. *per*, E. *peer*. 2. L. *vanum*, A. F. *vain*, E. *vain*. 3. L. *caput*, A. F. *chief*, E. *chief*, F. *chef*. 4. L. *paganum*, O. F. **paiien* > F. *païen*; we find A. F. *paenime* for L. *paganismum*, heathen country; whence E. *paynim*, by a transference of sense. L. *decanum*, O. F. **deiien* > *deien*, A. F. *deën*, *dën*, E. *dean*¹. 5. L. *iacet*, O. F. **gi(a)ist* > *gist*; whence E. *gist*, i.e. 'where it lies'; F. *gît*².

Enclosed. 6. L. *vallem*, A. F. *val*, E. *vale*. L. *passum*, A. F. *pas*, E. *pace*, sb. L. *rabiem* > **rabyem*, A. F. *rage*, E. *rage*; L. *laqueum* > **lakyum*, A. F. *laz*, E. *lace*. 7. L. *ambulo* = **amb'lo*, A. F. *amble*, E. *amble*. L. *cameram* > **cam'ram*, A. F. *chambre* (also *chaumbre*), E. *chamber*. 8. L. *radium* > **ra(d)yum*, A. F. *rai*, E. *ray*. Also (with

¹ In *paganum*, the *g* produced *y* > *i*, and *an* after the *y*-sound became *ien*; hence **pai-ien*. In *decanum*, *c* produced *y* > *i*, and *an*, as before, became *ien*; hence **dei-ien*.

² Here L. *i* (*y*) became *dy* > *j*, represented by *gi*; and *cet* became *st*, at the same time developing a precedent *i* (§ 146); hence **gi-a-ist*, which became **gi-ist* by § 142 (5), and, by contraction, produced *gist*.

primary accent): L. *tractat*, A. F. *traile*, *trete*, E. *treat*. L. *pacat*, O. F. **paie* > *paye*, E. *pay*. 9. L. *sanctum*, O. F. *saint*, E. *saint*. **Atonic.** 10. L. *ab-ante*, F. *avant*, E. *avaunt*; L. *maturum*, O. F. *mëur*, F. *mâr* (ripe); L. *bellä*, F. *belle*. 11. L. *manere*, to dwell, A. F. *maner*, *manoir* (a place to dwell in), E. *manor*. L. *clamorem*, A. F. *clamour*, E. *clamour*. L. *amorem*, F. *amour*. 12. L. *cälorem*, F. *chaleur*. Low L. *cäballum*, F. *cheval*; hence E. *chevalier*, and *chivalry* (M. E. *chevalrie*). L. *rationem* > **ratyonem*, A. F. *raison*, *reison*, *rëson*, E. *reason*. L. *adiutare*, O. F. *aidier*, A. F. and F. *aider*, E. *aid*. 13. L. *clauum* (= *clawum*), F. *clou*.

(2) L. *ě*, *æ*; F. L. *ē*. **Free.** 1. L. *brëvem*, A. F. *brief*, *bref*, E. *brief*, F. *bref*; L. *Dëus*, O. F. *Dieus*, F. *dieu*; hence E. *adieu*. 2. L. *bëne*, F. *bien*. 3. L. *cælum*, F. *ciel*. 4. L. *genus*, O. F. *giens*. 5. L. *dëcem*, O. F. **dī(e)is*, *dīs*, F. *dix* (cf. Ital. *dieci*)¹.

Enclosed. 6. L. *bëllum*, O. F. *bel* (now also *beau*), fem. *belle*; E. *beau*, *belle*. Low L. *præstum*, ready, O. F. *prest*, Tudor E. *prest*, whence E. *press-gang* (for *prest-gang*). 7. L. *templum*, F. *temple*, E. *temple*; but in F. *temple* the *e* is pronounced as *a*. L. *servientem* (*servyentem*), A. F. *seriant*, E. *serjeant*; O. F. *seriant*, *sergent*, F. *sergent*. 8. L. *mëdium* (*medyum*), F. *mi* (in *midi*); so also F. L. *dimedium*, F. *demi*, E. *demy*². **Atonic.** 10. L. *gëlata*, O. F. *gelee*, E. *jelly* (F. *gelée*). L. *lëonem*, F. *lion*, E. *lion*. 11. L. *venire*, F. *venir*. 12. L. *prëcare*, A. F. *preier*, E. *pray*; also O. F. *proier*, F. *prier*. L. *mëdianum*, O. F. *meien*, *motien*, F. *moyen*. 13. L. *stetit*, F. L. **stetuit* > **stewit*, O. F. *estut*.

(3) L. *ē*, *ī*; F. L. *ē*. **Free.** 1. L. *vëlum*, A. F. *veile*, E. *veil*; F. *voile*. L. *fïdem*, O. F. *feid* (= *feip* ?), *fei*, M. E. *feith*, *fey*; E. *faith*, *fay* (in *by my fay*); F. *foi*. L. *bïbere*, O. F.

¹ Here parasitic *i* occurs after *d*, and before *c*; hence **dieis*; and, by § 142 (5), *dīs*. The former *i* results from the law, as in *brief*.

² Here *medyum* drops *d*, so that *e* is palatalised by the *y*, and becomes *i*. Note that L. *dimidium* = F. L. *dimedium*.

beivre, A. F. *bevre*, prov. E. *bever* (a drink); cf. E. *beverage*; F. *boire*. 2. L. *vēnam*, A. F. *veine*, E. *vein*; F. *veine*. L. *poenam*, A. F. and M. E. *peine*, E. *pain*; F. *peine*. 3. L. *mercēdem*, F. *merci*, E. *mercy*. 5. L. *racēmum*, F. *raisin* (for **raisi-ein*), E. *raisin*. **Enclosed.** 6. L. *dēbitam* (*deb'tam*), O. F. *dete*, A. F. *dette*, M. E. *dette*, now spelt *debt*. L. *vīridem* (*vir'dem*), F. *vert*, E. *vert* (in heraldry). 7. L. *findere*, to cleave, F. *fendre*; whence F. *fente*, verbal sb., a cleft, M. E. *fente*, a cleft, E. *vent*, an opening for air, air-hole, &c. 8. L. *trīchila*, *trīcla*, an arbour, F. *treille*; whence F. *treillis*, E. *trellis*, lattice-work. L. *strictum*, A. F. *estreit*, narrow, E. *strait*; F. *étroit*. F. L. *mīrabīlia*, for L. *mīrabīlia*, neut. pl. treated as fem. sing., A. F. and M. E. *merveille*, E. *marvel* (with *ar* for *er*). 9. L. *incinctam*, F. and E. *enceinte*. **Atonic.** 10. F. L. *dilūvium*, for L. *dilūvium*, A. F. *deluge*, E. *deluge*. Low L. **bīlancia*, a pair of scales, from L. *bīlanx*, two-scaled; A. F. *balance*, E. *balance*. 11. L. *inimicum*, O. F. *enemi*, E. *enemy*; F. *ennemi*. L. *intrare*, F. *entrer*, E. *enter*. L. *im-*, *in-*, as prefixes, F. and E. *em-*, *en-*. 12. L. *līcēre*, A. F. *leisir*, M. E. *leisir*, now E. *leisure*; F. *loisir*. L. *plicare*, O. F. *pleier*, *plioier*, *plier*, M. E. *plien*, E. *ply*; also L. *implicare*, A. F. *enpleier*, O. F. *emploier*, E. *employ*. 13. L. *dēbuit* (*deb'wit*), F. *dut*.

(4) L. *i*; F. L. *i*. This vowel remains unaltered. **Free.** 1. L. *vīlem*, F. *vil*, E. *vile*. 2. L. *spīnam*, thorn; O. F. *espine*, E. *spine*. L. *fīnem*, A. F. *fin*, E. *fine*; cf. F. *fin*, with nasal sound of *i*. 3. Late L. *camīsiām* (of doubtful origin)¹, F. *chemise*, E. *chemise*. **Enclosed.** 6. L. *tibia* > *tībya*; F. *tige*. 7. L. *prīncipem*, A. F. *prince*, E. *prince*. **Atonic.** 10. L. *vīvenda*, A. F. *viande*, E. *viand*. But the principle of dissimilation changes *ī* to *e* in L. *dīmidium*, F. *demi*, E. *demy*; L. *dīvisare*, A. F. *deviser*, E. *devise*.

¹ See Thurneysen, *Kelto-Romanisches*, p. 52; and *Hemd* in Kluge's Germ. Etym. Dict. The F. word seems to be borrowed from Celtic, and the Celtic word from very primitive Teutonic.

(5) L. ð; F. L. ɔ. **Free.** 1. L. *novem*, O. F. *nuef*, F. *neuf*. L. *ððvem*, O. F. *buf*, F. *bœuf* (for *beuf*); but A. F. *boef*, *bēf*, E. *beef*. L. **prðbam*, O. F. *prueve*, F. *preuve*. 2. L. *lðnum*, F. *ton*, E. *tone*. L. *sðnum*, F. *son*; but A. F. *soun*, whence E. *sound*. 3. L. *cðrium* (= *coryum*), F. *cuir*; whence L. *coriacea*, F. *cuirasse*, E. *cuirass*. **Enclosed.** 6. L. *sðlido* (*sol'do*), O. F. *solde*, *soude*; cf. E. *solder* (*sod'ər*). L. *torno*, F. *tourne*, E. *turn*. 7. L. *computare*, F. *conter*; but A. F. *counter*, E. *count*, to reckon. L. *cðmitem*, F. *conte*; but A. F. *counte*, E. *count*. L. *dominam*, F. *dame*, E. *dame*; cf. E. *damsel*. L. *domitare*, A. F. *danter*, E. *daunt*. 8. L. *ostrea* (*ostria*), of Greek origin; O. F. *uistre*, F. *huître*; but A. F. *oistre*, E. *oyster*. 9. L. *cognitum*, O. F. *cointe*; but A. F. *queinte*, E. *quaint*. **Atonic.** 10. L. *hðnorem*, A. F. *honour*, E. *honour*; F. *honneur*. L. *cðronam*, A. F. *coroune*, E. *crown* (for *corowin*); F. *couronne*. L. *movere*, A. F. *mover*, *muver*, E. *move*; F. *mouvoir*. (With secondary accent); L. *vðluntatem*, F. *volonté*.

(6) L. ð, ŭ; F. L. ɔ. **Free.** 1. L. *honðrem*, A. F. *honour*, E. *honour*; F. *honneur*. L. *pietðsum*, A. F. and M. E. *pitous* (E. *piteous*); F. *piteux*. 2. L. *leonem*, F. *lion*, E. *lion*. **Enclosed.** 6. L. *turrem*, O. F. *tor*, *tour*, A. F. *tour*, E. *tower*. 7. L. *numërum*, F. *nombre*; A. F. *numbre*, *noumbre*, M. E. *noumbre*, E. *number*; with excrescent *b*. 8. L. *glðriam*, A. F. *glorie*, E. *glory*; but F. *gloire*. L. *memðriam*, A. F. *memorie*, E. *memory*; but F. *mémoire*, whence E. *memoir*. 9. L. *punctum*, F. *point*, E. *point*. L. *cðneum*, A. F. *coing*, *coin*, E. *coin*; cf. F. *coin*. **Atonic.** 10. L. *dðtare*, F. *douer*. L. *sðlatium*, F. *soulas* (obs.); but A. F. *solas*, M. E. *solas*, E. *solace*. 11. L. *nðmerare* (*num'rare*), F. *nombrrer*, with excrescent *b*; A. F. *numbrer*, *noumbrrer*, M. E. *noumbren*, E. *number*. 12. L. *pðtionem*, A. F. *poison*, E. *poison*. L. *otiosum*, F. *oiseux*. 13. L. *focum*, O. F. *fou*, F. *feu*; L. *iocum*, O. F. *iou*, F. *jeu*.

(7) L. ŭ; F. L. u. **Free.** 1. L. *curam*, F. *cure*, E. *cure*. 2. L. *lunam*, F. *lune*; cf. E. *lunar*. 3. L. *fructum*; F. *fruit*,

E. *fruit*. 4. L. *Iunium*, F. *Juin*. **Enclosed**. 6. L. *pūtidam*, *pūdam*, O. F. *pute*. **Atonic**. 10. L. *humanum*, F. *humain*. 12. L. *lucentem*, F. *luisant*.

(8) L. *au*; F. L. *au*, *o*. 1. L. *causam*, F. *chose*. L. *pauperem*, O. F. and M. E. *povre*; whence E. *poverty*; the mod. F. *pauvre* shows a Latinised spelling. 3. L. *gaudia*, neut. pl. as fem. sing., A. F. *ioie*, E. *joy*. **Enclosed**. 6. L. *fabricam*, F. L. *fauricam*, F. *forge*, E. *forge*. 7. L. *auunculum*, F. L. *aunculum*, F. *oncle*; A. F. *uncle*, E. *uncle*. **Atonic**. 10. L. *laudare*, F. *louer*. 12. L. *audiatis*, hear ye, O. F. *oiez*, A. F. *oyez*, E. *o-yes*. L. *avicellum*, F. L. *aucellum*, O. F. *oisel*, F. *oiseau*.

It will be understood that there are several exceptions to the above usual changes. Also, that these laws do not apply to Latin 'learned' words, which preserve the Latin forms much more exactly. Thus the Lat. *miraculum*, *mirac'lum* would have produced a *y*-sound from the guttural *c*, and the O. F. form would have been *mirail*; see line (1), col. 8 in the table; just as L. *gubernaculum* has become F. *gouvernail*. Hence F. *miracle* is a learned word; and so in other cases.

CHAPTER XI.

FRENCH WORDS OF LATIN ORIGIN.

THE CONSONANTS.

§ 146. **Consonants.** In vol. i, § 322, p. 350, I give some account of the principal methods by which consonantal changes are effected in English. I here make notes of the principal consonantal changes that have taken place in French. Cf. § 143. Here again, I only note some of the *principal results*, without explanations; for these I must refer the reader to Horning and Schwan.

History of K. The Latin *c* was sounded as *k* before *all* vowels, *e* and *i* included. But, in the Romance languages, *ce* and *ci* are usually treated very differently from *ca*, *co*, *cu*; in French even *ca* has a peculiar development.

Initially. Ca. Cf. § 143 (10). *Ca* > O. F. and A. F. *cha* (*chaa*) > F. *cha* (*shaa*). Exx. L. *camera* > A. F. *chambre*, E. *chamber*; F. *chambre*. L. *cantare* > A. F. *chanter*, E. *chant*; F. *chanter*. L. *caput* > A. F. *chief*, E. *chief*. This O. F. *ch* (*ch*) was sometimes voiced to (*j*), written *g*; as in L. *caveola(m)*, A. F. *gaole*, E. *gaol* (F. *geôle*). The *a* is weakened to *i* in L. *caryophyllum* (from Gk. *καρυόφυλλον*, lit. 'nut-leaf,' a clove-tree), O. F. *girofle*, varied to *gilofre* (Liber Albus, p. 230); out of which English has made *gilliflower*. Cf. F. *girofle*.

Initially. Cæ, Ci. The symbols *ce*, *ci* are retained, but the sound of *c* was changed from that of *k* to *ts*, and, soon afterwards, to that of *s*, as at present. Exx. L. *centum*, F. *cent*; whence the learned word *centuria(m)*, F. *centurie*, E. *century*. L. *civitatem*, A. F. and M. E. *citē*, E. *city*, F. *ciité*.

Initially. **Co, Cu.** The *c* remains *initially*; as in L. *cursum*, folk-L. *corsu(m)*, A. F. *cours*, E. *course*. L. *cor*, O. F. *cuer*, *cor*, E. *core*. L. *cura*, A. F. *cure*, E. *cure*. L. *coxa* (with open *o*), F. *cuisse*, thigh; E. *cuisse*, thigh-piece; cf. '*cuissaux*, *cuisse*s, armour for the thighs,' Cotgrave. L. *cauda*, folk-L. *coda*, F. *queue* (where *qu* is used for the *k*-sound); E. *queue*.

Medially. **Ca.** Cf. § 143 (11). The Lat. inter-vocalic *c* was sometimes voiced in popular speech, giving *pagare*, *logare*, for *pacare*, *locare*. In *pagare*, the *g* was palatalised to *y*; hence F. *payer*, E. *pay*. L. *implicare* > folk-L. *emplegare* > F. *employer*, whence E. *employ*. Lat. *achatem*, acc. of *achates* (= *acates*), borrowed from Gk. ἀχάτης, has the *c* voiced, giving A. F. and E. *agate*. L. *ca*, after a consonant, becomes *chie*, *che*, where the *ch* had first the A. F. sound (*ch*) and afterwards the F. sound (*sh*). Thus L. *collocare* > *coll'care* > O. F. *couchier*, A. F. *coucher*, E. *couch*. Late L. *marcare* (sense doubtful) became O. F. *marchier*, *marcher*, E. *march*, to walk with regular steps. The O. H. G. *zucchôn*, to draw quickly, pull, snatch, answers to an older form **toccôn*, whence Late Lat. **toccare* (= Ital. *toccare*), giving rise to A. F. *tocher*, *toucher*; whence E. *touch*. See *zucchôn* in Schade. The medial *c* altogether disappears between two vowels in L. *advocare*, F. *avouer*, A. F. *avower*, E. *avow*. Hence also, from L. *advocationem*, A. F. *avoëson*, *avouëson*, E. *avowson*, or, with intercalated *d*, *advowson*; the *d* being due to Lat. *ad*. L. *replicare*, O. F. *replier*, E. *reply*.

Medially. **Cœ, Ci.** Medial *ce*, *ci*, if preceding the accented syllable, usually become *z* (written *s*), which is both preceded and followed by the vowel *i*. L. *nocere* > O. F. **nuizir*, written *nuisir* (see Littré, s. v. *nuire*); hence E. *nuisance*, in which the accent has changed the sound of the written *s* from *z* to *s*. L. *racemum*, F. *raisin*, E. *raisin*. If *ce* follows an accented syllable, it becomes O. F. *s* (or *ts*, written *z*) preceded by *i*; this *s* is now written as F. *x*. Lat. *pace(m)*, O. F. *pais*, A. F. *pees*, M. E. *pees*, E. *peace*. L. *voce(m)*, O. F. and

A. F. *voiz*, M. E. *vois*, E. *voice* (where *ce* stands for final voiceless *s*). If a *t* follows this *ce*, then the *cet* becomes simply *st*; hence L. *iacet*, he lies, becomes **jiaist*, or (by the regular loss of *a* between two *i*'s), *jist*, written *gist* in O. F.; this is the origin of E. *gist*, i. e. 'where it lies.' In the case of L. *facit* > F. *fait*, the *i* early disappeared by syncope, whilst the *c* became palatalised to *i* (p. 200). So also L. *gracile(m)* > O. F. *graille*, fine, small; this is Spenser's *graille*, fine particles; F. Q. i. 7. 6 (F. *grêle*). L. *placitum* > A. F. *plait*, *plai*, M. E. *plee*, E. *plea*. L. *decimum* > O. F. *disme*, also *dime* (after the *s* before *m* had become silent); whence E. *dime*. After another consonant *c* usually became *ts*, later *s*, both written *c*. L. *mercēdem*, A. F. *merci*, E. *mercy*. L. *dominicellu(m)*, *dom'nicellu(m)*, A. F. *dancel*, a young man; the fem. was *dancelle*; cf. E. *damsel*. L. *hirpicem*, *irpicem*, a harrow, folk-Lat. *erpece(m)*, F. *herce*, E. *hearse* (see my Dictionary). Late Lat. *baccinum*, F. *basin*, E. *basin*. Late Lat. *vascellum* (dimin. of Lat. *uas*), O. F. *vaissel*, A. F. *vessel*, E. *vessel* (F. *vaisseau*). In L. *duodecim*, F. L. *doodecim*, *do'd'cim*, O. F. *doze*, twelve, the *c* (> *s*) is voiced to *z*, by the influence of the preceding *d*; hence A. F. *dozeine*, E. *dozen*. *Ci* between two vowels became *ts*, later *s* (written *c*); as in L. *faciem*, F. *face*, E. *face*; L. *solacium*, A. F. *solaz*, *solas*, *solace*, E. *solace*.

Medially. Co, Cu. *Co*, *cu*, after a consonant, remain; or, if the vowel is dropped, the *c* remains. L. *falconem*, O. F. *falcon*, A. F. *falcon*, *falcun*, later *faucon*; M. E. *faucon*, E. *falcon*, with *l* restored in our spelling, but not pronounced. L. *porcum*, F. *porc*, A. F. *pork*, E. *pork*.

In *cu*, after a vowel, the *c* disappears; see § 143 (11). L. *securum*, O. F. and A. F. *sëur*, E. *sure*, F. *sûr*. L. *iocum*, O. F. *jou*, A. F. *jeu*, *ju*, *jeo*; whence the spelling of E. *jeopardy*; the whole word occurs as A. F. *jupardie*, Y. f. 171, earlier *jeupartie*, B. i. 318; from L. *iocum partitum*, lit. 'a divided game,' i. e. a hazard. L. *Græcum*, O. F. *Griëu*, M. E. *Grew*, Greek.

Ot, x, sc, nct. After a vowel, and before a consonant, *c* (*k*) takes the sound of *y*, passing into *i*. Thus L. *factum* becomes O. F. *fait*, A. F. *fēt* (= *feit*), M. E. *feet*, E. *feat*. L. *tractare*, A. F. *trailer*, *trêter*, M. E. *trêten*, E. *treat*. L. *conductum*, F. and M. E. *conduit*, E. *conduit*, pronounced (kœn'dit, with *œ* = *u* in *sun*). L. *placitum* > *plac'tum*, used in the sense of 'decree,' also 'plea'; A. F. *plait*, *plai* (later *plei*, *plee*), M. E. *plee*, E. *plea*. The O. F. had both *plait* and *plaid*; from the latter comes A. F. *plaidier*, *pleider*, *plêder*, E. *plead*.

So also L. *coxa*, hip, F. *cuisse* (see Table, l. 5, col. 3); whence E. *cuisse*s, armour for the thighs. But the prefix *ex*- simply became *es*- (not *eis*-), owing to want of stress; and the *e* was dropped in E.; as in L. *extraneum* > *extranyum*, A. F. *estrange*, E. *strange*.

In the group *scl*, the *c* is lost; as in Low L. *misculare*, to mix > *misc'lare*, O. F. *mesler*, curiously altered to A. F. *medler* (for *mesdler*, with excrescent *d* after voiced *s*, which dropped out), E. *meddle*.

In the group *nct*, *c* is also lost, but not before it has developed a preceding *i*-sound; as in L. *iunctum*, A. F. *ioint*, E. *joint*; L. *punctum*, A. F. *point*, E. *point*; L. *planctam*, A. F. *pleinte* (for *plainte*), E. *plaint*; L. *finctam*, F. *feinte*, E. *feint*.

Finally. *Cc* becomes *c*; Low L. *saccum*, F. *sac*, E. *sack*. Low L. *beccum*, A. F. *bek*, E. *beak*. L. *siccum*, folk-L. *seccum*, F. *sec*, E. *seck*, later *sack*, as the name of a 'dry' wine. Final *sc* becomes *s*, with a preceding *i*; L. *discum*, folk-L. *descum* (whence M. E. *deske*, E. *desk*), O. F. *deis*, M. E. *deis*, *deys*, E. *daïs*, a raised platform; an archaic word. See also the remarks on medial *ce*, *ci* above, which sometimes come at the end of a word.

§ 147. **History of KW.** The Lat. *kw* was written as *qu*. This sound was introduced into O. F. and A. F., chiefly before the vowel *a*, but in mod. F. has usually been reduced

to simple *k*¹. In English, which keeps the old *qu*, the sounding of *qu* as *k* is rare, and is usually a sign of a word's late introduction. The *k*-sound appears in E. *cater*, from F. *quatre*, used in dice-play to signify 'four.' Cf. prov. E. *cater*, to cross a field diagonally, as if from corner to corner of a square. And there is a much older instance in M. E. *coy* (Chaucer, Prol. 119), from O. F. *coi*, derived from L. *quietum*, reduced to F. L. *qu'ētum*, quiet. The L. *aqua* produced the remarkable A. F. form *eue*, water; whence E. *ewer*, a water-jug. The L. *aquila(m)* produced A. F. and M. E. *egle*, E. *eagle* (F. *aigle*).

§ 148. **History of H.** I consider *h* next, to keep to the order in vol. i, § 332. The classical *h* was weak, and constantly dropped in folk-Latin, and even in classical Latin. Hence it is constantly dropped in O. F. and M. E., though often restored to the spelling, in F. and E., by writers who wished to show their knowledge of Latin. L. *habitus*, O. F. and M. E. *abit*, E. *habit*. L. *hæres*, nom., A. F. *heir*, M. E. *eir*, E. *heir*. L. *honorem*, A. F. *honur*, *honour*, M. E. *honour*, *onour*, E. *honour*. L. *horridum*, *horr'dum*, O. F. *ord*, *ort*; hence F. and E. *ordure*. L. *hostem*, A. F. *host*, *ost*, M. E. *host*, *ost*, an army; E. *host*. Note that E. often restores an initial *h*, as in this and other instances. L. *hospitale*, *hosp'tale*, A. F. *hostel*, *ostel*; hence E. *ostler*, for *hosteler*, orig. an inn-keeper. L. *hōra*, A. F. *houre*, M. E. *houre*, *oure*; E. *hour*. L. *humilem*, A. F. *humle*, *umble* (with excrescent *δ*), apparently a 'learned' form, E. *humble*. L. *humorem*, A. F. *humur*, E. *humour*.

On the other hand, the Teutonic *h* was strongly pronounced, and often remains. The E. *haste* seems to have been borrowed from A. F. *haster*, to haste; cf. A. F. *hastif*, whence E. *hasty*, by loss of *f*, as in *jolly* from M. E. and A. F. *iolif*; and the A. F. *haster* seems to have been of Scand. origin, cf. O. Swed. *hasta*, Dan. *haste*. E. *heinous* is from

¹ An exception is seen in *quétude*, and other 'learned' formations from L. *quies*.

O. F. *haïne*, hatred, which again is from O. F. *haïr*, to hate ; from Frankish **hafjan*=Goth. *hafjan* (*hatian*), to hate. So also, from Frankish *hām* (=A. S. *hām*, home) was formed O. F. *ham-el*, A. F. *ham-el-et* ; E. *hamlet*. O. H. G. *halsberc*, lit. 'neck-defence,' O. F. *halberc*, *hauberc*, A. F. *hauberc*, E. *hauberk* ; whence also A. F. *haubergeun* (S. R. 97, A. D. 1285), E. *habergeon*. E. *hardy*, A. F. *hardi*, bold, lit. 'hardened,' was the pp. of an O. F. verb *hardir*, to harden ; from the adj. *hard* (Goth. *hardus*, Icel. *harðr*, O. H. G. *hart*). E. *heriot* is a law-term, A. F. *heriet* (Y. a. 213), an A. F. adaptation of A. S. *heregeatu*, lit. 'war-equipment.' The interesting word *honi*, lit. 'disgraced,' in the motto *Honi soit qui mal y pense*, is the pp. of O. F. *honir* (F. *honnir*), to disgrace ; from O. H. G. *hōnjan*, to disgrace, cognate with Goth. *haunjan*, to humiliate, a verb formed from *hauns*, humble, low. E. *housings*, trappings for a horse, is extended from Tudor E. *housse*, *houss* (F. *housse*), with the same sense, and may be an old word, as it occurs as A. F. *houce*, *huce* = O. F. *houce* ; from O. H. G. *hulst*, allied to Goth. *hulistr*, a covering ; from the O. H. G. strong verb *helan*, to cover. E. *hatchet*, M. E. *hachet*, is a dimin. of O. F. *hache* ; perhaps from O. H. G. **hapja*, a sickle (G. *Hippe*), rather than from O. H. G. **hakka*, M. H. G. *hacke*, an axe ; see *Hippe* in Kluge, and *happa* in Schade. Hence also the O. F. *hacher*, to cut, E. *hatch* (to engrave with cross-lines) ; and with a change from *ch* to the sound of *sh*, we have F. *hacher*, E. *hash*. E. *haughty*, M. E. and A. F. *hautein*, is formed (with suffix *-ein*, F. *-ain*, L. *-anus*) from O. F. *haut*, *hall*, high ; this is from Lat. *altum*, high, and the introduction of the *h* into the F. word is very remarkable ; we can only suppose that it was associated with the O. H. G. *hōh* (G. *hoch*), high. The E. *hoe* is spelt *howe* in Will. of Wadlington, l. 1451, answering to F. *houe* ; from O. H. G. *houwā*, *howa*, a hoe (G. *Haue*) ; from O. H. G. *houwan* (*hauen*), cognate with E. *hew* ; thus the sense is 'hewer' or 'cutter.'

§ 149. **History of G.** Here also, as in the case of *k*, the development of *g* before *e* and *i* is peculiar, and must be treated separately.

Initially. Ga. The Lat. *g* was always pronounced as E. *g* in *gate*, even when *e* or *i* followed. But it seldom remains in modern F. Most words which in F. begin with *ga* either come from L. *ca* or *ua* (*wa*) or are of learned or foreign origin. The regular change is from L. *ga* to O. F. or A. F. *ia*=*ja* (with E. sound of *j*), and then to F. *ja*. Thus L. *gaudia*, which was treated as a fem. sing. instead of a nom. pl., became A. F. *ioie*=*joie*, E. *joy* (F. *joie*).

It may be remarked here that very few native E. words begin with *j*; but many are of F. origin. Amongst the words borrowed from F. are *jacinth*, *jacket*, *jamb* (of a door), *jangle*, *jar* (vase), *jargonelle*, *jasper*, *jaundice*, *jaunty*, *javelin*, *jay*, *jealous*, *jelly*, *jennet*, *jeopardy*, *jesses*, *jest*, *jet*, v., *jet*, sb. (black mineral), *jetsam*, *jetty*, *Jew*, *jewel*, &c. Many of these appear in A. F., as might be expected. *Jamb* is from Late Lat. *gamba*, the leg; but even this is voiced from an earlier *camba*. The acc. *cambas* occurs in a text printed in Cockayne's A. S. Leechdoms, vol. i. p. lxxi, with the A. S. gloss *homme*, i.e. the hams, above it; and, in fact, the E. *ham* is the cognate word.

Some words of G. origin may be noted here. The O. H. G. *garto*, a garden, lit. 'yard,' had the gen. and dat. *gartin*, acc. *garton*; the corresponding Frankish forms¹ must have been **gardo*, **gardin*, **gardon*; of which **gardin* was Latinised as *gardinum* (acc.). Hence A. F. *gardin*, E. *garden*. The O. H. G. *gelo*, yellow, cognate with E. *yellow*, stem *galw-*, is almost certainly the origin of the Late L. *galbus*, yellow, *galbinus*, yellowish. From *galbanum*, *galbinum*, was formed O. F. *jalne*, *jaune*, whence O. F. *jaunisse*, E. *jaundice*,

¹ The Frankish forms go back to the fifth century, and therefore seldom exhibit 'the second sound-shifting'; see vol. i. § 123, p. 143.

with excrescent *d*, lit. 'yellowness.' For further examples, see under **W** (§ 161).

Go, Gu. The *g* here keeps its sound. L. *gōbionem*, a gudgeon (from Gk. *καβίός*), became *gobyonem*, F. *goujon* (? O. F. *gojon*), M. E. *goione* (= *gojone*), E. *gudgeon*. L. *gustum*, O. F. *goust*, F. *goutt*; cf. E. *haut goût*, high flavour, written *hogoo* by Skinner (1671), who says it was a newly borrowed term. L. *gutta*, a drop (Ital. *gota*, a drop, also the gout), A. F. *gute*, M. E. *goute*, E. *gout* (F. *goutte*). L. *gula*, the throat; Low Lat. *gulas*, acc. pl., used to denote skins dyed red (Ducange), and afterwards used to signify 'red'; A. F. *gules*, *goules*, E. *gules*, red (in heraldry; cf. F. *gucule*, *gueules*). It is said to refer to the dab of red indicating the open mouth of the heraldic lion. L. *gubernare*, A. F. *governer*, E. *govern*.

Gē, Gi. Here *g* sometimes remains in writing, but the O. F., A. F., and E. *g* has the sound of the E. *j*; and F. *g* has the sound of F. *j*. Cf. E. *gentle*, *gender*, with F. *gentil*, *gendre*. The M. E. *gentil* has split into two distinct forms, according to the accent, viz. *gentle* and *genteel*. The latter is valuable as showing a survival of the old pronunciation of E. *ī*. The O. F. *gelee*, Tudor E. *gelly*, from Lat. *gelatam*, congealed, is now spelt *jelly*. So also L. *gesta*, A. F. *geste*, a story, E. *jest*. But E. *j* commonly arises from L. *i*; see the history of **Y** (§ 158).

L. *gigantem*, O. F. *gëant*, M. E. *geaunt*, E. *giant*; where the *i* is restored, to look more like Latin. We already find the form *gyaunt* in Langtoft, i. 190. L. *gigerium*, sing. of *gigēria*, the cooked entrails of poultry, O. F. *gezier* (F. *gésier*), M. E. *giser*; hence E. *gizzard*, with excrescent *d*, and abnormally pronounced with an unoriginal hard *g*.

Medially. Ga. Between two vowels, *g* (in *ga*) becomes *y*, which adds *i* to the preceding vowel; as in L. *paganum*, F. *païen*; cf. A. F. *paenime*, heathen lands, lit. 'paganism,' whence E. *paynim*, with a change of sense. From O. H. G.

magan, to be powerful (cf. E. *may*) was formed O. F. **des-mayer*, E. *dismay*, parallel to O. F. *es-mayer*, with the same sense, but with the prefix *es-* (L. *ex*) for *des-* (L. *dis-*). After a consonant, *-ga-* (if accented) becomes *-gie-*, whilst final *-ga* becomes *-ge*; as in Low L. **adren-gare*, to bring into a ring or rank, formed from L. *ad* and O. H. G. *hring*, a ring, giving O. F. *arengier*, A. F. *arenger*, E. *arrange*. So also O. H. G. *heriberga*, a harbour, becomes O. F. *herberge*, F. *auberge*.

Ge, Gi. Before an accented syllable, *ge* becomes *ye*, written *ie*, as in L. *magistrum*, folk-Latin *magestrum*, O. F. *maiestre*. In the fem. form *magestréssa*, there was less accent on the *ge*, and the *e* disappeared, leaving O. F. *maistresse*, F. *maîtresse*. This gave rise to a corresponding masculine, viz. O. F. *maistre* (used instead of *maiestre*), which is the real origin of A. F. and M. E. *maistre*, E. *master*.

After an accented vowel, *ge* and *gi* disappear, leaving an epenthetic *i* as their trace; as in L. *regem*, A. F. *rei*, a king (F. *roi*); L. *legem*, A. F. *lei*, M. E. *lay*, law, in Chaucer (Cant. Tales, Group F, l. 18). So L. *fragilem*, O. F. *fraille*, E. *frail*. Exceptions occur in learned words, as in E. *legend*, *image*, *page* (of a book); so also *virgin*.

After a vowel, and before a consonant, *g* becomes *y*, *i*. Thus L. *integrum* became O. F. *entir* (for **entie-ir*, see Table, l. 2, coll. 1, 5), M. E. *entyr* (= *entir*), E. *entire*; the F. *entier* (according to Schwan) is due to an alteration of the suffix by analogy with other words. Low Lat. *bragire*, to bray, F. *braire*, E. *bray*.

Gn takes in F. the sound of *ny*, which is indicated by writing *ign*; in E. the *gn* is commonly pronounced as a simple *n*, though the symbol remains in writing. Thus L. *dignare*, folk-L. *degnare*, A. F. *deigner*, E. *deign*. Low L. *insigna(m)*, a standard (for L. *insigne*), A. F. and F. *enseigne*, E. *ensign*; where *-sign* is assimilated to L. *signum*. L. *pungentem*, F. *poignant*, M. E. *poinaunt*, E. *poignant*, now pronounced with the F. sound of *gn*.

After a Latin *ng*, which introduces in F. a preceding *i*, and before *r*, F. inserts an excrescent *d*, whilst the *g* is dropped; as in L. *plangere*, A. F. *plaindre*, E. *plain*, *com-plain*. L. *iungere*, A. F. *joindre*, E. *join*; cf. E. *rejoinder*, a sb. made from the infinitive mood, like *remainder*, *attainder*.

§ 150. **History of GW.** Initial *gw* arose from O. H. G. *w*; see under **W** (§ 161). The Lat. *gw* was written *gu*. From L. *lingua*, tongue, was formed **lingua-ticum*, whence A. F. and M. E. *langage*, and with later insertion of *u* (due to L. influence), the mod. E. *language*.

§ 151. **History of T.** *Initially.* L. *t* remains, as in L. *turrem*, A. F. *tur*, *tour*, M. E. *tour*, E. *tower*.

Medially and finally. Between two vowels, *t* > *d* > *ð* (*dh*), and then disappears; as in L. *armatam*, O. F. *armee*, M. E. *armee*, E. *army*; L. *gelatam*, O. F. *gelee*, E. *jelly*. L. *armaturam*, O. F. *armëure*, later *armure*, by loss of *e*, M. E. *armure*, afterwards turned into *armour* by analogy with *honour*, etc. L. *virtutem*, A. F. and M. E. *vertu*, E. *virtue*. L. *mutare*, O. F. *muër*, E. *mew*, to change, moult; whence E. *mews*. L. *rotundum*, O. F. *röond*, A. F. *rund*, *round*, E. *round*. In the same way *t* > *d* > *ð* (*dh*), and then disappears in the combination *tr*, as in L. *patrem*, O. F. *pedre*, *pere*, F. *père*; etc. Hence L. *iterare*, to travel, became O. F. *edrer*, *errer*, whence A. F. *errant*, wandering, E. *arrant* (with *ar* for *er*). *T* remains after consonants, as in *part*, *port*, *haste*, *host*.

Tt > *t*; L. *glutonem*, Low L. *gluttonem*, A. F. *glutun*, *glouton*, E. *glutton*. So also *td* > *tt*, or *t*; L. *nitidam*, *niť dam*, A. F. *nette*, fem.; E. *neat*. **With s**; *ts* was written *z*; as in L. *fortis*, nom., O. F. *forz*. Cf. also L. *filius*, nom., A. F. *fiz* (= *fits*), also written *fitz*; whence E. *Fitz*; see p. 229. **With n.** *Tn* > *pn* > *sn* > *n*; Low L. **retina* (from *retinēre*, to restrain), a bridle, A. F. *resne*, E. *rein*. *Nt* sometimes becomes *nd*; A. F. *merchaunt*, a merchant; *merchaundise*, merchandise. **With m.** *Tm* > *m*; as in L. *æstimare*, O. F. *esmer*; *ad-æstimare*, O. F. *aësmer*, M. E. *aimen*, E. *aim*. **With l.** *Tl* > *ll* > *l*; as

in L. *rotulare*, O.F. *roller*, *rouler*, E. *roll*; cf. A.F. *rolle*, *roule*, s., a roll. *Lt* > *ut*, as in L. *altum*, F. *haut*; after *u*, the *l* may disappear, as in Low L. *multonem*, a sheep, A.F. *multun*, *motoun*, M.E. *motoun*, E. *mutton*. See § 160.

Bt becomes *bd* > *d* in L. *subitaneum*, A.F. *sodein*, M.E. *sodein*, E. *sudden*; see p. 222.

Ti. *Ti* (*ty*) between two vowels, and preceding the accent, became *isi* (pronounced *izi*), later *is*, before *a*, or *is* (pron. *iz*) before *o*; as in L. *pretiare*, O.F. *preisier*, A.F. *preiser*, M.E. *preisen*, E. *praise*; L. *potionem*, A.F. *poison*, E. *poison*. So also L. *adrationare*, O.F. *araisner*; whence (by the loss of *s* before *n*) A.F. *arainer*, E. *arraign* (with inserted *g*). When *ti* (*ty*) between two vowels (the latter being *a*) followed the accent, it became *s* (written as *c*); as in L. *gratiam*, A.F. *grace*, E. *grace*; L. *plateam* > *platyam*, A.F. *place*, E. *place*; L. *mateam* > *matyam*, A.F. *mace*, E. *mace*. The suffix *-ece* (= *ese*) was later written *-esse* phonetically; as in O.F. *richece*, A.F. *richesse*, M.E. *richesse*, E. *riches*. If the latter vowel is *o* or *u*, *ti* becomes *s*, preceded by epenthetic *i*; hence L. *palatium*, O.F. *palais*, A.F. *paleis*, M.E. *palais*, *paleis*, E. *palace*; L. *pretium*, A.F. *pris*, E. *price*. Similarly with *sti*; as L. *angustia*, O.F. *angoisse*, A.F. *anguisse*, E. *anguish*.

After consonants *t* (with *i*) became *ts* (written *c*, *z*) later *s* (written *c*, *ç*); as in Low L. **captiare* (for L. *captare*), O.F. *chacier*, A.F. *chacer*, E. *chase*. So also Low L. *neptia*, O.F. *niece*, A.F. *niece*, *nece*, E. *niece*; L. *redemptionem*, O.F. *räencon*, A.F. *raunson*, *ranson*, E. *ransom*; Low L. **tractiare* (from L. pp. *tractus*), O.F. *tracier*, F. *tracer*, E. *trace*; Low Lat. *d'rectiare* (from Lat. *directus*), O.F. *drecier*, F. *dresser*, E. *dress*; L. *factionem*, A.F. *facoun* (= *fasoun*), M.E. *fassoun*, *fashion*, E. *fashion*; L. *tertium*, O.F. *tierz*, A.F. (feminine) *tierce*, E. *tierce* (the third canonical hour); L. *cadentiam*, O.F. *chëance*, F. *chance*, E. *chance*. The L. suffix *-aticum* became **-adiyu*, **-adyu*, *-age* (= *ajə*); as in L. *ætaticum*, O.F. *edage*,

A. F. *âge*, age, E. *age*; L. *silvaticum*, O. F. *selvage*, A. F. *sauvage*, *savage*, E. *savage*; L. **linguaticum*, O. F. *lengage*, A. F. and M. E. *langage*, now altered to E. *language* (with *u*). So also E. *stage*, O. F. *estage*, answers to a Low L. type **staticum*, an abiding-place; from *stare*, to stand, abide. Note also *rtic* > *rch* in L. *pertica*, A. F. *perche*, E. *perch*; L. *porticum*, F. *porche*, E. *porch*.

§ 152. **History of D.** *Initially.* Initial *d* remains. L. *domina*, *dom'na*, A. F. *dame*, E. *dame*.

Medially. *D* between two vowels becomes *ð* (*dh*), and then disappears. L. *allaudare*, A. F. *alower* (= *alouer*), E. *allow*, to approve of. Low L. *produm*, gain, is probably allied to A. F. *pruësse* (for **prudesse*), E. *prowess*; cf. F. *prude*, fem. adj., E. *prude*, s. L. *cadentiam*, O. F. *chëance*, F. *chance*, E. *chance*. L. *crudelem*, O. F. *cruël*, E. *cruel*. L. *fidelitatem*, A. F. *fëaltë*, E. *fealty*. L. *videre*, O. F. *veoir*, F. *voir*. L. *traditionem*, A. F. *trahison*, *treison*, *treson*, M. E. *treson*, E. *treason*. *D* remains after a consonant, as in L. *solidare* = *sol'dare*, to strengthen, F. *souder*, M. E. *souden*, to confirm, to solder; the final *-er* in E. *solder* is due to the O. F. sb. *soudure*, a soldering, or the metal used in soldering. Cf. '*Soldatura*, Anglicè *sowdere*;' Wright's Vocab., ed. Wülker, 612. 33. Moreover, the mod. E. *solder* is spelt with a restored *l*, which is not pronounced.

Finally. Final *d* became, in O. F., voiceless *t*, so that the O. F. has the form *piet*, from L. *pedem*. Perhaps the final *d* had the sound of *ð* (*dh*). L. *fidem* became O. F. *feid*, i. e. *feid*, afterwards unvoiced to *feib* (*feith*), as in M. E. *feith*, E. *faith* (cf. A. F. *feit*, Bestiary, 1313); we also find A. F. *fei*, M. E. *fey*, later *fay*.

Di. *Di* > *dy* > A. F. *j* (written *i*, *g*), F. *g*, *j*. L. *diurnalem*, A. F. *iurnal*, E. *journal*. L. *assediare*, (*assedyare*), to besiege, O. F. *assegier*, M. E. *assegen*, afterwards altered to M. E. *besegen*, to besiege. L. *iudicare*, O. F. *iugier*, A. F. *iuger*, M. E. *iugen*, E. *judge*. Low L. *uadium* (= *wadium*), a pledge, gage, A. F. *wage*, *gage*, E. *wage*, *gage*. Sometimes the *d* dis-

appears, though the *i* (or a trace of it) remains; as in L. *invidiam*, A. F. *envie* ($\bar{i}=ii$), M. E. *envyē*, E. *envy*; L. *radium*, A. F. *rai*, E. *ray*; F. L. *dimedium*, F. *demī* ($\bar{i}=ii$), E. *demy*; L. *gaudia*, neut. pl. treated as a fem. sing., A. F. *ioie*, E. *joy*; L. *podium*, A. F. *pui*, E. *puw*. The A. F. *glaive*, E. *glaive*, from L. *gladium*, a sword, is irregular (the regular form would be *glai*, as in *Mor-glai*, the name of the sword of Sir Bevis of Hampton); perhaps *glaive* stands for *glaiðe*, the *d* becoming ð (dh), and then *v*, by substitution.

Ndi > nj (written *ng*); F. L. *vendicare*, O. F. *vengier*, F. *venger*; cf. E. *a-venge*, *vengeance*.

§ 153. **History of N.** *N* usually remains, and is sometimes written double. L. *navem*, F. *nef*, a ship, also nave of a church, E. *nave*. L. *sonum*, A. F. *soun*, M. E. *soun*, E. *sound*, with excrescent *d*. L. *coronam*, A. F. *coroune*, M. E. *coroune*, *croune*, E. *crown*; F. *couronne*. L. *bonam*, F. *bonne*.

N becomes *r* in L. *cofinum*, O. F. *cofre*, M. E. *cofre*, E. *coffer*; L. *ordinem*, F. *ordre*, E. *order*. Finally, *n > m* in L. *venenum*, O. F. *venim*, E. *venom*; cf. F. *venin*. *N* is lost in the combination *rmn*; as in L. *terminum*, *term'num*, A. F. and M. E. *terme*, E. *term*; L. *carminare*, *carm'nare*, O. F. *charmer*, E. *charm*.

With *r*. *Nr* becomes *ndr*, with excrescent *d*; L. *tenerum*, F. *tendre*, E. *tender*.

With *s*. *Ns* becomes *s*, the *n* being dropped; L. *sponsam*, A. F. *espuse*, *espouse*, E. *spouse*; L. *pensare*, A. F. *peiser*, E. *peise* (Shakespeare), later O. F. *poiser*, E. *poise*; L. *pensum*, A. F. *peis*, later O. F. *pois* (F. *poids*), whence A. F. *avoir de peis*, O. F. *avoir de pois*, lit. 'goods of weight,' now corrupted to *avoir du pois*; L. *monstrare*, to show, O. F. *mostrer*, *moustrer*, whence the fem. verbal sb. A. F. and M. E. *moustre*, a show, pattern, E. *muster*, in the phr. 'to pass muster'; Low L. **mansionata*, *mansnada* (Ducange), a household, O. F. *maisnee*, A. F. *maisnee*, *meinē*, M. E. *meinē*, *meynee*, a household, company, retinue (obsolete); hence E. *menial*, F. *ménage*. The E. *custom*, A. F.

custume, coustume, answers to a Low Lat. type **consuetumina*, which seems to have been substituted for L. *consuetudinem*.

With i. *Ni* (*ny*). *Ni* usually becomes the liquid *ny* (Span. *ñ*, Ital. *gn*), written both as *ign* and as *gn*; as in L. *unionem*, O. F. *oignoun* (Littré), E. *onion*, with palatalised *ni* (= *ny*). But English also has simple *n*; as in L. *vinea* (= *vinia*), A. F. *vigne*, E. *vine*; and in E. *company*.

Ny also becomes *nj* (written *ng*), later *nzh* (F. *nge*); as in L. *extraneum* (= *extranyum*), A. F. *estrange*, E. *strange*; L. *granea* (= *granya*), A. F. *grange*, E. *grange*, a barn, a grange. I think it probable that the former element in *linsey-woolsey* represents *linzhay*, put for F. *linge*, linen, from L. *lineum*.

Mni becomes E. *nj* (written *ng* or *nge*); as in Low L. *dominionem*, A. F. *dongon* (with *g=j*), M. E. *dongeon*, E. *dungeon*, also *donjon*, properly the 'keep-tower' of a castle; L. *calumnia*, O. F. *chalonge*, A. F. *chalange*, *chalenge*, E. *challenge*.

§ 154. **History of P.** *Initially.* Initial *p* remains, as in L. *parem*, A. F. *për*, E. *peer*.

Medially. Between two vowels *p* first becomes *b*, and is then shifted to *v*. Low L. *arripare*, **arribare*, to come to the shore (from L. *ripa*), F. *arriver*, E. *arrive*; L. *capillum*, hair, O. F. *chevel*, whence M. E. *dis-chevelē*, with hair hanging down (Chaucer, C. T. 683), E. *dishevelled*; L. *capitaneum*, A. F. and M. E. *chevetain*, E. *chieftain*. L. *constipatum*, O. F. *costevé*, E. *costive* (see Mr. Nicol's note in the Supp. to my Dictionary). Horning says that the F. *p* between two vowels must be due to a Lat. *pp*; thus E. *chapel*, A. F. *chapele* must be from Low L. *cappella* (and, in fact, *cappellanus* occurs).

P between consonants disappears; as in L. *computare*, *comptare*, A. F. *countier*, E. *count* (F. *conter*, doublet of *compter*); L. *hospilem*, *hosp'lem*, A. F. *oste*, M. E. *oste*, *hoste*, E. *host*, an entertainer; L. *hospitale*, A. F. *hostel*, E. *hostel*, and F. *hôtel*, E. *hotel*. Similarly, L. *hispidosum*, roughish, pro-

duced O. F. *hisdeus*, A. F. *hidus*, *hidous*, M. E. *hidous*, now altered to *hideous*, like *pileous* for M. E. *pilous*. E. *sturdy*, O. F. *estourdi*, orig. 'amazed,' is the pp. of O. F. *estourdir*, to amaze, referred by Diez to Low L. **extorpidire*, to make torpid; but this solution of the word is very doubtful; see *Stordire* in the Appendix to the 5th edition.

After a consonant, *p* remains; as in L. *colaphum* (from Gk. *κόλαφος*), a blow, Low L. *colapum* = *col'pum*, F. *coup*, whence F. *couper*, to cut, and F. and E. *coupon*; L. *temperare*, *tem'p'rare*, F. *temprer*, E. *temper*, *tamper*.

Pt. *P* disappears in *pt*; as in L. *ruptam*, a broken way, a small troop, a defeat, F. *route*, E. *route*, and *rout*; also O. F. *rote*, E. *rote*. L. *capitale*, *cap'tale*, O. F. *chetel*, but the A. F. has *chatel*, E. *chattel(s)*. Low L. *accaptare*, O. F. *acheter*, but the early A. F. (probably the Picard) form was *acater*, to buy; hence M. E. *acale*, purchase (Chaucer, C. T. 571, in the Cambridge MS.), whence E. *cate*, *cater*, *caterer*, by loss of initial *a*. L. *captivum*, captive, produced an abnormal O. F. form *chaitif* (instead of *chetif*), corresponding to A. F. (or Picard) *caitif*, weak, miserable, E. *caitiff*.

Pd. *P* disappears in *pd*; as in L. *tepidum*, *tep'dum*, F. *tiède*, tepid.

Pr > vr. L. *separare*, *sep'rare*, F. *sevrer*, E. *sever*; Low L. *capronem* (see Brachet), F. *chevron*, E. *chevron*; L. *operam*, O. F. *oeuvre*, F. *œuvre*, whence E. and F. *manœuvre*, from *manu-opera* (cf. *inure*, *manure* in my Dictionary); L. *decipere*, *decip're*, A. F. *deceivre*, E. *deceive* (cf. *receive*, *conceive*, *perceive*).

Pl remains; as in L. *copulam*, F. *couple*, E. *couple*; L. *populum*, A. F. *people*, E. *people*.

Ps > ss, by assimilation (§ 163), as in L. *capsam*, O. F. *chasse*, E. *chase*, as a technical term in printing.

Finally. *P* is dropped in *ps*, after a consonant; as in L. *corpus*, O. F. *cors*, A. F. *cors*, M. E. *cors*, E. *corse*; cf. F. *corps*, whence E. *corpse* and *corps*; L. *tempus*, O. F. *tens*, E.

tense, s. Final *p* becomes *f*; L. *caput*, O. F. *chief*, A. F. *chief*, *chef*, E. *chief*.

Pi (*py*). *Pi*, after an accented syllable, becomes *ch*; as in L. *appropriare*, to draw near to, A. F. *aprochier*, E. *approach*. Hence E. *reproach* answers to Low Lat. **repropiare*. We also find *pi* > *if* in O. H. G. *chupphá*, *chuppá* (Low Lat. *cofia*, *cofea*, etc.), a cap worn under a helmet, O. F. *coiffe*, E. *coif*; for the O. H. G. *chupphá* is supposed to represent the form **kuphja* (indeed, Low L. *cuphia* actually occurs), and this is for Low Lat. **cuppia* = **cuppea*, from L. *cuppa*, a cup. Cf. F. *hache* < O. H. G. **hapja*, sickle (p. 210).

The A. F. *sage*, E. *sage*, answers to a Low Lat. **sabium* (Span. *sabio*) rather than to Lat. *sapium*. Perhaps, in the same way, the *pi* preceding the accent in L. *pipionem* may have been voiced to *bi* (*pibionem*); cf. F. *pigeon*, E. *pigeon*. It is remarkable that we have E. *widgeon*, which would answer in the same way to Lat. *uiptionem*, a kind of small crane, in Pliny.

§ 155. **History of F.** *Initially*. Initial *f* remains, as in L. *florem*, A. F. *flour*, E. *flour*, *flower*. *F* also represents the Gk. *ph*, as in L. *phantasma* (= Gk. *φάντασμα*), O. F. *fantosme*, in which *s* before *m* became silent, M. E. *fantome*, E. *phantom* (with Gk. *ph* restored). But in the Low L. *colaphum* (Gk. *κολαφος*), the *ph* was reduced to *p*, whence O. F. *colp*, F. *coup*. The Gk. *κόφινος*, a basket, was borrowed as L. *cophinus*; the acc. *cophinum* became, regularly, O. F. *cofre*, M. E. *cofre*, E. *coffer*, but was also exactly copied, as a learned form, in O. F. and M. E. *cofin*, E. *coffin*.

History of V. See under **W** (§ 161).

§ 156. **History of B.** *Initially*. Initial *b* remains, as in L. *bibere*, A. F. *beivre*, to drink; whence prov. E. *bever*, a drink, repast, and E. *beverage*.

Medially. *B* between two vowels becomes *v*; as in L. *taberna*, F. *taverne*, E. *tavern*; L. *debere*, O. F. *deveir*, later *devoir*, to owe; M. E. *devoir*, duty, cf. E. *endeavour*; Low

L. *caballum*, a horse, F. *cheval*, whence O. F. *chevalerie*, E. *chivalry*; L. *probare*, A. F. *prover*, E. *prove*.

B is sometimes lost in difficult consonantal combinations. Thus L. *ambos* became O. F. *ames*, both, M. E. *ames* in the phrase *ames as*, both aces, double aces, in dice-play. So also Low L. *galbinum*, *gal(b)'num*, gave O. F. *jaune*; cf. E. *jaundice*. L. *absolvat*, may he absolve, O. F. *asoile*, *assoile*, E. *assoil*.

Bl. The combination *ab'l* remains in 'learned' words; as in L. *fabulam*, F. *fable*, E. *fable*; L. *tabulam*, F. *table*, E. *table*.

But, in Folk-Latin, *tabula* became **tav'la*, **taula*, whence O. F. *tole*, a table, as the 'popular' form. Hence was borrowed the Bret. *dol*, a table, occurring in the compound *dol-men*, i. e. a stone table¹, which has been adopted by E. from the Breton word.

So also in the word *parabolam*, the *b* passed into *v*, and was then vocalised, *au* becoming *o*; hence O. F. *parole*, E. *parole*; the learned forms being O. F. and M. E. *parabole*, E. *parable*. The verb *paraulâre* regularly became *parler*; whence E. *parley*, *parliament*. F. *double*, E. *double*, are from a Low L. *dublum*, substituted for L. *duplum*.

Br. *Br* (like *pr*) > *vr*. L. *deliberare*, O. F. *delivrer*, A. F. *deliverer*, E. *deliver*; L. *bibere*, A. F. *beivre*, prov. E. *bever* (as above). So also L. *describere*, O. F. *descrivre*, M. E. *descriven*, to describe; but the infin. also took the shortened form *descrire*, whence M. E. *descrien*, E. *descry*. L. *fabricare* became, regularly, F. L. **favrcare*, but, as this was unpronounceable, *vr* > *ur* > *o*; hence O. F. *forger*, E. *forge*. Cf. *parole* above.

Rb. *Rb* either remains (*after* the accent), or becomes *rv* (*before* it). L. *barba*, F. *barbe*; whence O. F. *barbour*, M. E. *barbour*, E. *barber*; L. *herba*, F. *herbe*, E. *herb*. Also L. *verbenam*, O. F. and M. E. *verveine*, E. *vervain*; L. *mirabilia*,

¹ The Celtic habit is to put the qualifying word *last*; as in *cist-vaen*, 'chest-stone,' i. e. stone chest.

neut. pl. treated as fem. sing., O.F. and M.E. *merveille*, E. *marvel*.

Bt. *Bt* > *bd* > *d*, after the accent ; but it becomes either *d* or *t* when it precedes the same. L. *male habitum* became *mal'ab'tum*, *mal'ab'dum*, O.F. *malade* ; hence O.F. and M.E. *maladie*, E. *malady*. L. *subitaneum* (*sub'tanyum*), O.F. *soudain*, A.F. *sudein*, M.E. *sodein*, E. *sudden*. L. *dubitare*, O.F. and A.F. *douter*, E. *doubt*, with unnecessary insertion of an unpronounced *b*. L. *subtilem*, O.F. *soutil*, A.F. *sutil*, M.E. *sotil*, *sotel* ; E. *subtle*, with 'Latin' spelling, though pronounced (*soet'l*), with (œ)=*u* in *but*. Exceptional is L. *debitam*, whence A.F. and M.E. *dette*, E. *debt*.

Bi (*by*). *Bi*=*by* > *g(e)*. L. *sapium*, wise, became Low L. **sabium* (Span. *sabio*), whence A.F. *sage*, E. *sage*. L. *rubeum* (*rubium*), F. and E. *rouge* ; L. *rabiem*, F. *rage*, E. *rage*. Late L. *cambiare*, O.F. *changier*, A.F. *chaunger*, M.E. *chaungen*, E. *change*. O.H.G. *louba* (G. *Laube*), a portico, entrance-hall, was Latinised as *laubia*, whence O.F. and A.F. *loge*, M.E. *loge*, E. *lodge* ; cf. E. *lobby*. Similarly, F. *longe*, the loin, answers to Low L. fem. **lumbea*, formed from L. *lumbus* ; the E. *loin* answers to the variant seen in O.F. *logne*, *loigne*, Walloon *logne* (see Littré).

§ 157. **History of M.** *Initially*. Initial *m* usually remains ; L. *membrum*, F. *membre*, E. *member*. But in a few cases it changes to *n*, as in L. *mappam*, a cloth, whence O.F. *mappemonde* (see Cotgrave), M.E. *mappemounde* (Gower) < L. *mappa mundi*, map of the world, E. *map*, *mop*¹ ; also, with change of *m* to *n*, O.F. *nappe*, a cloth, M.E. *napekin* (with E. suffix *-kin*). Again, the L. *matta* gave both A.S. *meatta*, E. *mat*, and O.F. *nate*, F. *natte*.

Ml, mr. An excrescent *b* is developed between *m* and *l*, and between *m* and *r*. Even in late Latin we find *cumbrum*

¹ Torriano's Ital. Dict., 1680, has : ' *Pannatore*, a maulkin, a map of clouts or rags to rub or cleanse withal.' Cf.—' Not such maps as you wash houses with ' ; Middleton, *Span. Gipsy*, ii. 2.

for *cumulum*, a heap; hence O. F. *combrer*, to hinder, M. E. *combren*, E. *cumber*. L. *humilem* (*hum'lem*), O. F. *humble*, A. F. *umble*, E. *humble*; L. *tremulare*, F. *trembler*, E. *tremble*; L. *cameram*, A. F. *chambre*, E. *chamber*. *Rmr* > *rbr*; L. *marmorem*, F. *marbre*, M. E. *marbre*; the change from *marbre* to *marble* is English.

Mt > *nt*. L. *comitem*, A. F. *counte*, E. *count*; L. *domitare*, O. F. *donter*, A. F. *danter*, E. *daunt*; L. *computare*, *com(p)'tare*, A. F. *counten*, E. *count*, doublet of *compute*.

Final. Note that the Latin *m* final was dropped in folk-Latin in common speech: we even find *vinu* for *vinum*, etc. in inscriptions. Hence the final *m* of the Lat. accusative never appears in French¹, and even the preceding vowel is much affected. Thus L. *-am* > *-e*, as in *lunam*, F. *lune*; L. *animam*, O. F. *anme*, *alme*, F. *âme*; whilst the suffixes *-em*, *-um* disappear altogether, unless an *e* is absolutely required (as in L. *membrum*, O. F. *membre*, where *membr'* required the *e* in O. F.). Cf. L. *parem*, O. F. *per*, E. *peer*; L. *punctum*, F. *point*, E. *point*.

Mi (*my*). *Mi* (*my*) > *nj*, written *ng* or *nge*. L. *commeatum* (*commiatum*), F. *congé*; L. *vindemiam*, O. F. *vendange*, altered in M. E. to *vendage*, *vindage*; mod. E. *vintage*.

§ 158. **History of Y**. The Lat. initial *i* had the sound of E. *y*; cf. *iugum* (*yugum*) with E. *yoke*. But, in folk-Latin, it was pronounced as *dy*, which easily passed into E. *j*; cf. E. *dew*, *Jew*; and, at a still later time, the F. *j* passed from the sound of E. *j* (*j*) to that of F. *j* (*zh*). Thus, whilst the L. *iugum* has become F. *joug*, the L. *diurnum* has become F. *jour*. Similarly, the F. *jusque* is derived from L. *de usque* (= *dyusque*). The Gk. ζ, written as *z* in Latin, was also understood as having the sound of *dy* (cf. E. *d(y)* in *dew*); this explains why Lat. *diabolus* is sometimes spelt *sabulus*²,

¹ Nor in any other Romance language; cf. Ital. and Span. *vino*, Port. *vinho*, Wallachian *vinu*, Romansch *vin*.

² It is spelt *sabulus* in the Rushworth MS.; Luke iii. 5.

and why the L. *zelosum* (from Gk. ζῆλος, zeal) became O. F. *jalous*, A. F. *gelus*, M. E. *gelus* (Ancrén Riwe, p. 90), E. *jealous*. At a later time, the Græco-Latin *z* became F. *z*, as in F. *zèle*, E. *zeal*. The Lat. *Hieronymum* lost its aspirate, so that *Hi* was treated like *i*; hence O. F. *Ierome* (with *I*=*E. J*), E. *Jerome*.

Other examples: L. *iactare*, O. F. *geter*, M. E. *Ietten* (with *I*=*j*), E. *jet*. The symbol *j* does not really occur in O. F. or M. E.; we can only tell that the *i* (often written as a capital *I*) has the consonantal sound by its position. But editors usually print *j* for the *i* of the MSS. wherever they wish to do so. L. *iocum*, O. F. *ieu* (= *jeu*), A. F. *ieu*, *ieo* (= *jeu*, *jeo*); whence A. F. *ieupartie*, *ieopartie*, *iupardie*, M. E. *ieopardie*, from Lat. *iocum partitum*, a divided game, E. *jeopardy*. The E. spelling with *eo* is due to A. F.; the A. F. and M. E. suffixed *e* was a later addition, since the L. *partitum* could only give a dissyllabic *parti*. The added *e* is due to analogy with words like *envi-e*, *Ielosi-e*. Gk. ἵακινθος, L. *hyacinthum* (*hiacintum*), O. F. *iacint* (with *i*=*E. j*), M. E. *Iacinte*, E. *jacinth*, a doublet of *hyacinth*. L. *iaspidem*, O. F. *iaspe*, also *iaspre*, with added *r*, M. E. *Iaspre*, E. *jasper*. L. *iungere*, O. F. *ioindre*, E. *join*; etc.

Medially and finally. In other positions, the *y*-sound becomes *i*; as in L. *Maium* (= *Mayum*), May, F. *Mai*, E. *May*; L. *maior* (= *mayor*), O. F. *maire*, M. E. *maire*, now spelt *mayor*.

The reader should also notice the great number of instances, in the foregoing examples and elsewhere, in which an *i* or an *e* immediately preceding another vowel passes into the sound of *y* and produces various palatalised letters, or else introduces the vowel *i* in the preceding syllable. Cf. L. *habeo*=*habyo*, becoming (*h*)*a*(*b*)*y*(*o*), i. e. F. *ai*, with loss of *h*, *b*, and *o*; L. *rabiem*=*rabyem*, F. *rage*; L. *sapiam*=*sapyam*, F. *sache*; L. *radium*=*radyum*=*ra*(*d*)*y*(*um*), F. *rai*; L. *potionem*=*polyonem*, F. *poison*; L. *mansionem*=*ma*(*n*)*syon*(*em*),

F. *maison* ; L. *exagium*=*exa(g)y(um)*, F. *essai*, E. *essay* ; L. *familia*=*famīlya*, F. *famille* ; L. *varium*=*vary(um)*, O. F. *vair*, E. *vair* (in heraldry) ; L. *somnium*=*so(m)ny(um)*, F. *songe* ; etc.

§ 159. **History of R.** *Initially.* Initial *r* remains ; as in L. *rationem*, F. *raison*, A. F. *raisoun*, *reisoun*, *resoun*, M. E. *resoun*, E. *reason*.

Medially. *R* between two vowels usually remains unaltered ; as in L. *orātionem*. F. *oraison*, E. *orison*, with weakening of the second syllable, due to change of accent. But *r* readily passes into *l*, especially by dissimilation ; that is, in order to avoid a repetition of it in the same word. In this way, Low L. *paraveredum* gives A. F. *palefrei* (for * *parefrei*), E. *palfrey* ; and L. *peregrinum* gives O. F. *pelerin* (for * *pere(g)rin*), a pilgrim. The E. *pilgrim* (for *pilgrin*) retains the *g*, and is therefore not borrowed from French. We also find O. H. G. *pilgrīm*, O. Friesic *pilegrim*, Icel. *pīlagrīmr* ; and as it is difficult to see why we should have borrowed the word from O. H. G., it is probable that *all* these forms were borrowed alike from Ital. *pellegrino*, owing to the frequency of pilgrimages to Rome. In mod. F. (Parisian), *r* has become *s* in *chaise*, formerly *chaire* ; E. *chaise* is borrowed from this late form, whilst O. F. *chaëre*, *chaire*, L. *cathedram*, is preserved in E. *chair*.

R sometimes shifts its position in a word in a very remarkable manner. Thus O. F. *prenez*, take ye, also appears as *pernez* ; hence the E. law-term *pernor*, a receiver, A. F. *pernour* (B. i. 92)=*pren-our*, from *prendre*, L. *prendere* for *prehendere*, to take. O. F. *grenier*, a garner, from L. *granarium*, also appears as *gernier*, A. F. *gerner*, M. E. *gerner*, E. *garner*. Low L. * *turbulare*, O. F. *torbler*, also *troubler*, E. *trouble*. Note that E. follows the A. F. forms *adversarie*, *glorie*, etc., where F. has *adversaire*, *gloire*, etc.

R sometimes absorbs the preceding vowel ; as in L. *directum*, F. *droit* ; L. *directiare*, F. *dresser*, E. *dress*. The

curious change from *er* to *ar*, so common in E., as in *parson* for *person*, is found in F. also. Thus Rutebuef rimes *large* with *sarge*, the latter being put for *serge*, E. *serge* (Schwan, § 265). See vol. i. § 381.

Rr. Double *r* remains, or is reduced (chiefly at the end of a word) to single *r*; as in L. *terra*, F. *terre*, whence E. *terrier*, in two senses; L. *carrum*, F. *char*, Northern F. *car*, as well as Low Lat. *carra*, fem., Northern F. (?) and M. E. *carre*, E. *car*.

R is sometimes lost before *s*; probably *rs* became *ss*, and then *s*. Thus L. *dorsum*, F. *dos*, the back; cf. E. *reredos*, where *rere* is the M. E. spelling of *rear*. So also L. *persicam*, *pes'cam*, O. F. *pesche*, in which the *s* also became silent; whence M. E. *peche* (Lydgate, Minor Poems, p. 15), E. *peach* (F. *pêche*).

Cr, gr become *r*, preceded by epenthetic *i*; as in L. *lacrima*, O. F. *lairme* (St. Alexis), *lerme*, F. *larme*; L. *nigrum*, F. *noir*.

Tr, dr become *rr* or *r*. L. *latrocinium*, theft, A. F. *larrecin*, *larcin*; whence E. *larcen-y*, with added *-y*. L. *desiderare*, *desid'rare*, A. F. *desirer*, E. *desire*. Cf. L. *patrem*, O. F. *pedre*, *pere*, F. *père*. So L. *ad retro*, O. F. *arere*, E. *arrear*.

Pr, br. *Pr, br* commonly become *vr* (though L. *arborem* gives F. *arbre*). L. *deliberare*, F. *delivrer*, E. *deliver*; Low L. *capronem*, F. *chevron*, E. *chevron* (see Brachet).

M'r > *mbr*; *n'r* > *ndr*; *rmr* > *rbr*; as in L. *cameram*, A. F. *chambre*, E. *chamber*; L. *tenerum*, A. F. *tendre*, E. *tender*; L. *marmorem*, F. *marbre*, M. E. *marbre*, whence E. *marble*.

We sometimes find an excrescent *t* before *r* in certain combinations, viz. in *sr, skr*. Thus Low L. *essere* (for L. *esse*) gives **es're*, O. F. *estre*, F. *être*. So L. *cognoscere* (*cognosk're*), O. F. *connoistre* (with epenthetic *i* before the combination); whence, with silent *s*, E. *re-connoitre*, F. *connaître*.

§ 160. **History of L.** Initial *l* usually remains, as in L.

lapsum, A. F. *laps*, E. *lapse* (of time). Or it may become *r*; see below.

Medially. Between two vowels, *l* remains; as in L. *tēlam*, F. *toile*; whence E. *toilet*. If one of the vowels is an accented *i*, the *l* or *ll* is palatalised, and is usually written *ll*. L. *salire*, F. *saillir*. L. *bullire*, A. F. *boillir*, E. *boil* (F. *bouillir*). See p. 229 (*L* with *y*). In E. this palatalised *l* is written *lli* in the word *brilliant*, from F. *brillant*, pres. pt. of *briller*, to shine; which is derived from L. *beryllus*, a beryl. L. *valentem*, A. F. *vaillant*, became M. E. *valiant*; but here the pronunciation was affected by association with the subjunctive *vaille*, from L. *valeam*, F. L. *valya*.

L (like *r*) is subject to dissimilation, and changes to *r* in the neighbourhood of another *l*. L. *ululare*, to howl, O. F. *urler*, *hurler*; whence E. *hurly* in *hurly-burly*. Low L. *liquiritia* (put for (g)*lycyrrhiza*, Gk. γλυκύριζα, licorice-plant), A. F. *licoris*, M. E. *licorice*, E. *liquorice* (by confusion with *liquor*); but *l* and *r* are interchanged in F. *réglisse*. Owing to the repetition of *l*, the former *l* is lost in L. *flebilem*, A. F. *feble*, E. *feeble*; Mid. F. *foible*, whence E. *foible*; mod. F. *faible*.

Towards the end of the twelfth century (Schwan, § 281), *l* before a consonant introduced an epenthetic *u*, which soon replaced the *l* altogether. This probably took place first of all (especially in plural forms) after *a*, and afterwards after other vowels. Thus *als* > *a^uls* > *aus* (*aux*).

Al, el (with consonant). L. *altum* (F. L. **haltum*, prob. by influence of O. H. G. *hōh*, G. *hoch*), F. *haut*; whence M. E. *hautein*, E. *hauty*, miswritten *haughty*. L. *falconem*, A. F. *faucon*, M. E. *faucon*, E. *falcon*, with pedantic restoration of unpronounced *l*. This use is particularly noticeable in plurals, when the final *l* remains in the singular; as in F. *cheval*, horse, pl. *chevals* > *chevaus*, mod. F. *chevaux*, as in E. *chevaux-de-frise*. In the case of many words in *el*, the *eaux* of the pl. ending has introduced *eau* for *el* even in the singular in

modern French; thus L. *bellum* became O.F. *bel* (as in Philip le *Bel*), pl. *beaus*, mod. F. *beaux*; whence F. sing. *beau*, E. *beau*. Similarly L. *castellum*, O.F. *chastel*, mod. F. *château*, E. *chateau*. O.F. *rondel*, E. *roundel*; F. *rondeau*, E. *rondeau*. L. *mantellum*, O.F. *mantel*, E. *mantle*; F. *manteau*, E. *port-manteau*. L. **morsellum* (cf. Ital. *morsello*, dimin. from L. *morsum*), O.F. *morsel*, E. *morsel*; F. *morceau*, E. *morceau*.

Curious examples are: Low L. **fallita* (from L. *fallere*), O.F. *falte*, *faute*, M.E. *faute*; then, with pedantic insertion of unpronounced *l*, Mid. F. *faulte* (as in Cotgrave), Tudor E. *fault* (as in Cotgrave); after which the French again dropped the *l*, but the English (later than the time of Pope, see 'Eloisa to Abelard,' 185, etc.) took to pronouncing the *l*, which must now always be sounded. So also F. *assaut* corresponds to E. *assault*, and F. *voldte* to E. *vault* (for *volt*), sb. In the E. verb to *vault*, from F. *volter*, the *l* is right; as the F. verb is from the sb. *volte*, borrowed from Ital. *volta*.

In like manner Low Lat. **regalimen*, **regal'men* (from L. *regalis*), produced O.F. and A.F. *realme*, M.E. *realme*, E. *realm*, as well as O.F. *reaume*, M.E. *reeme*, *rême*, now obsolete; Mid. F. *royaulme*, *royaume* (both in Cotgrave), mod. F. *royaume*.

OL. Low L. *folium*, a buffoon (from L. *folis*, bellows, wind-bag, see Brachet); O.F. and F. *fol*, E. *fool*; pl. *fous* (for *fols*), whence F. *fou*. L. *colaphum*, O.F. *colp*, F. *coup*. L. *collocare*, O.F. *colchier*, *colcher*, A.F. *cucher* (= *coucher*), E. *couch*. L. *auscultare*, *ascultare*, to listen, O.F. *escouter*; hence E. *scout*, v., to listen, spy; and *scout*, sb., a watch, spy. L. *ultra*, beyond, O.F. *oltre*, *oultre*; whence the sb. *oltrage*, *outrage*, E. *outrage*.

UL. In the combination *ul*, the *l* is liable to drop. Thus F. *pucelle*, a maid, is from Low L. *pullicellam* (*pul'cellam*). So also Low L. *multonem*, A.F. and M.E. *motoun*, E. *mutton*; already noticed (§ 151), p. 215.

Cl, gl. In the combinations *cl, gl*, the *c* or *g* is lost, and the *l* is palatalised, being written *ll*. Thus *L. vigilare*, *F. L. veg'lare*, *O. F. veillier*, *F. veiller*; *L. trichila*, *tricla*, *F. L. trecla*, an arbour, bower, *F. treille*; whence *F. treiller*, to form lattice-work (Cotgrave, now obsolete), and *treillis*, *E. trellis*. But in the word *periculum*, in which the combination *icl* becomes *final*, the *c* is simply lost, the *i* which arises from palatalisation being absorbed in the *i* that is already extant; thus *L. periculum*, *peric'ulum*, *O. F. peril* (for *periil*), *E. peril*, *F. péril*. The explanation of *lentil* is different; see *L with y*, p. 230.

Tl, dl. *Tl, dl* become *ll*, later *ul*. *L. spatulam*, shoulder; *O. F. espalle*, later *espaule*, *épaule*; whence *F. épaulette*, *E. epaulet*. The learned words *titulum*, *capitulum* were differently developed, giving *tille*, *titre*, and *chapitre* respectively; cf. *E. tille*, *F. titre*; *F. chapitre*, *M. E. chapitre*, *E. chapter*.

Pl, bl. These combinations remain; as in *L. populum*, *A. F. poeple*, *people*, *peple*, *E. people* (where the *eo* is due to a reminiscence of *A. F.* spelling); *L. tabulam*, *F. table*, *E. table*; *L. fabulam*, *F. fable*, *E. fable*. But the 'popular' development of *bl* was into *vl > ul > o*; see § 156, p. 221.

Ml. *Ml > mbl*, with excrescent *b*. *L. tremulare*, *F. trembler*, *E. tremble*; *L. assimilare* (= *assem'lare*), *F. assembler*, *E. assemble*; *L. humilem*, *F. humble*, *E. humble*.

Sl. For the combination *sl*, see under *s*.

Lr. In the combination *lr*, an excrescent *d* after *l* arose early, after which the *l* disappeared or became *u*, in the manner explained above, with regard to the combinations *al, el, ol, ul*. In *lgr, lvr*, the *g* or *v* drops, and the combination is treated as simple *lr*. *L. pulverem*, dust, became *pul'rem*, whence *A. F. puldre*, *poudre*, *M. E. poudre*, *E. powder*.

L with y. The Lat. *li* (= *ly*) produces the *F.* palatalised *l*, written *ll, ill, il*. An exceptional case is when *s* follows, when *ly's* became *lts*, written *lz*; as in the remarkable word *filius*, a son, *A. F. filz*, or (with disappearance of *l*) *fiz* (pronounced *fits*), also written *fitz*, to indicate the *t* sound more

plainly¹. Hence L. *familiam* became F. *famille*, but the E. *family* (not in very early use) is modified to bring it nearer to the Latin form. L. *consilium*, A. F. *cunseil*, *counseil*, E. *counsel*, F. *conseil*. The E. *council* is quite a different word, representing a learned F. form *concile*, and L. *concilium*; but the words *council* and *counsel* were easily and early confused. L. neut. pl. *battalia*, treated as fem. sing., a battle; A. F. and M. E. *bataile*, E. *battle*, with shifted accent and the second syllable weakened. L. neut. pl. *folia*, treated as fem. sing., a leaf; A. F. *foille*, S. R. 219; also (perhaps from L. sing. *folium*) A. F. *foil*, W. W. 4156; we even find 'le foile' in the Table of Contents to the Cursor Mundi, in MS. Laud 108; E. *foil* (F. *feuille*). L. *victualia*, neut. pl., treated as a fem. sing., provisions, A. F. and M. E. *vitaille*, usually in the pl. *vitailles*, whence E. *vittles*, absurdly spelt *victuals*, to look more like the Latin from which it was *not* immediately derived.

The combination *-lic-* gave rise to *lj* (lj), written *lg*, *lgi*; so that L. *delicatum* became O. F. *delgié*, delicate. So also Low Lat. **bulicare*, frequentative of L. *bullire*, to boil, became O. F. **bolgier* (Prov. *bolegar*, to stir oneself), F. *bouger*, Tudor E. *bouge*, v., to stir, E. *budge*.

Final *-icla* became *-ille* in the case of L. *lenticulam*, F. L. *lentic'la*, F. *lentille*; whence M. E. and E. *lentil*.

§ 161. **History of W.** The Latin *u* (consonant) was still pronounced like the E. *w* for some time after the Christian era; a fact which is still commemorated in English in the pronunciation of the words *wall*, *wine*, and *wick*, from L. *uallum*, *uinum*, and *uicus*; vol. i. § 398, p. 433. In French, its development, initially and medially, was not always the same; and the cases may be considered separately.

Initially. Initial L. *u* became *v* in all but a few cases; as in L. *uilem*, F. *vil*, E. *vile*. Nearly every word in English

¹ The *t* is due to excrement *d* after *ly'* (see above); thus we get *fily's*, **fily'ds*, **filitz*, *filz* (= *filitz*), *fiz* (= *fitz*), *fitz*.

that begins with *v* is of F. or late Latin origin, as may be seen by reference to my Dictionary. There are four exceptions in which *v* answers to A. S. *f*, viz. in the words *vane*, *vat*, *vinewed*, and *vixen*: see vol. i., § 349, p. 373. There are also two Scandian words, *valhalla*, *viking*; a few Italian words (in which *v* also answers to L. *u*), as *velvet*, *vermicelli*, *volcano*; the Portuguese *verandah*; the Servian *vampire*; the Russian *verst*; the Greek *vial*; the Eastern words *Veda*, *van* (for *caravan*), *vizier*; the Celtic *vassal*, *varlet*, *valet*, all in F. forms; and a few words of Teutonic origin, as *vandal*, *vogue*. But the whole number of such exceptions is by no means large, and the preponderance, among English words beginning with *v*, of words of French and Latin origin, is quite remarkable.

The Lat. *u* is exceptionally represented by *b* in F. *brebis*, from Low Lat. *berbicem*, for L. *ueruecem*, a sheep; and by *f* in F. *fois*, from Lat. *uicem*, a time, turn; but neither of these words appear in English.

The O. H. G. *w* became *gw* in the mouths of the Celtic inhabitants of Gaul, just as the L. *uallum* became *gwal* in Welsh. We even find the L. *u* represented by *gu* (later *g*) in a very few instances, as in the remarkable case of L. *uiperam*, a viper, O. F. *guivre*, F. *givre*. But the Normans found, naturally, no difficulty at all in pronouncing the *w*, which was once a common sound in Old Norse (though it has now become *v*); hence the L. *uiperam* became A. F. and M. E. *wivre*¹, whence E. *wivern* or *wyvern*, with an epenthetic final *n*. Such is the simple origin of the mysterious heraldic *wyvern*, which has been transformed from a viper into a winged dragon, with a serpent's tail. Similarly from L. *uastare*, probably confused with O. H. G. *wasten* (*wastjan*), with the same sense, we have A. F. *waster*, E. *waste*, vb. There are several other A. F. words beginning

¹ The A. F. *wivre* doubtless existed; it is spelt *guivre* in the Bestiary, l. 813. Chaucer has *wivre*, *wivere*, Troil. iii. 1012.

with *w*; but, as they are of Teutonic origin, they will be discussed in a future chapter. See § 172, p. 246.

The O. F. *gu*, at first pronounced as *gw*, soon passed into hard (*g*) *g*, as in mod. F. *guide*, especially in words of Teutonic origin, as will be shown hereafter. This even happened with a very few *Latin* words, as in F. *gui* from L. *uisum*; but I do not remember that any of these passed into English.

Medially. *V* (from L. *u*) between two vowels is usually retained, as in L. *greuare*, A. F. *grever*, E. *grieve*. So also after a consonant, as in L. *seruum*, F. L. *servu*, F. *serf*; L. *saluare*, O. F. *sauver*, A. F. *sauver*, *saver*, M. E. *sauven*, *saven*, E. *save*. But L. *vivenda*, victuals, neut. pl., treated as a fem. sing. with the form **vivanda* (Ital. *vivanda*), dropped the medial *v* to avoid repetition; hence A. F. *viande*, *viaunde*, E. *viand(s)*.

Vr > *fr* in Low L. *paraveredum* (= *parav'redum*), A. F. *palefrei*, E. *palfrey*.

Rv > *rb* in L. *curvare*, F. *courber*, M. E. *courben*, E. *curb*.

V is sometimes lost in consonantal combinations; as in L. *civitatem* (= *civ'tatem*), O. F. and A. F. *citē*, M. E. *citee*, E. *city*; L. *pulverem* (= *pulv'rem*), O. F. *puldre*, with excrescent *d*, later *poudre*, M. E. *poudre*, E. *powder*; see **Lr** in § 160.

Finally. Final *v* becomes *f*; as in L. *bovem*, A. F. *boef*, *bēf*, E. *beef*; L. *breve* (neuter), A. F. *br̄ef*, *br̄ief*, E. *brief*; L. *gravem*, adj., grievous, A. F. *gref*, *grief*, s., *grief*, E. *grief*. This F. final *f* sometimes drops in English, viz. in the termination *-if* (= L. *-ivum*); as in A. F. *iolif*, E. *jolly*; A. F. *hastif*, E. *hasty*; F. *restif*, Tudor E. *restie*, but also *restive*, as at present.

Vy, Vi. *Vy* becomes *j* (*j*), written *ge* or *g*. L. *abbreviare* (= *abbrevyare*), O. F. *abregier*, A. F. *abregger*, E. *abridge*, where the vowel-change is possibly due to a notion of some connection with E. *bridge*; L. *diluvium* (= *diluvyūm*), A. F. *deluge*, E. *deluge*; L. *caveam* (= *cavyam*), A. F. *cage*, E. *cage*; L. *servientem*, A. F. *seriant*, *seriaunt*, *serieant* (where *i*=*j*), E.

sergeant; L. *salvia*, the plant called sage, O. F. *salge*, *sauge*, M. E. *sauge*, E. *sage*. Our *legerdemain* is from O. F. *legier de main*, light of hand; where the O. F. *legier* answers to a Lat. **leviarium*; from L. *levis*, light.

§ 162. **Labialisation.** This is the most convenient place for noticing the phenomenon of labialisation, or the occasional modification of consonants and vowels by the influence of the Lat. *u* (= *w*), when the said *u* follows or precedes another vowel.

Ua. Here *u* becomes *v* or disappears; as in L. *Ianuarium* (= *januaryum*), F. *Janvier*; Lat. neut. pl. *cornua*, F. *corne*, fem. sing., whence E. *cornet*.

Ue, ui, uo. The *u* disappears after a double consonant; as in L. *battuere*, O. F. *battre*, *batre*, E. *batter*; L. *quatuor*, *quattuor*, O. F. *katre*, *quatre*, E. *cater*, four, in dice-play.

As an example of labialised modification, consider L. *habuit*, O. F. *ot*, F. *eut*, where the *a* of *habuit* is altered to O. F. *o* by the influence of *u* after the loss of *b*.

But the most remarkable examples are seen in L. *clauum* (= *clawum*), a nail, O. F. *clo*, F. *clou*; Low L. *Andegawum* (= *Andegawum*), F. *Anjou*. From O. F. *clo* was formed a verb *encloër*, later *encloyer*, mod. F. *enclouer*, to drive in a nail, hence, to stop up, choke, borrowed by E. as *encloy*, *ancloy*, *acloy*, *accloy*, and now spelt *cloy*; see *Accloy* in the New E. Dictionary. As for F. *clou*, it was transferred into English with the sense of 'clove,' the plural being *cloues*, *clowes*, or *clowys*; and the mod. E. *clove* (if my guess is right) seems to be due to a misreading of the plural *cloues*, as if it were pronounced *clowes*. We also find labialisation after *e*; thus L. *debut* became F. *dut*.

§ 163. **History of S.** *Initially.* Initial *s* was voiceless, and so remains; as in L. *saccellum*, a little bag, O. F. and M. E. *sachel*, E. *satchel*.

To words beginning with L. *sp*, *st*, *sc*, a slight initial vowel-sound was prefixed, which was written *e* (for older *i*, as in Low

Lat. *isponsio* for *sponsio*, in Ducange). Hence O. F. *espine*, from L. *spinam*; O. F. *estable*, from L. *stabulum*; O. F. *escuyer*, from L. *scutarium*. As this prefixed *e* was needless in English, which is fond of initial *sp*, *st*, *sc*, it was readily dropped; but in mod. F. the *s* became mute. Hence we have E. *spine* (thorn), *stable*, *squire*, corresponding to F. *épine*, *étable*, *écuyer*. In some cases, the *e* is preserved in English; we can say either *espy* or *spy*, *especial* or *special*, *establish* or *stablish*, *estate* or *state*, *esquire* or *squire*, *escutcheon* or *scutcheon*, *escape* or *scape*; and, of course, there is a tendency to differentiate the senses of the forms. Even in O. F. there was no need to prefix *e* if the preceding word ended with a vowel, so that 'the spouse' was *la spouse*, not *la espouse*; hence, even in English, we have kept *spouse* for the substantival form, and *espouse* as a verb. Hence also, the sb. *escheator* was readily reduced to (*s*)*cheator* or *cheater*, giving a new verb *to cheat*, and the verbal sb. *a cheat*. Of course it must not be forgotten that, in many cases, the O. F. prefix *es-* (F. *é-*) represents the L. *ex*. Thus L. *expandere*, O. F. *espandre*, A. F. *espaundre*¹, is the origin of E. *spawn*, in which the final *d* has been dropped. This O. F. prefix *es-* (when from L. *ex*) was readily considered as having an intensive force, and hence the notion arose that an E. initial *s* can be intensive also; but the usual illustrations of this fancy are quite illusory, and the notion that *s* is 'naturally intensive' is unmeaning. *Smash* is not derived from *mash*, but is an independent word. If *smelt* is allied to *melt*, it is possibly because *melt* has lost an initial *s*. *Squash* (originally *squach*) and *quash* are from different roots, and answer, respectively, to O. F. *esquacher* (L. **excoactiare*) and O. F. *quasser* (L. *quassare*). We may, however, admit that *s-* represents F. *es-* (L. *ex-*) in the prov. E. *squench*, to quench, and in E. *splash*, as compared with the older *plash*.

Medially. F. medial *s*, between two vowels, was really the

¹ 'Soffret le peysoun en ewe *espaundre*,' let the fish spawn in the water; see Addenda to my Dictionary, 2nd ed.

voiced *z*, though written as *s*. Hence E. has the same symbol (*s*) with the same sound (*z*); as in E. *cause* from F. *cause*, L. *causam*, *caussam*, though this is a 'learned' form. The popular F. form was *chose*, only preserved in E. in the term *kick-shaws*, a late parody of the F. *quelque chose*. A very remarkable word is the Late Lat. *repausare*, to repose, coined from Gk. *παύσις* (whence F. *pause*, E. *pause*). This is the origin of F. *reposer*, E. *repose*; and is most likely the word which gave rise to the Late Lat. *pausare*, F. *poser*, E. *pose*, together with all its other compounds, viz. *appose*, *compose*, *depose*, *dispose*, *expose*, *impose*, *oppose*, *propose*, *suppose*, *transpose*. The notable feature about these words is that, whilst formally derived from the Gk. *παύσις*, they all took up the meaning of L. *ponere* and its compounds.

Double *s* remains; as in Low L. *passare*, F. *passer*, E. *pass*. We also find *ss* due to assimilation; as in L. *capasm*, F. *chasse*, E. *chase*, as a technical term in printing. In the case of L. *vascellum*, a small vessel, F. *vaissel*, A. F. *vessel*, E. *vessel*, the use of *s* for *c* is only a graphic change.

Medial *s* (= *z*) before a liquid, viz. in the combinations *sl*, *sm*, *sn*, became mute at an early period¹, and invariably disappears in English as pronounced, though the *s* is sometimes written; and the preceding vowel-sound is necessarily long. Examples are seen in L. *blasphemare*, O. F. *blasmer*, A. F. *blasmer*, *blamer*, E. *blame*; L. *insulam*, A. F. *isle*, *ille*, E. *isle*; L. *masculum*, A. F. *masle*, *male*, E. *male*; L. *disieiunare*, Low L. *disjunare*, A. F. *disner*, *diner*, E. *dine*²; L. *misculare*, A. F. *mesler*, *meller*, F. *mêler*, whence E. *mêlée*, as well as M. E.

¹ The invariable disappearance of *s* in these combinations in English shows that it was already mute before the Norman Conquest (Schwan, § 318).

² For a complete solution, by Gaston Paris, of this difficult word, see Romania, viii. 95. It is a question of accentuation; *disjūno* gives O. F. *desjun*, but *disjundre*, *disjunāmus* give O. F. *disner*, *disnons*. Hence, practically, *nous dînons* is the pl. corresponding to *je dîjeune*. *I break-fast* alone, but *we dine* in company.

mellē, a contest, a form which occurs frequently in Barbour's 'Bruce'. Cf. E. *menial*; p. 217.

St remains in Middle English, even where the *s* is lost in French; as in L. *bestiam*, A. F. and M. E. *beste*, E. *beast* (F. *bête*); L. *festā*, neut. pl. treated as fem. sing., A. F. and M. E. *feste*, E. *feast* (F. *fête*).

In a few words, *sl* (=zl) became *sdl* (=zdl, with excrescent *d*) and then *dl*. Thus L. *mespilum* (from Gk. μέσπιλον), a medlar, became O. F. *mesle*, whence **mesdle*, **medle*, M. E. *medle*, a medlar; the tree being known as O. F. *meslier*, whence M. E. *medler*, a medlar-tree; we have transferred this form from the tree to the fruit itself, which should properly be called a *meddle*. In the same way, from L. *misculare*, we have O. F. and A. F. *mesler*, O. F. *mesdler* (in Wace, see Godefroy, s. v. *medler*), A. F. *medler*, E. *meddle*; cf. F. *mêler* (for *mesler*)¹. The past participle of this verb appears in M. E. *medlē*, mixed, of mixed colours (Chaucer, C. T. 328), E. *medley*; as well as in F. *mêlée*, fem., which we also borrowed at a later period. In the same way, the A. F. equivalent of E. *male* appears in three forms, viz. *masle*, *madle*, and *male*; and the old forms of F. and E. *valet* appear as O. F. *vaslet* (Burguy), A. F. *vadlet*, *vallet*, *valet*. In the latter case we have yet another form in the O. F. *varlet* (apparently intermediate between *vaslet* and *vallet*), and this is preserved in E. *varlet*. The O. F. *masle* is from L. *masculum*; and the O. F. *vaslet* represents a Low L. acc. *vassalletum*, allied to Low L. *vassallus*, both from Low L. *vassus*, a servant, from the Celtic *gwas* (Welsh *gwas*), a servant, youth.

Finally. Final *ss* remained voiceless, but was written as a single *s*. This sound is preserved in English, though lost in French. Thus we have L. *passum*, A. F. and M. E. *pas*, E. *pace* (F. *pas*); O. F. *ha las*, where *ha* is an interjection, and *las* represents L. *lassum*, wearied, E. *alas* (F. *hélas*); L. *casum*,

¹ Littré refers O. F. *mesler* to L. *misculare*, but O. F. *medler* to an imaginary L. **mixtulare*. This seems to me unnecessary, because we should have to account for E. *medlar* by a similar invention.

A. F. and M. E. *cas*, E. *case* (F. *cas*) ; L. *grossum*, A. F. *gros*, E. *gross* (F. *gros*) ; etc. In the last instance, the *mod.* F. silent *s* is dropped in E. *rogram*, Tudor E. *grogran*, from F. *gros grain*, a coarse grained stuff ; whence, still later, E. *grog*. Cf. E. *cullet*.

Sy, Si. Lat. *si* (=sy) became voiced *z* (written *s*) with epenthetic *i* ; thus E. *prison*, A. F. *prison* (Ital. *prigione*), represents Lat. *prensionem*, from *prendere*=*prehendere*, to seize. Tudor E. *foison*, abundance, A. F. *foisun*, represents L. *fusionem*. But the *s* remained voiceless when another *s* preceded ; as in E. *grease*, F. *graisse*, which represents a Low Lat. **grassia*, from *grassus*, for L. *crassus*, fat.

§ 164. SHORT TABLE OF THE COMMONEST CONSONANTAL CHANGES.

It will be seen, from the above, that the consonantal changes in French are extremely numerous and complex, as so much depends upon their surroundings. Hence, in the following table, nothing is attempted beyond a *general* summary of the changes, which neither includes all of them, nor fully shows under what circumstances the change takes place. Yet it may be useful as a mere indication of the kind of changes to be expected.

K. Lat. *c*. Initially. *C* > *c*, *ch*, *g*. *C* before *e* and *i* is pronounced as *s*. Medially. *C* between two vowels > *g*, *y*, *s*, or is lost ; *ce*, *ci* > *si*, *isi*. *C* after a consonant > *c*, *ch*. *Ct* > *it*. *Nct* > *int*. Finally. *Ce* > *s*, *x*. *Cet* > (*i*)*st*, (*i*)*t*. *Cit* > (*i*)*t*. *Cc* > *c*. *Sc* > *is*. (§ 146.)

KW. Lat. *qu*. *Qu* > *qu*, *c* ; and medially, *g*. (§ 147.)

H. Lat. *h*. *H* either remains, or is lost. (§ 148.)

G. Lat. *g*. Initially. *G* > *g*, *j*. *G* before *e* and *i* is now pronounced as F. *j*, formerly as E. *j*. Medially. *G* frequently > *y* > *i*, but also *g*. *Gn* > *ign*. *Ng* > *ign*. *Ng'r* > *indr*. (§ 149.)

T. Lat. *t*. Unchanged initially. Medially. *T* > *t*, *d*, *s*, or disappears. *Ti* (*ty*) > *c*, *is*, *isi*. *Tic* > *g*, *ch*. (§ 151.)

- D. Lat. *d*. Unchanged initially. Medially, *d* disappears between two vowels; and, finally, may be lost. *Di* > *g, j*. *Ndi* > *ng*. (§ 152.)
- N. Lat. *n*. Medially, *N* > *n, r*; finally, *N* > *n, m*. *Rmn* > *rm*. *Nr* > *ndr*. *Ns* > *s*. *Ni* > *ign, gn, ng*. *Mni* > *ng*. (§ 153.)
- P. Lat. *p*. Unchanged initially. Medially. *P* > *v*, or disappears. *Pi* (*py*) > *ch, f*; and even *g* (< *bi*). *Ps* > *ss*. Finally. *Ps* > *s*. (§ 154.)
- F. Lat. *f*, Gk. *ph*. *F* remains. *Ph* > *ph, f, p*. (§ 155.)
- B. Lat. *b*. Unchanged initially. Medially, *B* > *b, v*, or disappears. *Bt* > *t, d*. *Bi* > *g*. (§ 156.)
- M. Lat. *m*. Initially, *M* > *m, n*. Medially. *Ml* > *mbl*. *Mr* > *mbr*. *Mt* > *nt*. The Lat. final *m* is lost. *Mi* (*my*) > *ng, nge*. (§ 157.)
- Y. Lat. *i, hi, hy*; Gk. *z*. Initially, F. *j*; otherwise, F. *i*. Gk. *z* also > F. *z*. (§ 158.)
- R. Lat. *r*. Unchanged initially. Medially. *R* > *r, l*; or may shift its position. *Rr* > *rr, r*. *Rs* > *rs, s*. *Cr, gr* > *ir*. *Tr, dr* > *rr, r*. *Pr, br* > *vr*. *M'r* > *mbr*. *N'r* > *ndr*. *Rmr* > *rbr*. Excrescent *t* may arise before *r*. (§ 159.)
- L. Lat. *l*. Initial *L* > *l, r*. Medially. *L* > *l, r*, or is lost. *Li* > *ll*. *Al* > *al, au*. *El* > *el, eau*. *Ol* > *ol, ou*. *Ul* > *u, ou*. *Cl, gl* > *ll*. *Icl* > *il, ill*. *Tl, dl* > *ll, ul*. *Ml* > *mbl*. *Sl* > *l*. *Lr, lgr, lvr* > *udr, dr*. *Li* (*ly*) > *ll, ill, il*. *Lic* > *lg*. (§ 160.)
- W. Lat. *u* (= *w*); O. H. G. *w*. Initially, F. *v, gu, g*; also *b, f*. Medially, *u* (*w*) > *v, g*; or is lost. *Vr* > *fr*. *Rv* > *rb*. Final *v* > *f*. *Vi* > *ge, g*. *Avu* > *ou*. (§ 161.)
- S. Lat. *s* (voiceless). Initial *sp, st, sc* > *esp, est, esc* > *ép, ét, éc*. Medial *s* is voiced between vowels. *Ps* > *ss*. *Cs* > *iss*. *S* becomes mute before *l, m, n*, and disappears, but the preceding vowel (in F.) is marked with a circumflex. Final *ss* > *s*. *Si* (*sy*) > *is*. (§ 163.)

CHAPTER XII.

FRENCH WORDS NOT OF LATIN ORIGIN.

§ 165. WITH a few incidental exceptions, the French words considered in the last two chapters are of Latin origin; and the same is true of a very large proportion of the Anglo-French words discussed in Chapter VI, and of the later French words discussed in Chapters VIII and IX. But the fact is, that French, like English, is an extremely composite language, as is explained at some length in §§ 136, 137 above.

The chief sources of French, beside Latin, that call for a few remarks, are the Greek, the Celtic, and the Teutonic sources. Words from such sources as Italian or Spanish, or other still remoter languages, will be discussed when we come to consider the said languages in due course. It must not be forgotten that we have also borrowed many French words of which the origin is entirely unknown.

§ 166. **French words of Greek origin.** We have already seen (vol. i. § 401) that nearly fifty words of Greek origin were taken into English before the Norman Conquest, but all of them were borrowed through the medium of Latin. In the same way, the Greek words that found their way into French likewise did so through the medium of Latin. Hence the ordinary phonetic rules for the transformation of Latin words into French apply to these words also, so that no special discussion of them is necessary. A list of more than 450 words, marked as 'French from Latin from Greek' is given in my Dictionary, 2nd ed., p. 758; and a list of eight more at p. 835. At p. 759 I have also given a list of some

forty-five late French words, marked as 'French from Greek,' which were borrowed, apparently, directly from Greek; but they are mostly 'learned' words, very slightly altered, and so cause but little difficulty.

A long list of French words of Greek origin is given in Stappers' *Dictionnaire Synoptique d'Étymologie Française*, p. 271, arranged in 925 groups. They are mostly of learned origin, and many of them never found their way into English. Strangely enough, all such words as *chaise* (from L. *cathedra*, from Gk. *καθέδρα*) are given in this work among the 'Latin' words, often without any hint that they are merely Greek words in a Latin spelling. Such an arrangement has some practical convenience, but it fails to take us back to the real source.

§ 167. In his *Grammatik des Altfranzösischen*, Schwan has some remarks upon the phonology of Greek loan-words in French, which are worth notice, and from which I here copy some particulars. Perhaps it is worth while to remark, that the Greek here spoken of is the late or Byzantine Greek rather than that of the classical period.

Vowels. Gk. *ε* became F. L. *ε* (*ē*). Ex. Gk. *καθέδρα*, L. *cathedra*, O. F. *chaëre*, A. F. *chaëre*, M. E. *chaëre*, E. *chair*, modified to agree with F. *chaire*. Parisian F. has also turned *chaire* into *chaise*, whence E. *chaise*. In the case of *pepper* (Gk. *πέπερι*), we have gone back to the Greek spelling, though the *ε* is changed to *i* in L. *piper* and A. S. *pipor*.

Gk. *η* became F. L. *ε* (*ē*). Gk. *κάμηλος*, L. *camelus*, O. F. *chameil*, *chamoil*; cf. M. E. *camaille*, Chaucer, C. T., E. 1196; but E. *camel*, F. *chameau*, like Ital. *cammello*, Span. *camello*, answer to a Lat. acc. type **camellum*.

Gk. *ο* became *ο* (*ō*). Gk. *ὄστρεον*, L. *ostrea* (*ostria*), O. F. *uistre*, F. *huître*; but A. F. *oistre*, E. *oyster*. Gk. *πόδιον*, L. *podium*, O. F. *pui*, E. *pew*¹.

¹ O. F. *u* becomes E. *u*, pronounced as *ew* in *pew*; cf. O. F. *cure*, E. *cure*. Hence E. *pew* represents O. F. *pu*, the *i* of *pui* being now dropped, though represented by *e* in the M. E. *puwe*, *pewe*.

Gk. ω became ρ (δ). Gk. $\acute{\omega}\rho\alpha$, L. *hōra*, A. F. *houre*, E. *hour*; F. *heure*.

Gk. υ became L. \ddot{u} =F. L. ρ . Gk. $\kappa\upsilon\beta\epsilon\rho\nu\acute{\alpha}\nu$, L. *gubernare*, A. F. *governer*, E. *govern*; F. *gouverner*. Gk. $\kappa\rho\acute{\upsilon}\nu\tau\eta$, Low L. *gruṗta*, F. *grotte*, E. *grot*. But Gk. $\hat{\upsilon}$ became $y=i$; as in L. *gyrare*, *girare*, F. *girer*; from Gk. $\gamma\acute{\upsilon}\rho\sigma$, a ring. Spenser has *gyre*, from L. *gyrus*.

Gk. $\epsilon\iota$ became L. \bar{i} . Gk. $\pi\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}\delta\epsilon\iota\sigma\omicron\varsigma$, L. *paradīsus*, O. F. *paradis*; E. *paradise*. This is a 'learned' form; the popular O. F. form was *paraīs*, whence, with intercalated *v*, was formed **parevis*, soon shortened to *parvis*; hence M. E. *parvis*, Chaucer, C. T. 310. (See *parvis* in Scheler).

Consonants. Gk. ϕ > L. *p*. Gk. $\kappa\omicron\lambda\alpha\phi\omicron\varsigma$, Low L. *colpus*; whence F. *coup*. Gk. $\pi\omicron\rho\phi\acute{\upsilon}\rho\alpha$, L. *purpura*,¹ F. *pourpre*, M. E. *purpre*, E. *purple*, by differentiation of *r* to *l*. But in later words ϕ =L. *ph*, F. *f*.

Gk. θ > L. *t*, often written *th*. Thus F. *esple* is from L. *spata*, Gk. $\sigma\acute{\pi}\alpha\theta\eta$; of which the dimin. form is L. *spatula*, whence E. *spatula* and *epaulet*.

Gk. ζ (sometimes >dy, very near the sound of E. j), written *z*. Gk. $\zeta\eta\lambda\omicron\varsigma$, zeal; whence L. *zelosus*, A. F. *gelus*, E. *jealous*, F. *jaloux*. In late words, Gk. ζ , Lat. *z*, gives F. *z*, as in *zèle*, E. *zeal*, from Gk. $\zeta\eta\lambda\omicron\varsigma$. Hence E. *zealous*, later doublet of *jealous*.

Gk. χ > *k*, written *k*, *c*, *ch*. Gk. $\chi\acute{\alpha}\rho\tau\eta\varsigma$, $\chi\acute{\alpha}\rho\tau\eta$, a leaf of paper; L. *carta*, *charta* (with *ch=k*); F. *charte*, E. *chart*. Cf. also Ital. *carta*, whence F. *carte*, E. *card*. See p. 188.

The forms of Latin and Greek words, corresponding to F. words of learned origin, are so well known and so accessible, that further discussion is unnecessary.

§ 168. French Words of Celtic origin. A list of French Words of Celtic origin, arranged in ninety-six groups, is given by Stappers. In several cases, the origin of these words is

¹ Strictly, F. L. *porpora* (Schwan). The usual O. F. form is *porpre*.

either doubtful or obscure, and their whole number is comparatively insignificant. Brachet gives thirty-four words of supposed Celtic origin, of which only a few are represented in English, viz. in the E. *baggage*, *bar*, *basin*, *betony*, *billiards*, *bran*, *budget*, *cormorant*, *darn*, *garrotte*, *garter*, *harness*, *lay*, *poi*, *quay*, *toque* (a cap), *truant*, *vassal*, to which he might have added *valet*. He also mentions F. *gober* and *goëland*, related to E. *gob* (mouth) and perhaps to E. *gull* (bird) respectively; as well as *bec*, beak, *marne*, marl, *lieue*, a league (distance). The list in Stappers includes such words as are represented in E. by *bachelor*, *baggage*, *bar*, *bard*, *bargain*, *base*, adj., *basin*, *bastard*, *baton*, *beak*, *bracket*, *bran*, *branch*, *bribe*, *budget*, *cabin*, *cairn*, *canton*, *chemise*, *clan*, *claymore*, *coat* (!), *cormorant*, *crook*, *cromlech*, *darn*, *dolmen*, *druid*, *dune*, *gaiter*, *garrotte*, *garter*, *gob*, *gravel*, *gull*, *harness*, *javelin*, *lay*, *league*, *marl*, *pack*, *petty*, *quay*, *rogue*, *toque*, *valet*, *vassal*, *vavassor*. Of these we may feel sure that *cairn*, *clan*, *claymore* were simply borrowed from English, which adopted them from Gaelic; see vol. i. § 409, p. 449; whilst *bard* is as much English as French. My own list of French words of Celtic origin (Dict. p. 751) includes *attach*, *attack*, *baggage*, *bar* (with derivatives), *basin*, *basenet*, *beak*, *beck* (a nod or sign), *billet* (log of wood), *billiards*, *bobbin*?, *boudoir*?, *bound* (limit), *bourn* (limit), *brail*, *branch*, *brave*, *bray*, v. (to bray as an ass), *bribe*, *brisket*, *bruit*, *budge*, (fur), *budget*, *car* (with derivatives), *carcanet*, *career*, *carol*, *carpenter*, *carry*, *caul*, *cloke*, *crucible*, *gaff*, *garter*, *gobbet*, *gobble*, *gravel*, *grebe*, *harness*, *hurl*, *hurt*, *hurle*, *javelin*, *job* (to peck), *lay* (song), *lias*, *lockram*, *maim*, *mavis*, *mutton*, *petty*?, *pickaxe*, *picket*, *pip* (on cards), *pique*, *piquet*, *pottage*, *pottle*, *pouch*, *putty*, *quay*, *rock*, s., *rogue*, *sot*?, *tan*, *tawny*, *tenny*, *tetchy*, *truant*, *valet*, *varlet*, *vassal*. To which I add *league* (distance), from a Latin form of a Celtic word.

It would take up a great deal of space, not very profitably, to discuss the probabilities that some of the words in the above lists are truly of Celtic origin. It is a difficult and

obscure subject; and I cannot do better than refer the reader to one of the very few sane books that treat of it, viz. the *Keltoromanisches* of R. Thurneysen, published at Halle, in 1884, which discusses the Celtic etymologies given in the *Etymologisches Wörterbuch* by F. Diez. Of course, the reader should also consult the New E. Dictionary.

I will only give here the latest known results. Of all the words mentioned above, and included in the New E. Dictionary, in the parts from *A—Cliv*, the following are there definitely rejected from the list, viz. *bachelor*, *baggage*, *bar*, *basin*, *base-net*, *beck*, *billet*, *billiards*, *brave*, *brisket*, *bruit*, *canton*, *carcanet* (of Teut. origin; cf. O. H. G. *querca*, throat), *carol*, *chemise*; whilst some others are left doubtful.

It must be noted, also, that some of the words in Stapper's list (such as *cromlech*) came to us from Celtic directly, and not through the medium of French. When we turn to Thurneysen, we find that he definitely rejects the Celtic origin assigned to most of the above words, and it is clear that the list must be largely reduced. Amongst those that may, with more or less probability, be retained are these: *beak* (if allied to the Celtic stem *bacc-*, a hook); *betony*, *brail*, *bray*, *budge* (if allied to *budget*), *budget*, *car* (with its derivatives, such as *career*, *carry*, *charge*, *chariot*), *carpenter*, *cloke*, *cormorant*, *dolmen*¹, *garter*², *gobbet*?, *gobble*?, *gravel*, *grebe*, *harness*, *hurt*? (together with *hurl*, *hurle*), *javelin*, *job* (to peck), *lay* (song), *league* (distance), *lias*, *lockram*, *mavis*, *petty*?, *quay*, *sot*?, *tan* (or is it O. G. H.? *tawny* and *tenny* go with it), *truant*, *valet*, *varlet*, *vassal* (also *vavassor*). Perhaps we may even add *bijou*, *lawn* (of grass), *lees* (of wine), *veer*;

¹ A Breton word, but only the latter half is Celtic. The sense is 'stone table,' for Celtic reverses the order; and the syllable *dol* is merely the popular O. F. *tole*, a table, regularly formed from L. *tabula* (*tav'la*, *taula*); the form *table* being really the 'learned' form. *Men* is Bret. *mean*, *maen*, a stone, W. *maen*, a stone, as in *cist-vaen*.

² *Garrotte* seems to have been taken by us from Spanish.

see Thurneysen, pp. 91, 65, 66, 82. The tendency of modern criticism is to decrease the number of words of supposed Celtic origin; for it is now known that Welsh, Gaelic, and even Irish possess many words resembling English only because they have actually borrowed these words from us¹; and, in the same way, many words once thought to have been borrowed by French from Breton are now known to have been borrowed by Breton from French. Moreover, the dictionaries of the Celtic languages are often untrustworthy. For example, Dr. Whitley Stokes tells us that 'the alleged Irish *bille*, the trunk of a tree [the supposed origin of *billet* and *billiards*], is only one of the innumerable figments of O'Reilly's Dictionary.'

§ 169. **French Words of Germanic origin.** Brachet distinguishes three classes of words of Germanic origin, viz. (1) words 'introduced by the barbarians who served under the Roman eagles, such as *burgus*, used by Vegetius for a fortified work; (2) war-terms, feudal terms, etc. which Franks, Goths, and Burgundians brought in with them; (3) a great number of sea-terms, imported in the tenth century by the Northmen.' The origin of words of the third class is rather to be sought in Scandinavian and Low German than in High German; whilst words of the second class are mainly due to the Frankish element. Brachet further computes the number of such Germanic words at about 450, and thinks that almost an equal number have been borrowed by French, in modern times, from modern German. Of these, I should estimate the number (exclusive of derivatives) that have passed into English as being somewhat less than 300; which is, however, an important contribution. See the lists in my Dictionary, 2nd ed., pp. 751, 835.

¹ As, for example, Welsh *palas*, a palace, *pan*, a pan, *papyr*, paper, *parabl*, speech (parable), *paraduys*, paradise, *pardun*, pardon, *parlys*, paralysis, *parwg*, a parrook or paddock, *peled*, pellet, *prelad*, prelate, *prest*, quick, ready, *printio*, to print, *proffeswr*, professor, *prophwyd*, prophet, &c.; all in Spurrell's W. Dictionary.

By way of example, I may cite the word *veneer*, as having a strange history. In Phillips' Dict. (1706) we find—' *Veneering*, a sort of inlaid-work among joiners, cabinet-makers, etc'. It is merely borrowed from G. *Fournier*, *Furnier*, s., veneer, inlay, or the verb *fourniren*, *furniren*, to veneer, or inlay. The latter is the same word as the Dutch *fornieren*, *furnieren*, to furnish, given by Kilian: and both G. and Du. forms are from the F. *fournir*, to furnish, O. F. *fornir*, Prov. *formir*, *fromir*. But these Romance words were, in their turn, borrowed from the O. H. G. *frumjan*, *frumman*, to furnish, allied to O. H. G. *fruma*, profit, and the adj. *frum* (G. *fromm*), excellent. The shifting of the *r* is exemplified in the O. Sax. *formōn*, to assist, allied to O. Sax. *formo*, A. S. *forma*, the first; cf. E. *form-er*. So that the word was at first O. H. G., and then passed into French; after which it again passed into German in an altered form, so that the connection of G. *fourniren* with G. *fromm* was much disguised; nor would it be easy to guess that the E. *veneer* is allied to E. *former*, and meant, at first, no more than simply to help forward or improve.

§ 170. Schwan observes that amongst words of this class are found several *verbs*, which is a remarkable circumstance, borrowed words being usually substantives. He also remarks that all the *early* Germanic words that passed into the folk-Latin belong to the Frankish dialect, whereas some of the *later* words, which passed *immediately* into French, were from other dialects (such as Middle High German, Low German, and Dutch). Mutation of the vowel-sounds (*Umlaut*) took place, in Frankish, from about 750 to 800 A. D.; and such words as were introduced into French before that time show an absence of mutation; thus the F. *fange*, mud, answers to the O. H. G. unmutated **fanja* (cf. Goth. *fani*), not to the usual mutated O. H. G. *fenna* (cf. E. *fen*).

§ 171. **Vowels.** The Frankish vowel-system agreed more nearly with that of the Gothic than with the usual O. H. G.,

probably on account of its great antiquity. The following correspondences of vowels are given by Schwan.

FRANKISH	a	ǣ	ǔ	ē	ō	eu	ai	au
GOthic	a	ī	ū	ē	ō	fu	ai	au
O. HIGH G.	a, e	ǣ	ǫ	ā	uo	iú	ei, ē	ou, ō

The Frankish vowels were treated just like the Latin ones in the vulgar folk-Latin; as in the following table—

LATIN	ā, ǣ	ē, oe, ī	ǣ, æ	ī	ō, ū	ū
FRANKISH	a	ē, ī	ǣ	ī	ū	ū
FOLK-LATIN	a	ē	ē	ī	o	u

§ 172. **Consonants.** The consonantal system agreed rather with the Gothic or the Old Saxon, than the usual O. H. G., because the words are of such antiquity that they mostly belong to the period before the second sound-shifting (from Low German to High German) had taken place. Hence we find traces of the sounds of *p* and *ǥ*, of *k* for O. H. G. *h*, of *d* for O. H. G. *t*, of *t* for O. H. G. *z*, and of *p* for O. H. G. *f*. We also find Frankish *ch*, *chl*, *chr* for the Gothic and O. H. G. *h*, *hl*, *hr*; but this is rather to be looked on as a graphic peculiarity.

W. The Frankish *w* (=E. *w*), when *initial*, became F. L. *gu* (i. e. *gw*), F. *g*. The A. F. usually keeps the spelling *gu*, which is preserved even in the modern English spelling, though usually pronounced as *g*. It is even more remarkable that A. F. frequently preserved the initial *w* (both as the symbol and with the true sound), and that it has even descended to modern English unchanged. Thus E. *ward*, s., answers to Frk. **warda*, F. L. *guarda*, F. *garde*; whilst the E. vb. *to guard* answers to Frk. **wardōn*, F. L. *guardare*, A. F. *guarder*, *garder*. Cf. O. H. G. *wart*, *warto*, Goth. *wards* (in *daurawards*, doorward), *wardja*, a ward, a watcher; O. H. G. *warten*, O. Sax. *wardōn*, to guard. Other E. words in which the *w* is not of A. S., but of A. F. origin, are: *wafer*, *wage*, *wager*, *wages*, *waif*, *wait*, *waive*, *warble*, *warden*, *wardrobe*, *warison*,

warrant, *warren* (for rabbits), *warrior* (A. F. *guerrayour*, for **werrayour*), *waste*, s. and v., *wicket*, *wince*, all of Teutonic origin; and even *widgeon* (from L. *uipionem*?), *wivern* (L. *uiperam*). Initial *g* appears in *gage*, *garnish*, *garrison*, *garret*, *gay* (O. F. *gai*, O. H. G. *wāhi*, gay, not from O. H. G. *gāhi*), *gallant*, etc.; and *gu* in *guard*, etc.

The mod. G. *w* has the sound of *v*, and is therefore *v* in French; as in G. *walzen*, whence F. *valse*. We have imported the word directly, and have chosen to call it *waltz* (waols, wols).

In the word *vogue*, the *v* is due to Ital. *vogare*, from M. H. G. *wagen*, to float about; cf. G. *wogen*.

Medially, the Frk. *w* is treated as F. *v*; thus F. *fauve* is from the stem *fahwo-* of the Frk. (O. H. G.) *falo*, fallow in colour.

Ch. The mod. G. guttural *ch*, used medially, was formerly written *h*, and was treated as Lat. *c*. Thus Frk. (O. H. G.) *wahtan* answered to F. L. **guactare*, **wactare*, where the palatalised *c* introduced an epenthetic *i*, giving rise to O. F. *gailer*, A. F. *waiter*, E. *wait*. The initial *chl* or *hl*, *chr* or *hr*, became simply *l*, *r* respectively; cf. Frk. *Chlodowig* with F. *Louis*.

H. The ordinary initial *h* (before a vowel) was much weakened, but is usually preserved, and is almost always aspirated in E. The English words of Franco-German origin that preserve the *h* are: *habergeon*, *haggard* (wild, applied to a hawk), *halberd*, *hamlet*, *hamper*, s., *hanaper*, *Hanseatic*, *harangue*, *harbinger*, *hardy*, *hash*, *hatch* (to engrave), *hatchet*, *hauberk*, *haunch*, *haversack*, *heinous*, *herald*, *hernshaw* (young heron), *heron*, *hob* (a rustic, a fairy), *hobby* (horse), *hobby* (falcon), *hoe*, *hoop* (to call aloud, often misspelt *whoop*), *housings*, *hubbub*, *huge*, *Huguenot*. Amongst these, the only word in which the *h* should ever be dropped is *harangue*, in such a phrase as 'an harangue'; where the accent is on the second syllable; but even here many keep the *h*, and say 'a harangue.' This is an interesting case, as the G. word is *hring*, and the *h* has become *ha*, (*h*)*a*, that it might not be lost. Cf. Ital. *arringo*

Span. *arenga*, an harangue ; illustrating the changes from *ing* to *eng*, and from *eng* to *ang*. We could hardly have clearer evidence of the strength of the Frankish initial *h*.

§ 173. **Verbs.** In forming verbs, the Frankish weak (usually *causal*) verbs in *-ian* are mostly treated like Lat. verbs in *-ire*, whilst verbs in *-an* are treated like verbs in *-are*. It is interesting to notice how this distinction has left its mark upon English. In this way, the Frankish suffix in *-ian* can be traced in the *i* of the verbs *banish*, *burnish*, *furbish*, *furnish*, *garnish*, *tarnish*, which go back respectively to Frankish **bannjan* (= M. H. G. *bennen*, Schade), **brunjan* (see *brünen* in Schade), *furbjan*, *frumjan*, *warnjan*, *tarnjan* (Schade). We even see its trace in the *i* of *hè-i-nous*, an adj. formed from the sb. *haïne*, a derivative of the verb *haïr*, from *hatjan*, to hate ; of *garrison* (M. E. *garnison*) and *garriture*, from Frk. *warnjan* ; and of *warison*, from Frk. *warjan*. Nor is this all ; for the suffix *-ian* in *kausjan*, to choose, was represented by a F. L. *-jire* (*-yire*) in a form **causjire*, **cosjire*,* where the *j* (*y*) introduced an epenthetic *i*, turning **cosjir* into *choisir*, and this effect is preserved in English in the *i* of the verbal sb. *choice*. We trace yet another causal verb by help of the *i* in *seize*, which is derived from O. H. G. **sazjan* (Goth. *satjan*), lit. to 'set,' hence, to put one in possession. The *ee* in *guarantee* is substituted for the older *y*, *ie*, cf. *guaranty*, *guarantie* (see *Warranty* in my List of A. F. Words) ; this again leads us back to O. F. *warrantir*, and proves that the verb *to warrant* was causal, and derived from the sb. *warrant*, and not, conversely, the sb. from the verb.

For the further history of particular words, I beg leave to refer the reader to my Dictionary. Much exact information as to the letter-changes that take place in the case of O. F. words borrowed from Frankish or O. H. G. may be found in Dr. E. Mackel's work entitled *Die Germanischen Elemente in der französischen u. provenzalischen Sprache* ; Heilbronn, 1887.

CHAPTER XIII.

WORDS OF LATIN ORIGIN.

§ 174. It has already been shown that English contains about 150 words of Latin origin that were borrowed before the Norman Conquest; see vol. i. § 400-403. Latin being for us a dead language, but in constant literary use, we have at all times drawn upon it to supply us with additional words, especially those of the learned kind. Many of these are ecclesiastical or scholastic. Certainly no single work has ever produced a greater or more lasting effect upon our vocabulary than the Latin version of the Bible. It was from this version (in slightly varying forms¹) that all our earlier translations were made, such as the A. S. Version of the Gospels; the Northumbrian and Old Mercian glosses of the same; the A. S. Version of the Pentateuch and portions of the books of Joshua, Judges, and Job; the rather numerous A. S. glosses of the Book of Psalms, etc. Next, we have the paraphrase of the Gospels and Acts in the Ormulum, and a poetical version of the books of Genesis and Exodus, made in the thirteenth century; a Northumbrian poetical version of the Psalms, and prose translations of the same by William of Shoreham and Richard Rolle of Hampole. It was from the Latin text, known as the Vulgate version, that the complete English version of the Bible was made by John

¹ For particulars as to the variations in the early Latin versions, see Dr. Moulton's *History of the English Bible*, p. 9.

Wycliffe and Nicholas Hereford, and afterwards revised and often rendered into simpler language by John Purvey. The Vulgate version was constantly quoted in the old homilies, and it was usual to accompany the quotations with an explanation and comments in English. In this way it became the great store-house whence new words could readily be drawn, when occasion seemed to require them. Again, Latin was the language of the schools, and there may well have been occasions, in olden times, when two scholars from quite different parts of England could more easily hold communication in Latin than if each used his own dialect of English. Hence it is not surprising to find that the number of Latin words which we have borrowed immediately, and not through the medium of French, is considerably above 2400, as may be seen by the list given in my Dictionary, at p. 752. Of course it must be understood that, in making this estimate, I am speaking only of *main* or *primary* words, all fairly common, or not very uncommon, in modern English literature. If we were to include derivatives, words used only in scientific works, poetical and prose words used in our older authors and now obsolete or archaic, and the like, this number would be enormously increased. After all, mere numbers give very little idea of the facts; and it is sufficient to know that Latin comes very little behind French as to the number of primary words which it furnishes for our use.

§ 175. It is proper, too, to bear in mind that the mere number of primary words which appear in an etymological dictionary gives no real clue as to the proportional elements of the language when actually written or spoken. The number of primary words of native origin is *not much greater* than the number of such words of Latin origin, and is perhaps even *less* than the number of those of French origin; but the native words throw out such a rich abundance of derivatives and form fresh compounds so readily that their importance is, in practice, overwhelming, especially in the

spoken language of common life, in which most of the substantives and verbs and nearly all the relational parts of speech are of true old English origin. For all this, the importance of the study of Latin is very great to any Englishman who wishes to understand his own language fully; and it assumes even more importance from the usual contemptuous, or at any rate the ignorant, neglect of the study of 'the native element.' It is better to understand even a part of our language than to have no ideas about its structure at all.

§ 176. Another important fact about Latin is that a large number of Greek words have come to us by means of it; indeed, *all* Greek words have to be transliterated into Latin letters before we can make any use of them in English. It will also be remembered that Latin is the main source of French and of the Romance Languages. Thus, from a purely *linguistic* point of view, the value of Greek as compared with Latin—for the mere purpose, I mean, of explaining English words—may be said to be very slight, except in the case of scientific and scholastic terms. But Greek is of the greatest assistance to the scientific philologist for the purposes of comparative philology, and has assumed, quite recently, an increased importance owing to the clearness with which it helps to explain the sounds of the Aryan (i. e. the primitive Indo-European) vowels. Of course it will be understood that, in thus estimating the value of Latin far above that of Greek for the peculiar purposes of English etymology, I am leaving altogether out of sight the consideration of the value of Greek from a literary point of view. That is altogether another matter; and, if we would think clearly, we should know how, at the proper moment, to think of one thing only at a time.

Owing to the facts that Latin is, as a rule, very well known, and that its forms are very distinct and clear, as well as quite accessible, it is unnecessary for me to treat it here very fully.

I shall therefore only mention such points as seem to be of primary importance.

§ 177. **Influx of Latin Words; the Vulgate Version of the Bible.** It has already been said that the influx of Latin words, owing to its literary use, has been fairly continuous in English, during some 1400 years. But it will be interesting to notice (far more slightly, however, than the subject deserves) the influence upon English of the Vulgate version of the Bible.

A convenient account of this celebrated Latin version will be found, under the heading *Vulgate*, in Smith's Dictionary of the Bible. The name, *Vulgata editio*, was originally applied to mean the *current* (Latin) *text* of Holy Scripture, and thus had different senses at different times; but we now employ the term to denote the Latin text as revised by St. Jerome (Eusebius Hieronymus) in the fourth century, and afterwards by Alcuin and others, especially Sixtus V (1590) and Clement VIII (1592), and now recognised as the authoritative text. In Wycliffe's time it was only extant in MSS. which did not always agree with each other; and the text then current had, of course, not received the later corrections which were made after his time. Nevertheless, the modern editions are, usually, a sufficient guide to his translation. The title-page of the edition now before me is — 'Biblia Sacra Vulgatæ Editionis Sixti V Pontificis Maximi jussu recognita et Clementis VIII: Auctoritate Edita: Parisiis; 1862.'

§ 178. The Vulgate contains many curious words, not always easily found elsewhere. One such is *caumate*, Job xxx. 30, ablative of *cauma*, i. e. Gk. *καῦμα*, heat; this gave an O. F. *caume*, soon turned into *calme*; whence E. *calm*, s. We may here note that the form *calme* is absolutely evolved, as a *supposed* older and more correct form, from *caume*; by analogy with *paume*, which really presupposes *palme*. In Prov. xxi. 9, we find 'in angulo *domatis*,' in the corner of a

house; where *domatis* represents the genitive of Gk. δῶμα; hence E. *dome*. In Job xix. 24 we find 'vel *celle* sculpantur in silice,' or that they may be graven in the flint with a chisel; this is the authority for the word *celtis*, a chisel, whence E. *cell*, applied to a flint implement¹.

§ 179. It should be observed, moreover, that a large number of Latin words which *might* have been borrowed from other sources probably came into use the more readily from their occurrence in the Vulgate. If we think over such a word as *unicorn*, the quotation 'thou hast heard me also from among the horns of the *unicorns*,' Ps. xxii. 21 (in the Prayer-book), is apt to suggest itself; and, in days when the Latin psalms were at least as familiar to many as the Prayer-book version of the Psalms is now, many a man must have known by heart the sentence—'Saluà me ex ore leonis, et a cornibus *unicornium* humilitatem meam.' Of course, too, Wycliffe has here the word *vnycornes* in his translation; for no other word will serve the turn. A perusal of Wycliffe's Version of the Psalms (the *later* version of which, as revised by Purvey, has been cheaply reprinted by the Clarendon Press) readily shows his use of Latin words due to the Vulgate; but most of these naturally occur in *French* forms, such as *counsel*, *pestilence*, *fruit*, *just*, *perish* (Ps. i). It is solely owing to the great familiarity which nearly all our early writers had with the French language, and, consequently, the perfect ease with which a Latin word could usually be turned into a French form, that I am unable to produce a long list of Latin words which are found both in the Vulgate version and in our modern English, and transplanted thence into English *immediately*. Even the word *unicorn*, mentioned above, may be taken to be the O. F. *unicorne*, which in modern F. has been so strangely turned into *licorne*. The ecclesiastics of

¹ Many MSS. read *certe*; A. V. 'for ever'; and it has been argued that *celle* is a mere mistake, and that *celtis*, a chisel, never existed. See the article on *cell* in the New E. Dictionary,

the thirteenth century were even more familiar with Anglo-French, their native language, than with Latin¹, so that, by Wycliffe's time, there was almost always a French form ready to take the place of all the common Latin words. Hence we can only find unchanged Latin forms, as distinct from French, in the comparatively rare instances where the corresponding French term fails. Nevertheless, I find a few such words; viz. *corrupt* (L. *corrupti*), Ps. xiv. 1 (xiii. 1)²; probably *conventiculis*, explained in a gloss to mean *lille couentis* (little convents), where the Vulgate has *conventicula* (though Cotgrave's F. Dict. has *conventicule*), Ps. xvi. 4 (xv. 4), whence E. *conventicle*, which our A. V. omits to mention here; *ceder* (L. *cedros*), now *cedar*, already spelt *ceder* in A. S., Ps. xxix. 5 (xxviii. 5); *cassia* (L. *casia*), Ps. xlv. 8 (xliv. 9); *manna* (L. *manna*), Ps. lxxviii. 24 (lxxvii. 24); *locust* (L. *locustæ*), Ps. lxxviii. 46 (lxxvii. 46); *palm-tree* (L. *palma*), Ps. xcii. 12 (xci. 13), already found in A. S. as *palm*; *pelican*, E. *pelican* (L. *pellicano*), Ps. cii. 6 (ci. 7), given as a F. word in my Dictionary, but the A. S. dat. *pellicane* occurs in the version of the Psalms published by Thorpe³. In Ps. lxviii. 25 (lxvii. 26), Wycliffe translates 'jüvencularum tympanistriarum' by 'of yonge dameselis syngynge in *tymfans*'; but we have discarded *tymfans* in favour of *timbrels*. In Ps. lviii. 9,

¹ Lewis Beaumont, bishop of Durham, 1317, understood not a word of either Latin or English. In reading the bull of his appointment, which he had been taught to spell for several days before, he stumbled upon the word *metropolitice*, which he in vain endeavoured to pronounce; and, having hammered over it a considerable time, at last cried out, in his mother-tongue, '*Seit pour dite! Par saint Louys, il ne fu pas curteis qui ceste parole ici escrit.*' I.e. 'Take it as said; by St. Louis, he was not very civil who wrote this word here.'—*Craik, Eng. Literature*, bk. ii.

² References to the Psalms are troublesome, as the numbering of them in the Vulgate differs from that of our Authorised Version. By 'xiv. 1 (xiii. 1)' is meant that Ps. xiv. in the A. V. is Ps. xiii. in the Vulgate.

³ At the same time, the words *cedar*, *cassia*, *manna*, *palm*, *pelican*, are not true Latin words, but are all borrowed.

(lvii. 10), he translates *thamnum* by *ramne*, A. V. 'the thorns,' but we now use the term *buckthorn* for the *Rhamnus* of the botanists. In Ps. cv. 34 (civ. 34), where the A. V. has *caterpillars*, the Vulgate has 'et *bruchus*, cuius non erat numerus'; Wycliffe has—'and a *bruk* of which was noon noumbre.' *Rhamnus* and *bruchus* are from Gk. *ῥάμνος*, *βροῦχος*.

§ 180. **Latin Words from the Vulgate.** I now give a list of some words, which may fairly be considered as of Latin rather than of French origin; with references to some of the passages in the Vulgate where they occur. Of course it will be understood that some of them may easily have been introduced into our language from some other source; but the Vulgate is always a likely source, and the occurrence of a given word in it is of importance. I may also note that several of these words were introduced later than Wycliffe's time, and that Wycliffe does not always introduce Latin forms where we might, perhaps, expect him to do so. Thus the word *abbreviate* is not known earlier than 1450; in Mark, xiii. 20, Wycliffe has the F. form *abredgide*. In each case, it is sufficient to give a single reference to the Vulgate, and I give, by preference, references to the New Testament. Moreover, I beg leave to draw attention to the fact that I take my examples from an old Concordance to the Vulgate by M. de Besse, published at Paris in 1611, as it is precisely contemporary with our present Authorised Version. There are some differences of reading; thus, in Mark xiii. 20, where De Besse gives—'nisi Dominus *abbreviasset* dies,' the edition of 1862 has—'nisi *breviasset* Dominus dies.' The older text is the more instructive. Further, the list of Latin words is taken, mainly, from the list in my Dictionary, 2nd. ed., p. 752, which excludes words borrowed from Greek and Eastern languages. Perhaps it is worth while to remark that the Apocryphal Books were far better known formerly than they are now, at least in England.

§ 181. The following, then, are words of Latin origin which occur in De Besse's Concordance. It is unnecessary always to give the Latin forms, as they are obvious enough; or, in cases of doubt, they can be found in my Dictionary.

Abbreviate, Mk. xiii. 20; abdicate, 2 Cor. iv. 2; abduce, Ps. cxxxvi. 3¹; aberration (from *aberrare*), cf. *aberrantes*, 1 Tim. i. 6; abhor, Eccclus.² xxxviii. 4; abject, Ps. lxxxiii. 11; ablution, Zech. xiii. 1; abnegation (from *abnegare*), cf. *abnegantes*, 2 Tim. iii. 5; abominate, Acts x. 28 (and common); abortive, Job iii. 16; abscind, Matt. v. 30; abscond, Matt. v. 14 (very common); absent, Col. ii. 5; absolve, Acts xix. 39; abstract, Acts, xxi. 1; accede, Matt. iv. 3 (common); accelerate, Gen. xviii. 6; acclaim (for *acclame*, cf. *claim*), Acts xii. 22; accommodate, Eccl. vii. 22; acid (L. *acide*, adverb), Eccclus. iv. 9; acquiesce, Rom. ii. 8 (common); acquire, Lu. xix. 16 (common); act, Acts (title); acute, Rev. i. 16; adapt, Exod. xxvi. 5; add, Lu. xx. 11 (common); adduce, Matt. xxi. 2 (very common); adequate, Hos. x. 1; adhere, Matt. xix. 5, etc.; adjacent (cf. *cunctis quæ adiacent torrenti*), Deut. ii. 37; adject (*adiectum est*), Eccclus. xlii. 22³; adjudicate, Lu. xxiii. 24; adjure, Matt. xxvi. 63; administer, Acts xiii. 36; admit, Mar. v. 19; adolescent, Matt. xix. 20 (common); adopt, Ex. ii. 10; adorn, 2 Macc. iii. 25; adult, Gen. xxv. 27; adulterate, Ezek. xxiii. 37; advent, Matt. xxiv. 3; adverse (nihil *adversi*), Judg. viii. 11; affect (*affectos*), Matt. xxii. 6; afflict, Heb. xi. 37; agent (*gratias agente*), John vi. 23; agglutinate, Jer. xiii. 11, Baruch iii. 4; aggravate, Gen. xviii. 20, etc.; agitate (*agitatum*), Matt. xi. 7; alacrity, Eccclus. xlv. 29; alias, Gen. xx. 12, Acts xiii. 35; alibi, Wisdom, xviii. 18; aliquot, Acts ix. 19; alleviate,

¹ References to the Psalms are to the numbering in the Vulgate Version. In the A. V., this reference is to Ps. cxxxvii. 3.

² Eccclus. = Ecclesiasticus (Apocrypha).

³ There is often some disagreement as to the division into verses. Thus, in the Vulgate edition of 1862, this reference is to verse 21; and so in the A. V., which has 25 verses in the Chapter instead of 26.

Acts xxvii. 38, Jas. v. 15; alligation (*alligatam*), Matt. xxi. 2; allocution, Wisdom iii. 18, viii. 9, xix. 12; altitude, Matt. xiii. 5 (common); ambient (*ambiens*), Ezek. xlvi. 23; ambiguous, Deut. xvii. 8; ambulation (from *ambulare*, very common); amicable, Prov. xviii. 24; amputate (*amputatis*), Lev. xxii. 23, etc.; anile, 1 Tim. iv. 7; animadvert, Prov. i. 6, etc.; animal, Gen. vii. 14 (very common); annul, Ecclus. xxi. 5; antecedent, Matt. ii. 9; antediluvian (from *diluvium*); anticipate, Ps. lxxvi. 5, lxxviii. 8; anxious, Eccl. v. 10; aperient, cf. Acts v. 19; apex, Judith vii. 3, Matt. v. 18; apparatus, 1 Macc. ix. 35, xv. 32, 2 Macc. x. 18, etc.; applaud, Jer. v. 51; apposite, Acts ii. 41, xi. 24; appreciate, Matt. xxvii. 9; apprehend, Matt. xiv. 31 (common); approximate, Ps. xxxi. 6, 9; aquatic, Wisdom, xix. 18; arbiter, Gen. xxxix. 11, Judg. xi. 27; arbitrate, Lu. vii. 7; arduous, Job xxxix. 27, Jer. iv. 29; area, Matt. iii. 12; arefaction (*arefacta*), Gen. viii. 14; arena (only in the sense of 'sand'); argillaceous (cf. *argillosus*), 1 Kings vii. 46, 2 Chr. iv. 17; arid, Matt. xii. 43; ark (A. S. *arc*, L. *arca*); arrogant, Isa. ii. 12; ascend, Jo. i. 51 (very common); ascribe, 2 Sam. xii. 28; aspect, Matt. xxviii. 3; asperse, Heb. ix. 13; assiduous, Jas. v. 16; assimilate, Mark iv. 30; assume, Matt. xii. 45 (common); astringent, Lev. viii. 8; astute, Prov. xiv. 15; attenuate, Lev. xxv. 25; attract (*attraxit*, Jer. ii. 24, *attracta*, Baruch, vi. 43); attribute, Numb. xxxvi. 12, Deut. xxix. 26; augur, Isa. ii. 6, xlvii. 13; august, 2 Chr. xv. 16; aureole (*coronam aureolam*), Ex. xxv. 25, xxxvii. 27; aurora, Gen. xxxii. 26; auscultation (from *auscultare*), Acts viii. 10; autumn, Isa. xxviii. 4; auxiliary, Judith iii. 8; ave, Lu. i. 28; avert, Matt. v. 42 (common); avocation, cf. *avocare*, Ecclus. xxxii. 15 (A. V. xxxii. 12); axis, 1 Kings vii. 30.

Belligerent (for *belligerant*, from *belligerare*, Micah iv. 3; cf. *belligeratis*, Jas. iv. 2); belt, A. S. *belt* (from L. *balteus*), Ex. xxviii. 4, 39. As to *benefactor*, it is remarkable that this word nowhere occurs in the Vulgate; in Luke xxii. 25,

where the A. V. has *benefactors*, the Vulgate has *benefici*; but the verb *benefacere* is common, and *malefactor* occurs thrice, Jo. xviii. 30, 1 Pet. ii. 12, 14. *Bibber* is from L. *bibere*; *wine-bibber* in Lu. vii. 34 translates *bibens uinum*. Biennial (from L. *biennium*, Acts xix. 10); bipartite, Ecclus. xlvii. 23; biped, Baruch, iii. 32; bitumen, Gen. vi. 14, xi. 3, xiv. 10, Ex. ii. 3; bland, Prov. xxix. 5; box-tree (*buxus*), Isa. lx. 13; bract (L. *bractea*)¹, Ex. xxxix. 3; (papal) bull (L. *bullā*, cf. *ornamenta et bullas*, Judg. viii. 21).

§ 182. The above notes relative to the words beginning with A and B will serve as a specimen of the words which we may expect to find in the Vulgate; it being remembered that the numerous words which took a French form are excluded from the list. The small number of words beginning with B is remarkable; the quotations for them, in the Concordance, occupy *only one-eighth* of the space occupied by A; and, after all, an unusually large proportion even of these are proper names. A few are of Greek origin, such as *balsam*, *baptism*, *baptist*, *barbarous*, etc., and will be considered hereafter, in discussing Greek loan-words. Even the French words beginning with B, and due to original Latin forms found in the Vulgate are very few; I may mention *beast* (A. F. *beste*, L. *bestia*, common); *beatitude*, Rom. iv. 6; *beef*, Lu. xiii. 15, etc.; *benediction*, *benison*, Rom. xv. 29; *benevolence*, 3 (or 1) Esdras, i. 12; *benign*, Lu. vi. 35; *benignity*, Rom. ii. 4; *boil*, v., Job. xli. 22 (cf. A. V. Job xli. 31); *bounty*, Rom. ii. 4; *brace* (O. F. *brace*, L. *brachia*², Dan. ii. 32); *brief*, 1 Cor. vii. 29. However, the next letter, viz. C, yields a large number both of French and Latin words; and I here throw out the hint, that I am not sure that the Latin Vulgate version has been so closely examined, for the purpose of explaining English etymologies, as it certainly deserves to be. For example, the gem called the *carbuncle*

¹ The classical form is *brattea*.

² The classical form is *brachia*.

is mentioned in English as early as the thirteenth century; and this is the less surprising when we observe that it is mentioned in the Vulgate no less than four times; Ex. xxviii. 18, xxxix. 11; Ezek. xxviii. 13; Ecclus. xxxii. 7. (It does not occur in Isa. liv. 12 in the Vulgate, though the A. V. has *carbuncles* in this verse).

§ 183. **Latin Words from other sources.** But the Vulgate is by no means the sole source whence Latin words were readily imported into English. The use of Latin, for literary purposes, was, for a long time, supreme and almost universal. The old Charters, before the Conquest, are mostly in Latin, though the boundaries of the lands to which they relate are commonly described in Anglo-Saxon; and any good work upon English literature will explain the great importance of Latin in England in the middle ages. As Craik observes, 'it was the language of all the learned professions, of law and physic, as well as of divinity, in all their grades. It was in Latin that the teachers at the Universities (many of whom, as well as of the ecclesiastics, were foreigners) delivered their prelections in all the sciences, and that all the disputations and other exercises among the students were carried on.' It is still supposed to be, and commonly is, one of the few things which 'every schoolboy knows.' The result has been that we have borrowed words from it at *all* times, ever since the Christian era; for we have a few words, such as *street*, *wall*, etc., which go back to the time of the Roman occupation of Britain, and are technically called Latin words of the First Period; those of the Second Period being such as found their way into A. S., and those of the Third Period such as came into use after the Conquest. It is particularly useful as supplying us with scholastic and scientific words. The only language that competes with it for this purpose is Greek; and most of the Greek words were formerly borrowed through the medium of Latin, or through the medium of both Latin and French,

until the time of Edward VI, when they began to be borrowed directly. When, therefore, we find a Latin word in use in English, we have, at the outset, *no* clue to the date of its introduction; but it is usually easy to gain some idea of this date by a little research. In many cases, I have indicated the approximate date, within half a century, in my Dictionary; but there are doubtless some cases in which a certain word may have been introduced a couple of centuries earlier than I have succeeded in tracing it. Owing to the constancy and general invariability of the forms used in literary Latin, it is very seldom that a mistake in the date can at all affect the etymology; in the case, that is, where the word has been borrowed *immediately*. If, however, it came to us through the French, a considerable mistake as to the date may entirely mislead us, as has been shown in tracing the differences between Anglo-French and Central French.

§ 184. **Words from Latin past participles.** It is worth while, however, to take notice of one very curious mode in which the English language frequently coins verbs, not only from the Latin infinitive mood, but from the *past participle*. An easy example is seen in the E. word *corrupt*. The Lat. verb is *corrumpere*, pp. *corruptus*. Hence was formed the M. E. verb *corrumpen*, to become corrupt, as used in Chaucer's *Knights Tale*, 1888 (Harl. MS.):—

‘The clothred blood, for eny leche-craft, *Corruptith*.’

In this place, the Ellesmere MS. has *Corrupteth*.

At the same time, *corrupt* was introduced as a past participle or adjective, as in Chaucer's *Man of Lawes Tale*, B. 519:—

‘A maner Latyn *corrupt* was hir speche.’

But, inasmuch as *corrupt* did not seem, in English, sufficiently clearly marked as being a past participle, it was easy to mark it still more clearly by adding to it the E. suffix *-ed* (or *-id*). Hence it is that, in Wycliffe's translations of 2 Cor. iv.

16, we find several remarkably divergent forms. The Vulgate has 'noster homo *corrumpatur*'; and Wycliffe has, in the earlier version, 'oure man be *coruptid* (various readings, *corumped*, *corruptid*, *corupt*, *corrupt*); but in the later version we find only 'oure vtter man be *corruptid*.' This use of the form *corrupted* with the double past participial suffix (the *-t*-being Latin, and the *-ed* English), really presupposed an E. verb *corrupten*, to corrupt, and it was thenceforth always in the power of any English writer to use *corrupt* either adjectivally, or as a verb, and to distinguish the adjectival from the participial form by using *corrupt* in the former case, and *corrupted* in the latter. This is precisely what took place, and we may easily illustrate this from Shakespeare, who has (1) the adjective, (2) the verb, and (3) the pp., as in the following examples:—

- (1) ' . . . Knaves . . , which in this plainness
Harbour more craft and more *corrupter* ends
Than twenty silly ducking observants
That stretch their duties nicely.' *K. Lear*, ii. 2. 108.
- (2) 'You *corrupt* the song, sirrah.'—*All's Well*, i. 3. 85.
- (3) 'Whose conscience with injustice is *corrupted*.'
2 Hen. VI, iii. 2. 235.

Again, from the verb *to corrupt*, it was easy to form the sb. *corrupter*.

'Away! away!
Corrupters of my faith!—*Cymb.* iii. 4. 85.

It should further be noticed that this process was much facilitated by the fact that, in Latin itself, the past participle often differed (apparently, at least) from a related substantive, in its ending only. Thus, in this very instance, where Shakespeare has *corrupter*, Cicero has *corruptor*, which again suggests the use of *to corrupt* as a verb. Once more, we find, in Latin itself, verbs formed from the pp. stem, as in the case of *tract-are*, to handle, which is the 'intensive' form

of *trahere*, pp. *tract-us*; and this very verb produced the A. F. *trailer*, **treiter*, *treter*, M. E. *trelen*, E. *treat*, in which the final *-t* is just as much due to the pp. suffix as in the case of *corrupt-t*. With all these various causes at work, it is easy to see that Latin past participles passed into E. verbs with considerable ease.

§ 185. The above are merely two instances out of many; as other examples, take *abduct*, *abstract*, *addict*, *affect*, *afflict*, *assert*, *attract*, *attribute*, *bisect*, *circumvent*, *complete*, *concoct*, *conduct*, *confect*, *conflict*, *constitute*, *contort*, *contract*, *contradict*, *contribute*, *convict*, *correct*, *corrupt*, etc., all with the characteristic suffix *-t* (or *-te*); and *asperse*, *circumcise*, *circumfuse*, *collapse*, *compress*, *convulse*, etc., with the characteristic suffix *-ss* (or *-se*). To these may be added a considerable number of French forms, such as *accredit*, *acquaint*, *anoint*, *attaint*, *chant*, *collect*, *consult*, *content*, etc., with the characteristic *-t*; and *abuse*, *close*, *confess*, *comprise*, etc., with the characteristic *-ss* (or *-se*). And it may further be noted, that such examples by no means exhaust the uses of the Lat. pp. suffix, as we again find the *-t* (from this source) in such words as *cap-t-ive*, *cai-t-iff*, *ca-t-er*, *cap-t-i-ous*, and the like; and the *-s* (from this source) in such words as *cloi-s-ter*, *commi-ss-ion*, *conver-s-ion*, etc. We even find instances in which French past participles have become E. VERBS, as in *accrue*, *counterfeit*, *forfeit*, *defeat*, *escheat*.

§ 186. **Verbs ending in -ate.** I have purposely omitted from the above list a most curious and important set of verbs of this class, viz. our verbs in *-ate*; which deserve separate consideration. The use of them arose in much the same way. At first they appear adjectivally or as past participles, derived from the Latin past participles in *-atus* of the first conjugation. Thus Chaucer has *desolat* in the sense of 'deprived of, void of, left without,' in the line—'I were right now of tales *desolat*'; Man of Lawes Prologue, B. 131. Again, he has *creat* in the exact sense of 'created,' in the

first part of the *Persones Tale* (*Six-text*, l. 218): 'and al be it so that God hath *creat* alle thinges in right ordre,' etc. Here, curiously enough, the three best MSS. have *creat*, whilst the Corpus, Petworth, and Lansdowne MSS. have the form *created*; showing how readily the E. pp. suffix *-ed* was added in order to secure, as it were, that the word should be rightly taken. From Mr. Cromie's *Rime-Index* we also learn that Chaucer uses *annunciat*, *consecrat*, *coagulat*, *determinat*, *exallat*, *preparat*, *renegat*. Similarly, in Murray's Dict., s. v. *abrogate*, we find that the earliest example (A. D. 1460), in Capgrave's *Chronicle*, 181, gives us:—'So that statute was *abrogat*, and no lenger kept'; showing that *abrogat* was first used for the Lat. *abrogatus*, and the verb *to abrogate* was subsequently evolved from it, first appearing in 1526. So also, in 1525, we find *accommodate* first used in the sense of 'fitted'; and, in 1533, we find *accumulate* in the sense of 'heaped up,' being probably older than *accumulate* as a verb, which is found in 1529. In 1471, we find *aggravate* in the sense of 'loaded' or 'burdened'; and in 1530, Palsgrave gives the verb *to aggravate* (*sic*). *Agitat*, in the sense of 'tossed about,' occurs in 1567; and *agitate*, as a verb, in 1586. *Alienate*, in the sense of 'estranged,' occurs in 1430; and *alienate*, as a verb, in 1513. Although words in *-at* (later *-ate*) occur with the adjectival or past participial sense just before 1400 and are tolerably common in the fifteenth century, I find no clear evidence of the use of VERBS in *-ate* before 1500; but in the sixteenth century the fashion of using them set in, and they were soon introduced in large numbers. The student is particularly referred to the admirable articles on the three suffixes of the form *-ate* in the New E. Dict., vol. i. p. 532, where the whole matter is well summed up¹. Murray suggests that the analogy for this English use

¹ Some of the special articles in this work evince sound and ripe scholarship, and it is doubtful if any one but Dr. Murray could have compiled them. The scanty praise which is sometimes accorded to the

of past participles 'was set by the survival of some Latin past participles in Old French, as O. F. *confus*, from *confusus*; *content*, from *contentus*; *divers*, from *diversus*.' Indeed, Chaucer uses *confus* in the same way, as in the following instance:—

'O Iugē *confus* in thy nycētee!'

Sec. Non. Tale, G. 463.

It is perhaps worth while to add the remark that, owing to their length, some of these words were rather unmanageable in poetry, when the E. *-ed* came to be added; and consequently, our authors often kept up *-ate* as a pp. suffix after the verb had become fairly common. Thus Shakespeare uses *suffocate* both as a verb and as a pp.; Hen. V, iii. 6. 45; 2 Hen. VI, i. 1. 124. So also *contaminate*, Jul. Cæs. iv. 3. 24; Com. Err. ii. 2. 135; as well as *contaminated*, Much Ado, ii. 2. 25. In course of time, the past participle in *-ated* has become almost universal, and such forms as *separate*, *deliberate*, etc., when not used as verbs, are strictly adjectives.

§ 187. **Words ending in *-ete*, *-ite*, *-ute*.** These forms in *-ate* belong to the first conjugation of Latin verbs, and are very common. Similarly, we have forms in *-ete*, but they are very few; viz. *complete*, *concrete*, *effete*, *obsolete*, *replete*, used as adjectives; and *complete*, *delete*, and sometimes *concrete*, as verbs. Also, adjectives in *-it* (from Lat. *-itus*), as *explicit*, *illicit*, *tacit*, *decrepit*; or in *-ite*, as *composite*, *opposite*, *recondite*, etc.; with which compare the verbs *deposit*, *elicit*, *exhibit*, etc. Also, adjectives in *-ite* (from Lat. *-itus*), as *bipartite*, *exquisite*, *perquisite*, *polite*; with the verbs *expedite*, *ignite*, *unite*. We have even a verb in *-ote*, viz. *promote*; but it results from a contraction. And lastly, we have adjectives in *-ute*, as *absolute*, *destitute*, *dissolute*, *minute*, *resolute*; with the verbs *commminute*, *constitute*, *execute*, *institute*, *persecute*, *prosecute*,

editor strikes me with astonishment; I can only suppose that scholarship (as regards our own language) cannot be recognised except by such as possess some small measure of it themselves.

substitute. All these illustrate the importance, in English Etymology, of the forms of the Latin past participles.

§ 188. **Latin present participles.** Of the forms of the Latin present participles, little need be said. The E. suffix *-ant* is sometimes of F. origin, as in *pend-ant*, *ten-ant* (L. *pend-entem*, *ten-entem*), and sometimes of L. origin, as in *exuber-ant*, *luxuri-ant*. It is very rarely that this suffix occurs in verbs, as in *to covenant*, *to tenant*, which are of English evolution. The E. suffix *-ent* is common, both from verbs in *-ere*, as in *evid-ent*, *resplend-ent*, *transpar-ent*; and from verbs in *-ĕre*, as in *cresc-ent*, *incid-ent*, *resid-ent*; or in *-esc-ĕre*, as in *liqu-esc-ent*, *putr-esc-ent*; or in one case, from *-isc-ere*, as *concup-isc-ent*. And lastly, we have the E. suffix *-i-ent*, from verbs in *-ire*, as in *exped-i-ent*, *len-i-ent*, *obed-i-ent*; or from verbs in *-ĕre*, as *sap-i-ent*; or from deponent verbs, as *grad-i-ent*, *or-i-ent*, *pat-i-ent*. Verbs from this source are extremely rare; yet we have coined the verb *to patent*. For the verbs *to absent*, *to present*, and *to represent*, we have authority in Latin itself. From this source come also our substantives in *-nce* (F. *-nce*, L. *-ntia*), such as *luxuri-ance*, *evid-ence*, *pat-i-ence*; and in *-ncy*, such as *radi-ancy*, *ten-ancy*, *transpar-ency*, *len-i-ency*; but several of these reached us through the medium of French.

§ 189. Latin is one of the Aryan (Indo-European) languages; see vol. i. § 84. Its vocabulary is largely original, the principal loan-words being Greek. It has been estimated that, 'in classical Latin, down to 300 B.C., there are 41,100 Latin words, of which, perhaps, 1000 are foreign; in classical Latin, down to A.D. 117, there are 26,300 words, of which about 3500 are from Greek and perhaps 300 from foreign languages.' See the article on 'Loan-words in Latin,' by E. R. Wharton, in the Phil. Soc. Trans., Dec. 21, 1888.

It is, of course, impossible to give, in a short space, an account of the principles of Latin Etymology. The student must consult the works which specially treat of this important

subject. Among these I may mention Karl Brugmann's *Grundriss der Vergleichenden Grammatik der indogermanischen Sprachen*, of which two volumes have already appeared; there is an English translation of the first volume, by Dr. J. Wright (Trübner, 1888). Also *Lateinische Grammatik*, by Dr. Fr. Stolz and Dr. J. H. Schmalz, contained in Dr. Müller's *Handbuch der klassischen Altertums-Wissenschaft* (Nordlingen, 1889). The latest English work is Elliott's translation of the *Short Comparative Grammar of Greek and Latin* by Victor Henry (London, 1890); which is an excellent and accessible compendium of the more important philological facts relating to these languages. I may also mention here King and Cookson's *Principles of Sound and Inflection* (Oxford, 1888), and *Comparative Grammar* (Oxford, 1890). I shall now take leave to introduce a few notes which, probably, some students may find useful.

§ 190. **Pronunciation of Latin.** We should remember to put aside the ordinary English pronunciation of Latin, which cannot, in any case, be other than grossly misleading. The precise old sounds of the Latin symbols cannot, perhaps, in every case, be quite accurately ascertained; but the following account may serve to give a first approximation to most of them. Cf. Sweet, *Primer of Phonetics*, p. 102.

A. The short *ă* may be sounded as Ital. *ă* in *ămătă*, being the short vowel corresponding to the *ā* (aa) heard in E. *psalm*.

E. The short *ĕ*, as Ital. open *e* (è); or, nearly enough, as E. short open *e* in *met*. It is treated as open *e* in Folk-Latin.

The long *ē*, as Ital. close *e* (é) in *arēna*; it is the former and more important element of the diphthong (ei) which is the real value of the E. so-called 'long *a*' in *name* (neim); cf. E. *vein* (vein). It is treated as close *e* in Folk-Latin.

I. Short *ĭ*, as E. *i* in *pĭty*; long *ī*, as E. *i* in *machine*, or E. *ee* in *meet*.

O. Short *ō*, as E. short open *o* in *not* or in *for*; treated as open *o* (ò) in Folk-Latin. Long *ō*, as G. *o* (ó) in *so*, or G. *oh* in

ohne; or nearly as the former and chief element of the diphthong (ou) which is the real value of the E. so-called 'long o' in *no* (nou=nōū). But before *r*, as in *plōro*, or where it stands for *au*, as in *explōdo*, it was probably the Ital. long open *o*, like the former *o* in Ital. *toro* (tōrō). Long *ō* is treated as a close *o* in Folk-Latin.

U. Short *ū*, as *oo* in E. *wood*, *foot*. Long *ū*, as *u* in E. *rule*, or *oo* in E. *pool*.

Y. Not properly a Latin letter, but used to represent the Gk. *υ*; sounded as G. *ü* in *schützen*, if short, and as G. *ü* in *grün*, if long.

The six diphthongs AE, AU, EU, OE, EI, UI 'are produced by pronouncing the separate vowels which compose them so quickly that they appear to form but one sound'; Postgate, *New Latin Primer*, p. 5. Or we may assign them the following values, which differ but little.

AE. Descended from an O. Lat. *ai*, which was pronounced as E. *ai* in *aisle*, but fuller and broader, and *ae* may be pronounced in the same way. Confused in Folk-Latin with accented *ě*.

AU. As G. *au* in *Haus*; somewhat fuller and broader than E. *ou* in *house* (but the latter may serve).

EU. As Ital. *eu* in *Europa*, or Lat. *ě* quickly followed by Lat. *ū*. (Not common; so the E. *eu* in *Europe* may serve.)

OE. As *ø* rapidly followed by *ě*; nearly as E. *oi* in *boil*, which was the sound of the older Lat. *oi*.

EI. As E. *ei* in *vein*.

The Old Latin had also *ai* (like E. *ai* in *aisle*, but fuller and broader), which became *ae* (*æ*); as in *aides*, *aedes* (*ædes*), a temple. (The writing of this diphthong as *æ* is not classical.) In compound verbs it became *ī*, as in *inquīrere*, from *in* and *quaerere*; this is because the accent originally fell upon the prefix, which affected the sound of the *ae*; see King and Cookson, *Sounds and Inflexions*, p. 79.

In precisely the same way L. *au* became *ū* in such cases

as *in-clūdo*, from *claudio*. Old Lat. *ei* became *ī*, as in O. L. *deico*, L. *dīco*. O. L. *oi* became *oe*, *æ*; as in O. L. *foīdus*, L. *foedus*. In some words it was still further changed into *ū*; as in O. L. *oīnos*, *oenos*, L. *ūnus*. O. L. *ou* commonly became *ū*; as in O. L. *loumen*, L. *lūmen*, and O. L. *douco*, L. *dūco*. The L. *i* was also used as a consonant, with the power of E. *y* or G. *j*. It is now frequently (but not in the best editions) printed *j*, which makes English people sound it as E. *j*! The L. *ēius*, often printed *ejus*, was pronounced as (éé-yus), or in mod. E. spelling, *ā-yoos*. Those who are accustomed to pronounce it as *j* may profitably reflect upon the fact that *j* never appears in any Latin MS. of any reasonable age, for the plain reason that it is a purely modern symbol, and does not appear, for example, in the First Folio of Shakespeare. So also L. *u* was also used as a consonant, with the sound of E. *w*. Some time after the Christian era the sound was changed to that of E. *v*, and is now usually so printed. Pronounce *auis*, often printed *avis*, as (a'wis); and pronounce *uult*, often printed *vult*, as (wult).

Consonants. Pronounce *c* always as E. *k*; and *g* always as E. *g* in *get*; even before *e* and *i*. Pronounce *t* as E. *t* in *ten*; even in *ratio* (ra'tioo). Pronounce *d*, *p*, *b*, *f*, *qu*, *x*, *l*, *m*, *n*, as in English; and always trill the *r* fully, even when final. Also *h* as E. *h* (initially), but note that it was very weak, and was easily dropped; we may pronounce it where written. *S* requires attention, because it is almost always voiceless; it must not be sounded as E. *z* when final, but the *s* in *fraus* (fraus), which rimes, nearly, with E. *house*, must be sounded precisely as in *sic*. Consequently, also, the *b* in *urbs* must be sounded as *p*; indeed, it is not unusual to find, in old MSS., the spelling *scrib̄tus* for *scriptus*, the *b̄* being here also pronounced as *p*. In a few words, the *s* may have been sounded as E. *z*, originally *dz* (see below), between two vowels, as in the borrowed word *rosa*; but the *s* was certainly

voiceless in *causa*, as is shown by the spelling *caussa* in Cicero. The voiced *s* had, in fact, disappeared from the language before the classical period, having passed into *r*; thus the genitive case of *rōs*, dew, was originally **rōsis*, then **rōzis*, and finally *rōris*. Hence *z* is only used in loan-words from Gk., where it may be pronounced as *dz*, as in *zōna* (dzoo'na), a zone, from Gk. ζώνη. We have already seen that *z* also had the sound *ts* in O. French, as in modern German and Italian. The consonantal sounds of *i* and *u*, too often printed *j* and *v*, are like those of E. *y* and E. *w* respectively, as explained above. *Ph*, *th*, *ch* only occur in loan-words from Gk., in which case they may be sounded as *p* (later *f*), *t*, and *k*, though the Gk. sounds were different, viz. as *p*, *t*, *k*, followed in each instance by an aspirate, or a slight emission of breath. Thus the Gk. *ch* has been compared to the *kh* in E. *ink-horn*.

In pronouncing doubled consonants, each should be given distinctly, as in Italian.

§ 191. The broad romic symbols, given in vol. i. p. 336, may serve well enough to give the approximate sounds. According to this system we should represent *ā*, *ā* by (a, aa); *ē*, *ē* by (e, ee); *ī*, *ī* by (i, ii); *ō*, *ō* by (o, oo); *ū*, *ū* by (u, uu); and *y*, *y* by (y, yy). We should notice, however, that (ee) and (oo) are not the long sounds of (e) and (o), but are close, instead of open; they might be written (éé), (óó), *ě* and *ǒ* being denoted by (è) and (ò). But this is not necessary, as it can be borne in mind. Further, we can denote *æ* by (ai); *au* by (au); *eu* by (eu); *œ* by (oi); and the consonantal *i* and *u* by (y)¹ and (w). As these symbols are founded on the sounds of the Latin alphabet, the phonetic spelling of Latin words agrees with the actual spelling to a considerable extent, and the alteration in the appearance of words is not great. Examples are: *ciues* (kiiwees); *iuuencus* (yuwenkus); *caussa*,

¹ This gives *two* sounds to the symbol *y*; but it matters little in practice. The vowel (y) only occurs in Greek words.

or *causa* (kausa); *origine* (oriigine); *qui* (kwii); *ducere* (duukere); etc. It should be added that a final vowel, or a final vowel followed by *m* (including the *m*) is very slightly pronounced when the next word begins with a vowel.

The opening lines of the *Æneid* may be expressed, phonetically, as follows:—

Arma wirungkwe kanoo Trooyai kwii primus ab oorii
 Iitaliam, faatoo profugus, Laawiinakwe weenit
 Liitora; multum ille¹ et terriis yaktaatus et altoo,
 Wii superum, saiwai memorem Yuunoonis ob iiram.

§ 192. **Exceptions to Grimm's Law.** **Grassmann's Law.** The actual values of the Latin consonants, as compared with those of the original Aryan system, are given in the table in vol. i. 125; and numerous examples are given in the same, pp. 126–141, where the usual sound-changes illustrative of Grimm's law, are exemplified. The apparent exceptions to Grimm's law, as explained by Verner's law, are discussed in the same, pp. 148–155². See also King and Cookson, *Sounds and Inflections, etc.*, p. 256, where two other sources of exceptions to Grimm's Law are pointed out, which are worth notice, and which I here copy.

Some exceptions are due to 'special combinations of consonants. Indo-European (Aryan) *sk*, *st*, *sp* are "protected" by the hard spirant *s*, which remains unchanged; the following hard mutes (*k*, *t*, *p*) do not, as by Grimm's Law, become the corresponding aspirated mutes [in Low German], but remain unaltered.

'Again, in the special case of the Indo-European combinations *kt*, *pt*, the *k* and *p* by Grimm's Law become *h* and *f* respectively [in Low German], but the following hard dental

¹ Or read: mult' ill' et, &c. But observe how, in modern Italian, a singer takes two or three vowels on one note.

² There is a mistake in vol. i. p. 148, in the statement of Verner's law. For 'but if it precedes the position of the accent,' simply read 'otherwise.'

(*t*) is unchanged [so that *kt*, *pt* become *ht*, *ft*]. See Kuhn's *Zeitschrift*, xi. 161; Paul and Braune, *Beiträge*, 5. 538.

‘Another class of exceptions fall under the head of Grassmann's Law (Kuhn's *Zeitschrift*, xii. 81): by which, in the apparently anomalous cases like Skt. *duhitar* (=Goth. *dauhtar*), Skt. *bandh* (=Goth. *bindan*), it is shown that the Indo-European stem began and ended with an aspirate, but that in the derived languages the double aspirate was not tolerated, and accordingly the Indo-European *bhendh-* became Skt. *bandh-*, Gk *πενθ-* (for *φενθ-*, in *πένθερος*, *πείσμα*), Lat. *of-fend-ix*, and Goth. *bindan*, quite regularly.’

§ 193. **Primitive Aryan Vowels.** As regards the Latin vowels, it is to be noted that the old supposition (derived from a too close following of the Sanskrit vowel-system) that the Aryan vowel-system had but three primary vowels, *a*, *i*, and *u*, is now abandoned. I regret that I followed this system in my Dictionary, as later discoveries have shown it to be wholly untenable. The Aryan system certainly had at least¹ five primary vowels, viz. *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u*, besides numerous diphthongs; and it is only in Sanskrit that these are reduced to *three*. Thus, in the root ED, to eat, the *e* is vouched for by Gk. *ἔδ-ειν*, Lat. *ed-ere*, A. S. *et-an*, G. *ess-en*; it is only in Skt. that the *e* is reduced to the obscure vowel (ə), written *a*, so that the Skt. form is *ad*, pronounced so as to rime with E. *mud*. In the root OD, to smell, the *o* is vouched for by the Gk. *ὀσ-ειν* (= *ōd-yew*), Lat. *od-or*. According to the old system, as given in my Dictionary (second ed. p. 730), these distinct roots were confused under the common form AD.

§ 194. **Sonant Liquids.** Another important discovery is that the liquids *l*, *m*, *n*, *r* existed, in the Aryan system, not only as consonants, but as ‘sonants,’ i.e., practically, as vowels. The use of the vocalic *l*, *m*, *n*, *r* is common in

¹ The Aryan system had also an indeterminate vowel, which may be written (ə). See Brugmann, *Grundriss*, § 109.

English, as in *bottle*, *fathom*, *button*, *butter* (bot'l, fædh'm, bət'n, bə'tr); the *l* in *bottle* may be dwelt upon, and prolonged at pleasure. The *r* in *butter* is only heard when a vowel follows, as in 'the butter is good'; and, even in this example, the sounding of the true vocalic *r* is considered provincial or vulgar. For example, the Aryan stem of the word for 'heart' was *KRD*, with vocalic *r*, and it is owing to the different ways in which the various languages treated this vocalic *r* that we get such varying spellings as Gk. *καρδ-ia*, Lat. *cord-is* (genitive), Lithuan. *szird-is*, Ch. Slavon. *srid-ice*, O. Irish *crid-e*; where the fluctuation between Lith. *ir* and Ir. *ri* is instructive¹.

In Latin, the usual representatives of the vocalic *l*, *r*, *m*, *n* are *ol* or *ul*, *or* or *ur*, *em*, and *en*, respectively. Greek commonly has *αλ* or *λα*, *αρ* or *ρα*, *αμ* or *α*, *αν* or *α*. Skt. has usually vocalic *r* for the two former, and *am*, *an*, or *a* for the two latter. Examples are as follows.

Vocal *l*. Skt. *pr̥thu-*, large, Gk. *πλατύς*, broad. Skt. *mṛj* (for **mrg*), to wipe, stroke; L. *mulg-ere*, to milk; allied to A. S. *meoluc*, E. *milk*. Lat. *tul-i*, pt. t. of *tol-lere*; see Brugmann, § 295. (Not common in Latin.)

Vocal *r*. Gk. *καρδ-ia*, *καρδ-ιη*, Lat. *cord-*, heart. Lat. *porc-a*, the ridge between two furrows; A. S. *furh*, furrow. Skt. *rkshas*, a bear, L. *ursus*. Gk. *πράσον*, a leek; L. *porrum* (for **porsum*).

Vocal *m*. Skt. *daśa*, ten; Gk. *δέκα*; L. *decem*; Goth. *taihun*; all from an original **dekm*, with vocal *m*. Skt. *saptan*, seven; Gk. *ἑπτά*; L. *septem*; Goth. *sibun*; A. S. *seofon*; E. *seven* (sev'n); all from an original **septm*, with vocal *m*. Cf. L. *dec-īm-us*, *sept-īm-us*.

Vocal *n*. Skt. *nām-a*, name (stem *nāman*); Gk. *ῥ-νομ-a*, L. *nom-en*. Gk. *τα-ρός*, stretched, L. *ten-tus*; for **tntus*, with vocal *n*.

¹ Compare Skt. *hr̥d*, heart, where the initial letter does not correspond. We should expect the form *ṛd*.

§ 195. **Accentuation.** The proof of the existence of original sonant liquids is closely bound up with the theory of vowel-gradation and with the history of accentuation. It has been shown that accentuation plays a most important part in the vowel-systems of all the Aryan languages. For example, the Latin prepositions, when used as prefixes to verbs, originally received the accent; and the unaccented form of a Latin root is usually different from its accented form, and shows a weaker vowel. Clear examples occur in *cáp-io*, I take, with its derivatives *ác-cíp-io*, *óc-cŭp-o*; we even find *e* in *párti-ceps*, and we shall presently see why. From *sál-io*, I leap, we have *ín-sil-io*, *sal-to*, *ín-sul-to*. From *ág-o*, I drive, we have *éx-ig-o*; and even *cōg-o*, for **cō-ig-o*, *dēg-o*, for **dē-ig-o*. From *lég-o*, I gather, we have *cól-lig-o*, *é-lig-o*. Again, in past tenses formed by reduplication, the accent fell on the augment or prefix, as in the case of *cáno*, I sing, pt. t. *cé-cin-i*, which shows the same weakening.

§ 196. We may notice, accordingly, in Latin, the following vowel-changes of this nature.

<i>Original Vowels</i>	ă	ě	a (in position)	ā	au	oe
<i>Weakened Vowels</i>	ĭ, ŭ	ĭ	e (in position)	ī	ō, ū	ū

(By the phrase 'in position' is meant that the vowel is followed by two consonants; cf. the phrase 'long by position.')

The following are some of the chief examples.

I. *ă > ĭ*. *Facio*, *efficio*; *iacio*, *obicio*; *laccio*, *elicio*; *placeo*, *displiceo*; *taceo*, *reticeo*; *ago*, *exigo*; *frango*, *infringo*; *pango*, *impingo*; *tango*, *contingo*. Cf. E. *efficient*, *elicit*, *reluctant*, *exigent*, *infringe*, *impinge*, *contingent*. Also: *fateor*, *confiteor*; *lateo*, *delitescio*; *statuo*, *constituo*; *cado*, *accido*; *cano*, *concino*; cf. E. *constituent*, *accident*. Also: *capio*, *incipio*; *rapio*, *arripio*; *sapio*, *desipio*; *habeo*, *inhibeo*; cf. E. *incipient*, *insipid*, *inhibit*. Also: *calo*, *concilium*; *salio*, *resilio*; cf. E. *conciliate*, *resilient*. So also in the past tenses; *cano*, *cecini*; *cado*, *cecid*; *pango* (*base pag*), *pepigi*;

tango (*base tag*), tetigi. And in some compounds; caput, occiput, sinciput.

ă > ŭ. Capiō, occupo, nuncupo (i.e. *nomen capio*); cf. E. *occupy*. Quatio, discutio (for *disquetio); calco, inculco; salio, insulto; cf. E. *discuss*, *inculcate*, *insult*.

2. ě > ĭ. *Specio (= Gk. σκέπ-τομαι, cf. *speci-es*, *speci-men*, and the pt. t. *spexit*, which is found), perspicio, suspicio; cf. E. *perspicuous*, *suspicious*. Egeo, indigeo; lego, diligo, intelligo, negligo; rego, dirigo; cf. E. *indigent*, *diligent*, *intelligent*, *negligent*, *dirge* (short for *dirige*). Peto, propitius (orig. 'flying forward,' see Bréal, *Dict. Étymologique Latin*); sedeo, assideo, dissideo, insideo, præsideo, resideo, subsidium; cf. E. *propitious*, *assiduous*, *dissident*, *insidious*, *president*, *resident*, *subsidy*. Teneo, abstineo, contineo, pertineo; emo, redimo; premo, reprimo; cf. E. *abstinent*, *continent*, *pertinent*, *reprimand*. So too in other compounds; decem, duodecim. And cf. septem, septimus; carmen, *gen. carminis*, &c. Note, however, that *e* is not changed when *r* follows; as in *fero*, *confero*; cf. E. *conference*.

3. a > e (in position). When the *a* is 'in position,' i.e. followed by two consonants, it is only weakened to *e* instead of to *i*. This is strikingly shown in examples like *fateor*, where the compound *confiteor* has the pp. *confessus*; so, again, the verb *apiscor* gives *adipiscor*, but *aptus* gives *ineptus*; cf. E. *confess*, *inept*. Note also: facio, efficio, pp. effectus; iacio, obicio, pp. obiectus; capio, incipio, pp. inceptus; rapio, surripio, pp. surreptus; cf. E. *effect*, *object*, s., *inceptive*, *surreptitious* (the last of these may have been confused with *surrepere*, to creep in upon, but is properly a derivative of *rapere*). And the *a* is often preserved, as in *contactus*, from *tangere*; cf. E. *contact*. Other examples are seen in: iacto, coniecto, eiecto, iniecto, obiecto, proiecto, reiecto (E. *conjecture*, *eject*, *inject*, *object*, v., *project*, v., *reject*); tracto, detrecto; capio, princeps, auceps, forceps; cf. E. *detrectation*, *prince*, *forceps*. Also: arceo, exerceo; spargo, aspergo, dis-

pergo; carpo, excerpo; patro, perpetro; sacro, consecro; cf. E. *exercise, asperse, disperse, excerpt, perpetrate, consecrate*. So too in the past tenses: parco, peperci; fallo, fefelli. And in compounds: arma, inermis; barba, imberbis; cantus, accentus; castus, incestus; pars, expers; cf. E. *accent, incest*.

4. ae > ī. Laedo, collido; quaero, acquiro, inquirō, requiro; cf. E. *collide, acquire, require*; the two last were originally borrowed from French, but were refashioned under Latin influence. Compare also: caedo, pt. t. cecidi.

5. au > ō, ū. Plaudō, (also) plodō, explodō; cf. E. *explode*. Claudō, excludō, includō; cf. E. *exclude, include*. So also in derivatives; faux, suffōcō, E. *suffocate*; causa, accūsō, excūsō, E. *accuse, excuse*.

6. oe > ū. Poena, punio, impunitas; E. *punish, impunity*. Moenia, munio; E. *muniment, ammunition*.

§ 197. Some of the Latin vowels are due to their peculiar position, as when Latin has *quinque* for **penque* (cf. Gk. *πέντε*)¹; or, again, as when Latin turns an unaccented *o* into *u*, as in *domus* for **domos* (cf. Gk. *δῶμος*), *genus* for **genos* (cf. Gk. *γένος*); the account of these vowels must be sought in works that deal specially with the subject. But we meet with other cases of vowel-change of a more remarkable character, as when we observe the interchange of *e* with *o*. Thus *socius* is allied to *sequi*; *toga* to *tegere*; *proculus* to *precare*; *monere* to *menare*; *nocere* to *necare*.

Vowel-gradation. Such examples at once remind us of the changes of gradation seen in A. S. verbs; and a comparison with Greek, in which the vowel-gradation is much clearer, completely establishes the nature of these gradations, which are fully given by Brugmann. Some of the series show as many as four, or even five gradations of a given vowel-sound, and the attempts to reduce each of the series to a set of three, viz. weak grade, middle grade, and strong grade, have not as yet been successful.

¹ *In* for *en* is common in English; see vol. i. § 377.

Brugmann (*Grundriss*, § 309) distinguishes six *ablaut*-series (series of vowel-gradation) in the original Aryan. 'They all,' he says, 'have one grade in which the vowel of the syllable has entirely disappeared¹.' Representing this by 0, we have the following vowel-series.

1. *e*-series : 0, *e*, *o*, *ē*, *ō*.
2. *ē*-series : 0, *ē*, *ō*, *ā*.
3. *ā*-series : 0, *ā*, *ō*, *ā*.
4. *ō*-series : 0, *ō*, *ā*, *ō*.
5. *a*-series : 0, *a*, *ā*, *ā*¹.
6. *o*-series : 0, *o*, *ō*, *ō*.

§ 198. The student is referred to Brugmann for the details. I only make here a few notes.

1. (a) The first of these series is the most common and important. Here belongs L. *fer-o*, Gk. *φέρ-ω*, I bear; and the A. S. *ber-an*, to bear. The *o* appears in Gk. *φόρ-τος*, a burden; and in the A. S. *bær* (Teut. *bar*, for **bor*)². Examples in Latin are rare. We may note *tego*, *toga*; *sequor*, *socius*; *precor*, *proculus*; *neco*, *noceo*; *mens*, *moneo*; already mentioned above. Also *sed-eo*, I sit, as compared with *sol-ium* (for **sod-ium*), a throne.

(b) The same *e*-series includes roots in which the semi-vowel *y* or *w* is added to the *e*, giving *ey* (Gk. *ει*) or *ew* (Gk. *ευ*). In this case the addition of the same to the vowel *o* gives *oy* (Gk. *οι*) or *ow* (Gk. *ου*); whilst the zero-grade (grade with no *e* or *o*) still contains *y* (Gk. *ι*) or *w* (Gk. *υ*). Examples appear in Gk. *λείπ-ειν*, to leave, pt. t. *λέ-λοιπ-α*, 2 aor. *ἔ-λειπ-ον*, corresponding to the gradation of A. S. *drif-an*, to drive, pt. t. *dráf*, pp. *drif-en*; and again in Gk. *ἐ-λεύσομαι*, for **ἐ-λενθ-σομαι*, I shall come, pt. t. *ἐλθ-λουθ-α*, 2 aor. *ἦ-λύθ-*

¹ Thus the gen. of L. *pa-ter* is *pa-tr-is*; the root *ster-* is reduced to *str-* in *str-uo*; etc.

² Printed: '0, *a* (*o*?), *ā*, *ō*' in § 309, but '0, *a*, *ā*, *ā*' in § 318; see examples below.

³ Gk. *o* answers to Teut. *a*, A. S. *a*, *æ*, *ea*; hence the A. S. pt. t. *bær* belongs to the *o*-grade.

ον, corresponding to the gradation of A. S. *céos-an*, to choose, pt. t. *céas*, pp. *cor-en* (Goth. *kíus-an*, pt. t. *kaus*, pp. *kus-ans*).

(c) The zero-grade of Gk. *er* (ερ) is simply *r*, which is vocalic, and is represented by *pa* or *ap*. Hence the 2nd aorist of *δέρκομαι*, I see (pt. t. *δέ-δορκ-α*), is, regularly, *ἔ-δρακ-ον*. Similarly, we have *αλ* for vocalic *l* in *ἔ-βαλ-ον*, I cast, allied to *βέλ-ος*, a dart, and to *βολ-ή*, a throw. The total loss of vowel in the zero-grade is exemplified in *ἐ-πτ-όμην*, 2 aor. of *πέτ-ομαι*, I fly; the *o*-grade is seen in *ποτ-ή*, flight. See King and Cookson, *Sounds*, &c., p. 245. In A. S., the zero-grade always appears in strong past participles; as in *bor-en*, from *ber-an*; *drunc-en*, from *drincan*, for **drencan* (cf. Icel. *drekkja*); *drif-en*, from *drīf-an* (for **dreif-an*); *cor-en*, Goth. *kus-ans*, from *céos-an*, Goth. *kíus-an*, for **keus-an*. Here the *-or-* in *bor-en* represents vocalic *r*, and the *-un-* in *druncen* represents vocalic *n*.

(d) The *e*-series also contains roots in which the *e* is followed by *n* or *m*. For example, the \sqrt{bhendh} , to bind, varies to *bhond*, with a zero-grade *bhndh*, in which the *n* is vocalic. In Teutonic the corresponding root would be *bend*, varying to *bond* and *bnd*. In Anglo-Saxon, *en* becomes *in*, and *on* becomes *an*, whilst the vocalic *n* is represented by *un*; hence the verb *bindan*, to bind, pt. t. *band*, pp. *bunden*, belongs to the *e*-series. The same is true for *nim-an*, to take (G. *nehmen*, with *eh* for *e*), pt. t. *nam*, pp. *num-en*, where *um* represents vocalic *m*.

2. The *e*-series may be exemplified by the $\sqrt{dhē}$, to place, put, do, Gk. *τί-θη-μι*. Here belongs Goth. *ga-dē-ths*, a deed, A. S. *dæ-d*, *dē-d*, E. *deed*. The change to *ō* appears in Goth. *dōm-s*, A. S. *dō-m*, E. *doom*. The weak-grade *dhə* appears in Gk. *θε-τός* and *ἔ-θε-ρο*, the syllable *θε-* being in both cases unaccented.

Here also belongs $\sqrt{sē}$, to sow; cf. Lat. *sē-men*, seed, A. S. *sæ-d*, E. *see-d*. The *ō* appears in the Goth. *sai-sō*, reduplicated past tense of *sai-an*, to sow. The *ə* appears in Lat. *sā-tus*, sown.

Also $\sqrt{\text{lēd}}$, to let; Goth. *lēt-an*, to let. The \bar{o} is in Goth. *lai-lōt*, pt. t. of *lēt-an*. The \bar{o} is in Lat. *las-sus* (for $\ast\text{lād-sus}$), Goth. *lat-s*, weary, lazy, A. S. *læt*, slow, E. *late*.

3. The \bar{a} -series may be exemplified by the $\sqrt{\text{stā}}$, to stand, as in Skt. *a-sthā-m*, Gk. $\bar{\epsilon}\text{-στῆ-v}$, Lat. *stā-men* (whence E. *stamen*, *stamina*), Goth. *stō-ls*, A. S. *stō-l*, E. *stool*. The grade *stō* appears in Lat. *stā-tus*, *stā-tio* (E. *state*, *station*); Goth. *stā-ths*, A. S. *stē-de*, E. *stead*, a place.

4. For the \bar{o} -series, take $\sqrt{\text{dō}}$, to give, as in Gk. $\delta\bar{\iota}\text{-δω-μ}$, I give; L. *dō-num*, a gift, whence E. *donation*; L. *dō-s*, a dowry, whence E. *dowry*, *endow*. Stem *dā*, in L. *dā-tus*, whence E. *date*, a given point of time, and E. *data*, pl.

5. For the \bar{a} -series, take *ág-o*, I drive; whence E. *agent*. The \bar{a} is here accented, but it also occurs without the accent, as in Gk. $\bar{\epsilon}\pi\text{-ακ-ρός}$, whence E. *epact*. The long \bar{a} occurs in L. *amb-āg-es*, a roundabout way; and in Gk. $\sigma\tau\alpha\tau\text{-ηγ-ός}$, a leader, whence E. *strategy*.

By the addition of w or y to the vowel, we get the parallel grades: u , \bar{u} , *aw(au)*, *āw(āu)*; and: i , \bar{i} , *ay(ai)*, *āy(āi)*. As an example of the latter, take $\sqrt{\text{aydh}}$, to burn. The grade \bar{i} is in Skt. *īdh-mās*, fire-wood, Gk. $\bar{\iota}\theta\text{-αρός}$, serene, pure; the grade \bar{i} , in Skt. *īdh-rīya*, belonging to the serene sky, O. H. G. *īl-al*, pure, clear, A. S. *īd-el*, vain, E. *idle*; and perhaps in Lat. pl. *īd-us*, scil. *noctes*, the clear nights, the *ides*. The third grade is in Gk. $\alpha\bar{\iota}\theta\text{-ω}$, I kindle, whence E. *ether*; L. *æs-tas*, summer; O. H. G. *eiſ*, A. S. *ād*, a funeral pile.

We may also refer hither verbs conjugated like A. S. *scac-an*, to shake, pt. t. *scōc*, pp. *scac-en*; so also A. S. *far-an*, to go, G. *fahr-en*. In particular, Lat. *ag-ere* is cognate with Icel. *ak-a*, to drive, pt. t. *ōk*; where Icel. \bar{o} answers to Aryan \bar{a} , by rule. This explains the A. S. form *scōc* also; cf. A. S. *brōðor* with L. *frāter*.

6. For the \bar{o} -series, take $\sqrt{\text{od}}$, to smell, whence L. *od-or*, E. *odour*. The \bar{o} is in Gk. $\epsilon\bar{\upsilon}\text{-ώδ-ης}$, sweet smelling. Cf. Lat. *fōd-io*, I dig, pt. t. *fōdi*.

It may be added that, owing to the complexity of these changes, and to the fact that the same vowel (as *a*) occurs in more than one of them, the series were occasionally confused; and examples occur which can hardly be explained in any other way.

§ 199. **Combination of Consonants.** An account of the mode in which the Aryan and Latin consonants were combined in Latin, i. e. of the 'laws of consonantal combination,' is given in King and Cookson's *Sounds, &c.*, pp. 200-221. From this account I extract a few of the more striking examples. I wish it to be understood that, in offering this and similar extracts, I make no pretence at all of explaining the results, or even of giving a full summary of them. But I think it is of great importance to tell students what they may expect to find; especially as the ordinary grammars tell us so little about phonology.

1. *S* is often lost in initial *sc*, *sp*, *st*; always in initial *sm*, *sn*, *sl*. Exx.: *cor-ium*, leather (for **scor-ium*); cf. *scor-tum*, hide. L. *curt-us* (for **scur-tus*); cf. A. S. *sceort*, E. *short*; so that *curt* and *short* are allied. E. *esquire*, from L. *scū-tum*, is allied to E. *cuticle*, from L. *cūtis*, skin (cf. Gk. *kūros*, *okūros*, hide), and even to E. *hide* (see G. *Haut* in Kluge). L. *cau-ere* (for **scau-ere*), whence E. *caution*, is allied to E. *shew*, *show*. E. *thunder* and Lat. *tono* are allied to Gk. *στέν-ειν*, to sigh, groan, whence E. *Stentorian*, and to Skt. *stan*, to sigh, to thunder. L. *teg-o* is the same as Gk. *στέγ-ω*. L. *tund-o* (base *tud*) is allied to E. *stutt-er*. L. *pumex*, whence E. *pumice-stone*, is for **spumex*, from *spuma*, foam, whence E. *spume*. L. *mi-rus*, whence E. *miracle*, *admire* is for **smī-rus*, allied to E. *smile*, Swed. *smila*. L. *mord-eo*, whence E. *morsel*, *remorse*, is for **smord-eo*; cf. Gk. *σμερδ-νός*, terrible, and A. S. *smeort-an*, to sting, to smart¹. L. *nix*, cognate with E. *snow*. The E. *slime*

¹ In my Dict., s. v. *smart*, I give the verb *smeortan* as unauthorised; but it occurs in *fyr-smeortende*, stinging like fire, in Ælfred's Orosius, i. 7.

A. S. *slīm*, is allied to O. H. G. *slīmen*, to make smooth, and L. *līmāre*, to file; whether it is further allied to L. *līmūs*, mud (allied to E. *lime*, *loam*) is not quite certain. L. *laxus* (for **slag-sus*) whence E. *lax*, and L. *languēo*, whence E. *languish*, are allied to A. S. *sleac*, E. *slack*. L. *lubricus*, slippery, whence E. *lubricate*, is allied to E. *slip* (Brugmann, *Grund.* § 570). L. *līs*, *locus*, stand for Old L. *slīs*, *silocus*.

2. Initial *sw* is variously treated. L. *suavis*, whence E. *suave*, is allied to A. S. *swēte*, E. *sweet*. The *w* is perhaps lost in L. *sī*, Oscan *svai*, Umbrian *sve*; cf. A. S. *swá*, whence E. *so*, with a like loss. Also in *sudor* (for **swoidor*), sweat, allied to A. S. *swát* and E. *sweat* (Brugmann, § 170). We find *so-* for *swe-* in L. *sor-or*, allied to A. S. *sweostor*, Icel. *systir*, E. *sister*; in L. *sop-or* (whence E. *soporific*), allied to A. S. *swef-n*, M. E. *swēv-en*, a dream, and to L. *somnus* (whence E. *somnolent*), for **swēp-nos*, Gk. ὕπ-*vos*, sleep. L. *sordidus* (whence E. *sordid*) is probably allied to A. S. *sweart*, E. *swart*.

3. The usual assimilation of voiced letters to voiced, and of voiceless letters to voiceless, takes place; see vol. i. § 318. Thus the pp. of *ag-o* is *ac-tus* (for **ag-tus*); that of *scrib-o* is *scrip-tus* (often written *scribtus* in MSS.); that of *ueho* (= **uegh-o*), is *uec-tus*.

But the pp. suffix *-tus* often appears as *-sus*. This chiefly takes place when the Aryan root ends in *t*, *th*, *d*, or *dh*, in which case the dental is changed to *s* by a process described in V. Henry's Grammar, § 64, producing the suffix *-s-sus* after a short vowel, and *-sus* (simply) after a long one. Cf. Brugmann, *Grundriss*, § 501.

Exx.: *concussus*, *missus*; *fissus*, *possessus*, *scissus*; *iussus*; for **concut-tus*, **mit-tus*; **fid-tus*, **possed-tus*, **scid-tus*; **iudh-tus*. Also *uī-sus*, *cæ-sus*, *læ-sus*; for **uīd-tus*, **cæd-tus*, **læd-tus*.

The final dental of the root is lost when it follows a nasal

or liquid ; as in *uer-sus*, from *uert-ere*, *sen-sus*, from *sent-ire*, *mor-sus* from *mord-ere*, *scan-sus* from *scand-ere*. So also *tend-ere* gives *ten-sus* (for **tend-tus*) ; but in this case we have also *ten-tus* (for **tn-tus*, with vocalic *n*, cf. Gk. *τάρως*). Exceptions to this rule are the result of analogy, or are due to the influence of the form of the perfect tense.

4. An original *t*, *th*, *d*, *dh*, followed by *tr*, becomes *s*, producing *str*. Exx.: *ros-trum* (E. *ros-trum*) from *rod-o* ; *claus-trum*, whence E. *cloister*, from *claud-o* ; *ras-trum*, a rake, from *rad-o* ; *pedes-tris*¹, whence E. *pedestrian*, from *pedit*, stem of *pedes*, one who goes on foot ; *eques-tris*¹, whence E. *equestrian*, from *equit-*, stem of *eques*, a horseman ; *frustra*, in vain, whence E. *frustrate*, for **frud-tra*, allied to L. acc. *fraud-em*, whence E. *fraud*.

Dh-t > st ; as in L. *æs-tas* (whence F. *été*), summer, from *√aidh*, to burn, whence also Gk. *αἶθω* and E. *ether*. So also L. *cus-tos*, whence E. *custodian* ; from *√keudh*, to hide, whence also Gk. *κέυθ-ειν* and A. S. *hȳd-an*, E. *hide*. E. *cas-tus*, whence E. *chaste* and *incest* ; from *√kadh*, to purify (?), whence Gk. *καθάρως*, pure. L. *mani-fes-tus*, lit. 'struck by the hand,' hence, palpable (whence E. *manifest*) ; from *√bhendh*, appearing in **fend-ere*, to strike, as seen in *of-fendere*, whence E. *offend*.

5. Assimilation is very common, especially in the case of prefixes ; in such cases, the *latter* letter of the combination remains, and the other is made like it. Thus *ad-* remains in E. *ad-mire*, but otherwise appears as *ab-*, *ac-*, *af-*, *ag-*, *al-*, *an-*, *ap-*, *ar-*, *as-*, *at-*, according to the letter which follows it ; as in E. *abbreviate*, *accede*, *affix*, *aggressive*, *allude*, *annex*, *append*, *arrogate*, *assign*, *attract* ; all of L. origin. The prefix *com-* (for *cum*, with), appears as *co-*, *col-*, *com-*, *con-*, *cor-* ; as in E. *co-agulate*, *collect*, *commute*, *connect*, *corrode*. The prefix *ob-* appears as *ob-*, *oc-*, *of-*, *op-* ; as in E. *oblong*,

¹ Not *pedis-tris*, *equis-tris* ; cf. § 165 (3).

occur, offer, oppress. The prefix *sub-* appears in *sub-mit*, but otherwise as *su-*, *suc-*, *suf-*, *sug-*, *sum-*, *sup-*, *sur-*; as in *E. su-spect, succeed, suffuse, suggest, summon, suppress, surrogate*; all of L. origin.

6. The L. *s* is voiceless. Between two vowels, it became voiced, but instead of remaining as *z*, it passed into *r*; of which there are numerous interesting examples. Thus **geso* became **gezo*, and then *gero*; but the *s* remains in *ges-si, ges-tus*. The genitive of *funus* is *funer-is*, for **funes-is*, which appears in the adj. *funes-tus*. The gen. of *rus* is *rur-is* (for **rus-is*); cf. *E. rus-tic, rural*. *E. nefarious* is from L. *nefarius*, for **nefas-ius*, adj. formed from *nefas*. *E. diurnal* is from L. *diurnalis*, formed from *dies*, connected with *dies*, a day. *E. veteran* is from *veter-*, for **vetes-*, from *vetus*, old; cf. the O. Lat. form *veter*, old, in Ennius; &c.

When *s* precedes a voiced consonant, especially *d*, or the liquid *l*, it is first voiced to *z*, and is then lost altogether, with a lengthening of the preceding vowel, if accented. Thus we find *trēdecim* for *tres-decim*, thirteen; *īdem* for *is-dem*; so likewise *iū-dex*, whence the acc. *iū-dic-em*, *E. judge*, is for **iūs-dex*, one who declares the law. L. *auris*, the ear (whence *E. aural*) is for **auzis* < **ausis* (cf. Goth. *auso*, the ear), and there was probably an older form **aus*, cognate with Gk. *oûs*, the ear; hence L. *aus-culto* (whence *E. auscultation*) and *au-dio* (for **aus-dio*), I hear, whence *E. audible*.

7. Final *x* stands for *cs*, *gs*, *cts*, as in *lux* (base *luc-*), *rex* (base *reg-*), *nox* (base *noct-*). So also the perfects *rexi* (= *reg-si*), *luxi* (= *luc-si*), *nexi*, *nexui* (= *nec-si, nec-sui*); &c.

8. *Dy* becomes *y* (*i*) in *Iu-piter*; cf. Gk. *Zeús*, Skt. *Dyaus*.

Dw > *b* in *bellum* for *duellum*, so that *E. bellicose* and *E. duel* are closely allied. So also *bis*, twice, is for **dwis*, allied to *duo*, two; so that *binary*, *dozen*, and *twice* are all allied words.

Tl > *l*, in *lātus*, borne, for **tlatus*, from *tollo*.

Gn > *n*; as in *nosco*, for O. Lat. *gno-sco*, allied to A. S.

cnāw-an, to know; hence *noble*, *ignorant*, and *knowledge*, are from the same root.

9. A medial mute (especially *g*) is often lost before *m* or *l*; and the preceding vowel is usually lengthened.

Thus *exāmen*, whence E. *examine*, is for **exagmen*; cf. *agmen*; from *ago*. Again, *contāminare*, whence E. *contaminate*, is for **contagminare*, from *tag*, base of *tango*, I touch. But the *i* remains short in *sſi-lus*, *sſi-mulus*, whence E. *style*, *stimulate*, from √*stig*, to prick, as in E. *in-stig-ate*, *stig-ma*, from L. *instigo* and Gk. *στιγμή* respectively. Assimilation has taken place in *flamma* (for **flag-ma*), allied to L. *flag-ro*, I burn; so that *flame* is allied to *flagrant*.

10. *dl* and *cl* pass into *ll*. Thus *sella*, a seat, is for **sed-la*, from *sedeo*, I sit. L. *uilla* (E. *villa*) is for **uic-la*, dimin. of *uic-us*, a village, whence was borrowed the A. S. *wīc*, E. *wick*, a town; see vol. i. § 398. The change of *d* to *l* is a curious feature, but undoubtedly occurs; as in L. *lacrima*, *lacruma*, O. Lat. *dacruma*, a tear, co-radicate with E. *tear*, s. So also L. *lingua*, tongue, is the same word as the A. S. *tunge*, and E. *tongue*; and *sol-ium*, a seat, throne, is for **sod-ium*, allied to *sedeo*, I sit.

Pn > *mn*; as in *som-nus*, sleep, for **sop-nus*; cf. L. *sop-or*.

Tsn > *nn*. Thus L. *penna* (E. *pen*), O. Lat. *pesna*, is for **pet-sna*, a wing, co-radicate with Skt. *pat-ra*, a feather, and E. *feather*.

Tn, *dn*, are liable to become *nd*, by metathesis. Thus L. *fundus* (for **fud-nus*), whence E. *fund*, *foundation*, is allied to Gk. *πυθ-μῆν* (for **φυθ-μῆν*), and A. S. *boīm*, E. *bottom*. L. *pando*, whence E. *expand*, is for **pat-no*, I lay open, from *pat-eo*, I lie open, whence E. *patent*.

11. *Rs* > *rr*; *ls* > *ll*. L. *uerres*, a boar; cf. Skt. *vrsha*, a bull. *Torreo*, whence E. *torrid*, for **tors-eo*, allied to E. *thirs-t*. *Porrum*, a leek, for **prsum*, with vocalic *r*; cf. Gk. *πρασον* (for **prson*), a leek. L. *coll-um*, neck, whence E. *collar*, for **cols-um*, cognate with A. S. *heals*, neck, Icel. *hals*, whence E. *hawse-hole*, a sea-term.

12. Loss of a consonant takes place in difficult combinations.

(a) 'Where a semi-vowel is followed by two mutes, or by a mute and a spirant, the second letter of the combination is dropped.' (King and Cookson, p. 217.)

Exx.: *mulsi* (for **mulg-si*) from *mulgeo*, I milk; cf. E. *emulsion*. *Ulus* (for **ulc-tus*), from *ulc-iscor*. *Ar-si* (for **ard-si*), from *ardeo*, I burn; cf. E. *arson*. *Spar-si* (for **sparg-si*), from *spargo*; cf. E. *sparse*. *Quin-tus* (for **quinc-tus*), fifth; from *quinque*, five. *For-tis*, brave, whence E. *fortitude*, for O. Lat. *forc-tis*.

Similarly, we have *tos-tus* (for **tors-tus*), pp. of *torr-eo* (for **tors-eo*); hence *toast* and *torrid* are allied to *thirst*. *Posco* is for **porc-sco*, where *porc-* is the weak grade corresponding to $\sqrt{\text{prek}}$ in *prec-or*; and *pos-tu-lo* (whence E. *postulate*), is from an unused pp. **pos-tus*, like *us-tu-lo* from *us-tus*. Cf. G. *forsch-en*, to enquire, which is related to *frag-en*, to ask, much as *poscere* is to *precari*.

Scā-la, a ladder, whence E. *scale*, *escalade*, is for **scand-sla*, from *scand-o*, I climb, whence E. *scan*, *a-scend*, *de-scend*.

So also *nts*, *nds* > *ns*; *rts*, *rds* > *rs*; *lts* > *ls*; as in the nominatives *amans* (for *amants*), *frons* (foliage); *ars*, *concors*; *puls*.

13. Sometimes one of two similar (unaccented) syllables is lost, just as when the Low Lat. *idolatria* (whence E. *idolatry*) was put for *idololatria*, from Gk. εἰδωλο-λατρεία, service of idols. Exx.: E. *calamitous*, from L. *calamitosus*, for **calamitat-osus*. E. *nurse*, O. F. *norice*, from Lat. acc. *nutricem*, for **nutritricem*; cf. E. *nutritive*. E. *debilitate*, from L. *debilitare*, for **debilitat-are*. E. *hereditary*, from L. *hæredita-rius* for **hæreditat-arius*. We may also observe the loss of a light unaccented syllable in *ætas*, *æternus*, for *ævitas*, *ævitermus*; *momentum*, *fomentum*, for *movimentum*, *fovimentum*; and the like. Hence E. *moment* is allied to *move*, and *foment* is from L. *fouere*, to warm.

§ 200. **Formation of past participles.** Owing to the large number of E. words formed from the bases of the past participles of L. verbs, it is necessary to observe the mode of formation of such past participles, and the forms of the present tenses with which they are connected. The verbs are often presented in grammars in a confused way, but a well-arranged list will be found in Postgate's *New Latin Primer*. The primitive verbs mostly belong to the third conjugation. The perfect tense is formed from the base in six different ways, as follows.

(1) By adding *-uī* (*-vī*) preceded by a *long vowel*; as *ām-āre*, perf. *ām-āuī*. (The suffix is *-āui* in the *first* conjugation; *-ēui* (sometimes) in the *second*, as *del-ēre*, perf. *del-ēui*; *-īui* in the *fourth* conjugation, and sometimes in the *third*.)

(2) By adding *-ūi*; as *mon-ēre*, perf. *mon-ūi*. (This is in the *second* conjugation, and in some verbs of the other conjugations.)

(3) By adding *-sī*; as *carp-ēre*, to pluck, perf. *carp-sī*, *-xi* is written for *-c-sī*, *-g-sī*; as *reg-ēre*, perf. *rexī*; and the base often suffers changes of consonants and vowels, as may be seen from examples. (This is in the *second* and *third* conjugations, and sometimes in the *fourth*.)

(4) By reduplication; that is, by prefixing the first consonant of the base preceded by a short vowel; as *cād-ēre*, to fall, perf. *cē-cīd-i*. (So in certain verbs of the *second* and *third* conjugations; and in *dā-re*, to give, and *stā-re*, to stand, of the *first*.)

(5) By lengthening the vowel of the base; as *sēd-ēre*, to sit, perf. *sēd-i*. (So in some verbs of the *second* and *third* conjugations; in *iūuāre* (*iuvare*), to help, *lauāre*, to wash, of the *first*; and in *uenire*, to come, of the *fourth*.)

(6) By no change, except adding the *-ī* of the perfect; as *bīb-ēre*, to drink, perf. *bīb-ī*. (In a few verbs of the *second* and *third* conjugations.)

The past participles of Latin verbs are determined by the *supine* stem. The accusative supine in *-um* is commonly taken as the 'principal part'; whence we at once know the corresponding ablative supine in *-u* and the perfect (or past) participle in *-us*, as well as the completed tenses of the passive voice, and the future participle in *-urus*. Thus, if the acc. supine is *amatum*, the abl. supine will be *amatu*, the pp. *amatus*, and the fut. part. *amaturus*.

The supine is formed from the base of the verb in the four ways following.

(a) By adding *-tum*, preceded by a long vowel; as *ām-āre*, sup. *ām-ātum*. (Thus are formed supines of all verbs which form their perfect by *-ui* (*-vi*) preceded by a long vowel; see class (1) above.)

(b) By adding *-itum*; as *mōn-ēre*, sup. *mōn-itum*. (Thus are formed the supines of nearly all verbs that form the perfect in *-i*; see class (2) above.)

(c) By adding *-tum*; as *carp-ēre*, sup. *carp-tum*. *b* and *g* become *p* and *c* before *t*; as *scrib-ēre*, sup. *scrip-tum*; *rēg-ēre*, sup. *rēc-tum*; and the base often suffers other changes. (In the *third* conjugation, and in some verbs of the *second* and *fourth*.)

(d) By adding *-sum*. The base always suffers some change in this formation; as *sparg-ēre*, to scatter, sup. *spar-sum*, with loss of *g*. (So in some verbs of the *second* and *third* conjugations, and in *sent-ire*, to feel, sup. *sen-sum*). Most of the verbs with this form of the supine have a base ending in *d* or *t*.

The chief alterations due to the combinations of consonants in the perfect tenses of set (3) may be thus expressed:—*q(u)s*, *cs*, *cls*, *gs*, *hs*, *u-s*¹, all become *x*; *ngs* > *nx*; *ts* > *s* (*mitto*, *mī-si*); *ds* > *ss* or *s*; *bs* > *ps* (but cf. *iubeo*, *iussi*); *ms* > *mps* (but *prem-o*, *pres-si*); *rgs* > *rs* (cf.

¹ That is, *uiu-o* gives *uixi*; so also *fluxi*, *struxi*, from *flu-o*, *stru-o*.

mulg-eo, mul-si, torqu-eo, torst). For the forms of the supines and past participles, cf. § 199 (3), p. 280.

§ 201. In some verbs the present tense has some peculiar features, and fails to exhibit, immediately, the form of the base.

1. Thus *gigno* is a reduplicated present, i.e. it stands for *gi-gn-o*, where *-gn-* is the zero-grade (or reduced form) of the base *gen-*; hence the perf. is *gen-ui*, and the pp. *gen-i-tus*. So also *si-st-o*, which has a rare reduplicated perf. *stī-ti* (for **stī-stī*), and no pp. We may add *sīdo* for **si-sd-o*, cf. *īḡw* for **si-sd-ω*; *di-sco* for **di-dc-sco*, cf. perf. *di-dīc-i*; *bi-b-o*, cf. Skt. *pi-bāmi*, I drink; *sero* for **si-s-o*, perf. *sē-ui*.

2. Again, the verbs *pā-sco, nō-sco, scī-sco, crē-sco, suē-sco*, exhibit the inceptive suffix *-sco*, which is no part of the base; and their perfects are *pā-ui, nō-ui, scī-ui, crē-ui, suē-ui*. The pp. of *pasco* is, however, *pas-tus*; but the rest have a regular formation, giving *nō-tus, scī-tus, crē-tus, suē-tus*. E. derivatives of these are *pasture, notion, plebi-scite, concrete, de-suetude*. So also *di-sco* (for **di-dc-sco*), which forms its perfect, by reduplication, as *di-dīc-i* (above).

3. In the case of the verbs *comburo, gero, uro*, which have the past participles *combustus, gestus, ustus*, we see that *r* stands for *z*, from an older *s*; and that they represent **combuso, *geso, *uso*. Cf. E. *combustion, gesture*. So likewise the pp. *tōstus* (for **tors-tus*) shows that *torr-eo* is for **tors-eo*; cf. § 199 (6, 11).

4. Some verbs have the suffix *-no* in the present tense; as *cer-no, sper-no, ster-no, contem-no, lī-no, sī-no* (perf. *crē-ui, sprē-ui, strā-ui, contemp-si, lē-ui, sī-ui*), in all of which the perfect tense shews a stronger form. To these add *pō-no*, which is a derivative of *sino*, as shown by the pp. *pō-situs*, as compared with *situs*.

We also find the suffix *-lo* (for *-no* ?) after *l*, in *tol-lo* (perf. *te-tūl-i*), *pel-lo* (perf. *pe-pūl-i*), *percel-lo* (perf. *per-cūl-i*). Cf. *uel-lo*, perf. *uel-li* and *uul-si*.

5. Another present-suffix is *-to*, as in *flec-to*, *nec-to*, *pec-to*, *plec-to* (perf. *flexi*, *nexi* and *nexui*, *pexi*, *plexi* and *plexui*, pp. *flexus*, *nexus*, *pexus*, *plexus*); cf. E. *flexure*, *annex*.

6. But the most curious case is that where we find an infixed *n*, i.e. a *n* immediately preceding the last letter of the root. This *n* appears in the present-stem, but not in the perfect or the pp. There is a similar phenomenon in Sanskrit, in verbs of the seventh conjugation. Thus from the Skt. root *chhid*, to cut—with the 2nd preterite (reduplicated) *chi-chhed-a*, 3rd preterite *a-chhid-am*, and pp. *chhin-na* (for **chhid-na*)—is formed the present tense *chhi-na-d-mi*, where the *-na-* is infixed before the final *d* of the root. This root agrees with the Lat. $\sqrt{\text{skid}}$, and gives the present tense *sci-n-do*, I cut, perf. *scīd-i*, pp. *scis-sus* (for **scīd-tus*). The corresponding Gk. verb is $\sigma\chi\iota\zeta\omega$ (for **σχιδ-γω*), whence the sb. $\sigma\chi\iota\sigma-\mu\alpha$, E. *schism*; cf. also *re-scind*, *ab-scis-sa*, from the Latin¹. So also with *find-o* (base *fid*), perf. *fīd-i*, pp. *fis-sus* (for **fīd-tus*); *frango* (base *frag*), perf. *frēg-i*, pp. *frac-tus* (for **frag-tus*); *pango* (base *pag*), perf. *pēg-i*, pp. *pac-tus* (for **pag-tus*); *tango* (base *tag*), perf. *te-tīg-i*, pp. *tac-tus* (for **tag-tus*); *pungo* (base *pug*), perf. *pu-pūg-i*, but the pp. is *punc-tus*; *linquo* (base *liq*), perf. *līqui*, pp. *lic-tus* (as in the derivative *re-lictus*); *fundo* (base *fud*), perf. *fūd-i*, pp. *fū-sus* (for **fud-sus*); *tundo* (base *tud*), perf. *te-tūd-i*, but the pp. is *tun-sus*, though the compound *contundo* has *contusus*. English has derivatives from all of these; as, for example, *fissure*, *fraction*, *compact*, *contact*, *puncture*, *relict*, *fuse*, *contusion*.

The verb *iungo*, I join, whence (through the French) our verb to *join*, has the perf. *iunxi* and sup. *iunctum*; whence E. *juncture*. Nevertheless, the true base is *iug*, which appears in E. *con-jug-ate*, and in L. *iug-um*, yoke, cognate with A. S. *geoc*, E. *yoke*, as well as with Skt. *yuj*, to join, and Gk. $\zeta\upsilon\gamma-\acute{o}\nu$, a yoke, whence E. *syzygy*, the equivalent of *conjunction*.

¹ *Scissors* is mis-spelt to conform it to Lat. *sciss-um*; but it was formerly *cisoures*, and is a derivative from L. *cadere*, to cut,

The verb *rumpo* exhibits a similar case of infixed *m*; the perfect is *rūp-i*, and the pp. *rūp-tus*, whence E. *rupture*, and (through the French) *route*, *rout*, *routine*, and even *rut*, a wheel-track.

7. Some primitive verbs of the third conjugation, and some 'denominative' verbs exhibit the suffix *-io* in the present tense; as *cap-io*, *seru-io*; see § 203 below.

§ 202. **Secondary Verbs.** With regard to verbs of the first, second, and fourth conjugations, we find amongst them a few original verbs, especially such as form the perfect tense in *-ūi* or *-si*; but a large number of them are derivative or secondary. These derivative verbs are of five kinds (Postgate, *New Latin Primer*).

(a) Denominative; that is, formed from substantives or adjectives; as *don-o*, I give, from *don-um*, a gift; *con-fæder-o*, I unite by a league, from *fæder-*, base of *fædus*, a treaty; *ex-alt-o*, I lift up on high, from *alt-us*, high. Hence E. *donation*, *confederate*, *exalt*. All others are from verbal roots, as follows.

(b) Desiderative; these express a desire for an action, and are of the fourth conjugation. They are formed by adding *-ūrīo* to the base of the past participle of the primitive verb; as *ēs-ūrīo*, I wish to eat, I am hungry, from *ēs-us*, pp. of *ēd-ere*, to eat.

(c) Intensive; which intensify in some way the meaning of the primitive verb. These are of the 1st conjugation, and are formed directly from the pp. base; as *iact-o*, I toss, from *iact-us*, pp. of *iac-io*, I throw. Hence F. *jet-er*, to throw, and E. *jet*, a fountain.

(d) Frequentative; expressing the frequent repetition of the action of the primitive verb. These are of the first conjugation, and are formed from the present, or less often from the pp. base, by adding *-īto* (or *-ito*, if the primitive verb is of the fourth conjugation); as *ag-īto*, I keep on moving a thing about, from *ag-o*, I drive; *script-īto*, I write

often, from *script-us*, pp. of *scrib-o*, I write; *dorm-īto*, I nod sleepily, from *dorm-īre*, to sleep.

There is not much difference between the modes of formation or the meanings of Intensive and Frequentative verbs.

We should be careful to divide words aright. Thus E. *ag-itate* is from L. *ag-ito*, above; but E. *precipitate* is a denominative verb, from *præcipit*, base of *præceps*, headlong.

(e) Inceptive; both of verbal and denominative origin. They are of the third conjugation; and those of verbal origin are formed from the present base of verbs, with the inflexion *-āsko*, *-ēsko*, *-isco*, *-isco*, according as the original verb is of the first, second, third, or fourth conjugation. Those of denominative origin are formed with the suffix *-ēsko*, rarely *-āsko*. Such verbs commonly have no perfect or supine, but some of them borrow these from their primitive verbs. We have in English *acquiesce*, from L. *ac-qui-ē-sco*, allied to *quies*, rest, whence E. *quiet*; and *effervesce*, from L. *ef-feru-ē-sco*, a derivative of *feruē-re*, to boil, glow. But we chiefly use our derivatives of such verbs adjectivally, as: *concupiscent*, *convalescent*, *efflorescent*, *evanescent*, *incandescent*, *liquescent*, *nigrescent*, *quiescent*, *recrudescant*. Cf. also *pasco*, &c., in § 201 (2).

§ 203. All verbs of the first, second, and fourth conjugations belong to what has been called the 'yod-class,' because they form the present by adding *yod*, i. e. *y*, before the final *-o*. See King and Cookson, *Sounds*, &c., p. 454: Thus—

am-o is for **amā-yo*; like Gk. *τιμᾶ-ω* for *τιμᾶ-γω*.

mone-o is for **monē-yo*; like *φιλῆ-ω* for *φιλῆ-γω*.

audi-o is for **audī-yo*; like *κονίω* for *κονί-γω*.

So also verbs in *-uo*, of the third conjugation; thus—

statu-o is for **statu-yo*; like *μεθύ-ω* for *μεθυ-γω*.

Here also belong some primitive verbs of the third conjugation, such as *cap-io*, *cup-io*, *fug-io*.

Several such verbs are denominatives, and are formed from various stems, viz.—

(a) from stems in *-o*; as *seru-io*, I serve, from *seru-o-*, stem of *seruus*, a slave.

(b) from stems in *-a*; as *pun-io*, I punish, from *pæn-a-*, stem of *pæna*, punishment.

(c) from stems in *-i*; as *uest-io*, I clothe, from *uest-i-*, stem of *uestis*, clothing.

(d) from stems in *-u*; as *singult-io*, I sob, from *singult-u-*, stem of *singultus*, a sobbing.

(e) from consonantal stems; as *imped-io*, I hinder, from *ped-*, stem of *pēs*, foot.

§ 204. **Aryan vowels.** A Table, showing the equivalents of the Latin consonants in other languages, is given in vol. i, p. 125; and numerous examples of Latin forms in the same, pp. 107-124.

A Table, showing the equivalent values of the vowels in various Aryan languages is given in Brugmann, *Grundriss*, i. § 28; and is here repeated, with the addition of the A. S. vowels, and a slight alteration in the arrangement. The values within brackets are other less regular values, deduced from Brugmann's examples. Very noticeable is the poverty of the Skt. vowels, where *a* stands for *a*, *e*, and *o*.

TABLE OF REGULAR SUBSTITUTION OF VOWELS.

Aryan.	Skt.	Gk.	Lat.	Lith.	Slav.	O.Irish.	Goth.	A. S.
<i>a</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>a</i> (<i>i, u, e</i>)	<i>a</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>a, æ, ea</i>
<i>ā</i>	<i>ā</i>	<i>ā</i> (<i>η</i>)	<i>ā</i>	<i>ō</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>ā</i>	<i>ō</i>	<i>ō</i>
<i>e</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>ε</i>	<i>e</i> (<i>i</i>)	<i>e</i> (<i>a</i>)	<i>e</i>	<i>e</i> (<i>i, a, u</i>)	<i>ai, i</i>	<i>e, i</i>
<i>ē</i>	<i>ā</i>	<i>η</i>	<i>ē</i>	<i>ē</i> (<i>ā</i>)	<i>ē</i> (<i>ā</i>)	<i>ī</i>	<i>ē</i>	<i>æ</i>
<i>i</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>ι</i>	<i>i, e</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>i, e</i>	<i>i, ai</i>	<i>i</i>
<i>ī</i>	<i>ī</i>	<i>ι</i>	<i>ī</i>	<i>ī</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>ī</i>	<i>ei</i>	<i>ī</i>
<i>o</i>	<i>a, ā</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>o</i> (<i>u, ē, i</i>)	<i>a</i>	<i>o</i> (<i>e</i>)	<i>o</i> (<i>a, i, u</i>)	<i>a</i>	<i>a, æ, ea</i>
<i>ō</i>	<i>ā</i>	<i>ω</i>	<i>ō</i>	<i>ū</i> (<i>u</i>)	<i>a</i> (<i>y</i>)	<i>ā</i> (<i>u</i>)	<i>ō</i>	<i>ō</i>
<i>u</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>υ</i>	<i>u</i> (<i>i</i>)	<i>u</i> (<i>o</i>)	<i>ū</i> (<i>o</i>)	<i>u, o</i>	<i>u, ai</i>	<i>u, o</i>
<i>ū</i>	<i>ū</i>	<i>ū</i>	<i>ū</i>	<i>ū</i>	<i>ū</i>	<i>ū</i>	<i>ū</i>	<i>ū</i>
<i>ə</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>a, e</i>

The semi-vowel *y* is represented by *y* in Skt., by the rough breathing (') and by *i* in Gk., by consonantal *i* (usually printed *j*) in Latin or by the vowel *i*; and by *y* (also printed *j*) or *i* in Gothic; A. S. has *g*, followed by *e*, and sounded as *y*.

The semi-vowel *w* is Skt. *v*; Gk. digamma or *f* (omitted in writing, because lost at an early period of the language) or else the smooth breathing ('); Lat. *u* (consonantal and vocalic); Goth. and A. S. *w*.

The Skt. *dy* is Gk. *ζ*, and Lat. *i* (consonantal).

§ 205. **Aryan Diphthongs.** In composition with the vowels *a*, *e*, *o*, the semi-vowels make up the diphthongs *ay*, *aw*, *ey*, *ew*, *oy*, *ow*. Brugmann describes the equivalents of these, but does not tabulate them. I therefore give his chief results, for convenience, in a tabular form.

Other diphthongs occur in which the first element is long, viz. *āy*, *ēy*, &c.; but, as they are not common, I have left them out of the Table.

TABLE OF REGULAR SUBSTITUTION OF DIPHTHONGS.

Aryan.	Skt.	Gk.	Lat.	Lith.	Slav.	O. Irish.	Goth.	A. S.
<i>ay</i>	<i>ē</i>	<i>ai</i>	<i>ae, ī</i>	<i>ai, ē</i>	<i>ě</i>	<i>ae, ī</i>	<i>ái</i>	<i>ā</i>
<i>aw</i>	<i>ō</i>	<i>av</i>	<i>au, ū</i>	<i>au</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>au, ō</i>	<i>áu</i>	<i>ǣa</i>
<i>ey</i>	<i>ē</i>	<i>ei</i>	<i>ī (ei)</i>	<i>ei, ē</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>ē, ia</i>	<i>ei</i>	<i>ī</i>
<i>ew</i>	<i>ō</i>	<i>ev</i>	<i>ū</i>	<i>au</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>ō, ua</i>	<i>iu</i>	<i>ēo</i>
<i>oy</i>	<i>ē</i>	<i>oi</i>	<i>oe, ū, ī</i>	<i>ai, ē</i>	<i>ě</i>	<i>oe, ī</i>	<i>ái</i>	<i>ā</i>
<i>ow</i>	<i>ō</i>	<i>ov</i>	<i>ū, ō</i>	<i>au</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>ō, ua</i>	<i>áu</i>	<i>ǣa</i>

Some peculiarities of the Gothic spelling require notice. Thus Gothic has *ei* for the sound which Latin and A. S. denote by *ī*; so that the difference here is only graphic. Gothic has no *ě* or *ǫ* (only *ē*, *ō*), but denoted the sounds of *ě* and *ǫ*, or their Goth. equivalents, by *ai*, *áu*, which are quite distinct from the long diphthongs *ái*, *áu* (Aryan *ay*, *oy* and

aw, ow); but the MSS. use the same symbol for both, not marking the accents.

NOTE. Comparative philology does not regard the appearance of the word to the eye, but deals with the sounds represented, with due regard to the peculiar laws of each language. For example, the Gk. *τείχος*, a wall, the Lat. *fingerere*, and the E. *dough*, show marked apparent differences, but they can all be referred to the same root *dheigh*. Such a root would regularly take the form *θειχ* in Greek, but this again, by Grassman's law (§ 192), becomes *τειχ*. In Latin, the Aryan *dh* is represented by *f*, and the root becomes *fig*, with which we may compare the supine *fictum*, for **fig-tum*; the *n* in *fingerere* is 'infixed' (§ 201, 6). The E. *dough*, A.S. *dāh*, like G. *Teig*, is from a Germanic root *deig*, exactly answering to the primitive root *dheigh*, by Grimm's law. The variations are, in fact, the result of regular laws.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE ITALIAN ELEMENT.

§ 206. Words do not fly through the air, like birds, that soar up in one country and can drop down in another; on the contrary, there must always be some intelligible point of contact between the English language and any language which it has laid under contribution in order to enlarge its vocabulary. I have already shown (vol. i. p. 10), that the modern period of English, during which, owing chiefly to increased facilities of communication, we have borrowed many words from rather remote countries, began about 1500, so that we must not expect, as a rule, to find any Italian words in English before that date. Nevertheless, there are a few exceptions, which can easily be accounted for, and are of some interest.

§ 207. **Italian words before 1500.** There is one E. word, in use as early as 1200, and perhaps earlier, which can hardly be other than Italian; and the reason is not far to seek. This is the word *pilgrim*, which occurs in Layamon's *Brut*, 30730, 30744, with the spellings *pilegrim* and *pelegrim*. It can hardly be (as I used to think) of F. origin, as the *g* was early lost in that language, and we find the spelling *pelerin* even in the *Chanson de Roland*, 3687. It can only be explained as being from the Ital. *pellegrino*, formerly spelt *pelegrino*, which Florio explains as 'a wandrer, a pilgrim,' &c. Hence the form *pelegrim* in Layamon, with a confusion of

final *m* and *n*, as in *E. venom*. The method of contact is obvious; the *E. pilgrim* obtained the Ital. word by the actual process of going to Rome, and fetching it thence. This journey was quite a common thing with Englishmen, from the time of King Alfred to that of the Wife of Bath, and much later. It deserves to be added that the name of *Rome* has certainly largely influenced, if indeed it did not actually originate, the difficult verb to *roam*.

The only other Italian words, as far as I know at present, which were borrowed by us before 1500, were not borrowed directly, but through the medium of French; amongst these, I find *alarm*, with its variant *alarum*, *brigand*, *ducat*, *florin*, as well as some which are ultimately of Eastern origin, viz. *diaper*, *fustian*, *orange*, *rebeck*, and perhaps the difficult word *carcase*. *Alarm* and *brigand* are military terms, and it is remarkable that such terms were borrowed by French from Italian very freely at a later period, as noted at p. 188. *Ducat*, *florin*, *diaper*, *fustian*, *orange*, are terms of commerce, and we have to remember that the Venetian and Genoese fleets were active and efficient in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, especially as regards Eastern trade.

I do not give here the etymologies of the words mentioned above, nor, in general, of others noticed in this chapter. They are duly given in my Dictionary. Some are, however, introduced below, and can be found by help of the Index.

§ 208. **Italian words of the modern period.** In the sixteenth century, Italian words began to find their way into English rather freely. This was because we came into contact with Italian literature; and, somewhat later, with Italian music and painting. I have somewhere seen it stated that such contact began with Chaucer, who was acquainted with the writings of Dante and Boccaccio. This is one of those sayings that have the air of learning, but are, in reality, the wild guesses of such as are unaccustomed to deal with

facts. It is true that we might have expected, *a priori*, that Chaucer would have introduced Italian words into his poems; but investigation shows that he did not do so. He speaks, indeed, of *florins* (Pard. Tale, C. 770), but the word was in common use, being the name of a coin coined in England by Edward III in 1337, to imitate the florin of Florence, which was much esteemed. He also has the word *fustian*, but it was the name of an article of commerce¹. The only Italian word which he seems to have borrowed from literature is *ducat*, which he introduces with a hint of its origin:—

As fyn as *ducat* in Venyse.

Hous of Fame, 1348.

After Chaucer's death, the temporary contact with Italian literature was broken; Lydgate translated Boccaccio's *Falls of Princes* from a French translation only. It was renewed by Sir Thomas Wiat and the Earl of Surrey, as explained in Morley's *First Sketch of English Literature*. Wiat was the elder man, and was the real introducer of the sonnet into our literature. 'His sonnets, accurate in their structure, are chiefly translated from Petrarch; many of his epigrams are borrowed from the *Strambotti* (fantastic conceits) of Serafino d'Aquila, a Neapolitan poet, who died in 1500.' He also introduced the *terza rima*², not imitated from Dante, but from Luigi Alamanni, a Florentine poet, born in 1495. To Surrey, on the other hand, belongs the credit of having introduced into English our blank verse, the idea of which

¹ My Dictionary also gives *velvet* as being French from Italian, but it is merely French. I think the second *v* in *velvet* arose from a mistaken reading; in the A. F. *veluet* (= *velu-et*), the *u* was originally a vowel. The M. E. spellings *velwet*, *veluet*, also occur.

² The sole earlier example in English of the *terza rima* occurs in a poem attributed by me to Chaucer in 1888, of which another MS. copy was printed by Dr. Furnivall in 1889, having an additional stanza and Chaucer's name at the end. See my edition of the *Minor Poems*, p. 213.

he took from the *versi sciolti* (untied or free verses) used in an Italian translation of the second and fourth books of the Aeneid of Vergil, the same two books as were chosen by Surrey for his own experiment. Blank verse was afterwards used by Sackville and Norton in their tragedy of Gorboduc, and soon became established as the most fitting medium for the dialogue of the drama. The poems of Wiat, Surrey, and others¹ were published in 'Tottel's *Miscellany*' in 1557. Sackville's *Induction*, printed in 1563, bears strong traces of the influence of Dante. In 1566 was represented George Gascoigne's prose play entitled *The Supposes*, a translation of Ariosto's earliest comedy, entitled *I Suppositi* (The Substitutes); and we have it on the authority of Ariosto himself that he followed plays by Terence and Plautus. In 1568, the tragedy of *Tancred and Gismund*, founded on Boccaccio's well known novel (*Decamerone*, Fourth Day, Novel 1), was presented before queen Elizabeth; and it was not long before Italian novels became so diligently read that they became the chief source to which our dramatists resorted for their plots. Two of the plays of Shakespeare are due to Boccaccio's *Decamerone*; viz. *Cymbeline*, and *All's Well that Ends Well*, taken, respectively, from the Ninth Novels of the Second and of the Third Day.

It is needless to trace further the enormous influence exercised upon English literature by that of Italy. It may suffice to mention some of the plays in which the scene is laid in Italy, excluding those (of which the number is not small) which are founded on the older Roman history. We have, for example, Shakespeare's *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, *Merchant of Venice*, and *Othello, Moor of Venice*. The scene of *The Taming of the Shrew* is laid at Padua; that of *Much*

¹ Nicholas Grimald, of Christ's College, Cambridge, is worthy of special mention, as the author of a poem in blank verse, called *The Death of Zoroas*, which appeared in Tottel's *Miscellany* (ed. Arber, p. 120). It is now said to be only a translation.

Ado about Nothing, at Messina; and that of *Romeo and Juliet*, at Verona and Mantua. *The Tempest* refers to Milan and Naples. Massinger has given us *The Duke of Milan*, *The Great Duke of Florence*, and *A Very Woman, or the Prince of Tarent*. The scene of his *Bashful Lover* is laid at Mantua; that of his *Guardian*, at Naples; and that of his *Maid of Honour*, in Sicily. Ben Jonson's *Volpone* supposes us to be in Venice; and his *The Case is Altered*, in Milan. The plots of many of Beaumont and Fletcher's plays are laid in Spain; but *Philaster* refers to Messina; *The Chances*, to Bologna; *A Wife for a Month*, and *The Double Marriage*, to Naples; *Women Pleased*, and *The Fair Maid of the Inn*, to Florence; *The Captain*, to Venice; *The Woman-hater*, to Milan; and *The Nice Valour*, to Genoa. We may also notice Marston's two plays of *Antonio* (Venice); Ford's *Lady's Trial* (Genoa); Shirley's *Traitor* (Florence); Webster's *Duchess of Malfi* and his *Devil's Law-case* (Naples) and *Vittoria Corombona* (Rome). The title of Otway's most famous play is *Venice Preserved*.

§ 209. A knowledge of the Italian tongue was very much promoted by the fashion which grew up, in the latter half of the sixteenth century especially, of travelling in Italy itself; against which Roger Ascham, in his *Scholemaster*, so strongly protested as being a source of great evil. 'I am affraide,' he says, 'that ouer many of our trauelers into *Italie*, do not exchewe the way to *Circes Court*' (ed. Arber, p. 77); and he tells us his opinion, in strong language, as to the character of 'an Englishman Italianated.' He tells us, too, that 'ten *Morte Arthurs* do not the tenth part so much harme, as one of these bookes, made in *Italie*, and translated in England.' Yet even he commends queen Elizabeth (p. 67) for her 'perfit readines in *Latin, Italian, French, and Spanish*.' The familiarity with Italian displayed by Wiat and Surrey was the result of travel, as Puttenham, in his *Arte of English Poesie*, lib. i. cap. 31, is careful to notice. 'In the latter end of the

same kings [Henry the Eighth's] raigne sprong up a new company of courtly makers [i.e. poets], of whom Sir *Thomas Wyat* th' elder and *Henry Earle* of Surrey were the two chieftaines, who hauing trauailed into Italie, and there tasted the sweete and stately measures and stile of the Italian Poesie, as nouices new crept out of the schooles of *Dante*, *Ariosto*, and *Petrarch*, they greatly polished our rude and homely maner of vulgar Poesie from that it had bene before, and for that cause may iustly be sayd the first reformers of our English meetre and stile.' To pass on to much a later time, we find John Howell, in *his Instructions for Forreine Travell* (1642), advising his English readers to 'hasten to *Toscany*, to *Siena*, where the prime *Italian* dialect is spoken, and not stirre thence till he be master of the Language in some measure'; and he calls Italy 'the Nurse of Policy, Learning, Musique, Architecture, and Limning, with other perfections;' (sect. viii). Three or four years previously, John Milton had journeyed through France to Italy and back, and he has left us obvious proofs of his proficiency in Italian. Amongst other proofs of the interest which our poets took in this new study, we may notice Spenser's translation of *The Visions of Petrarch*, and the obvious influence of Ariosto upon the *Faerie Queene*. We have complete translations of some great works in Sir John Harington's translation of the *Orlando Furioso* (1591); Fairfax's translation of Tasso's *Gerusalemme Liberata* (1600); and Sir Richard Fanshawe's translation of Guarini's *Il Pastor Fido* (1647). The influence of Italian literature continued supreme during the latter half of the sixteenth century and nearly till the close of the seventeenth, when the supremacy of French as a favourite source for augmenting our language was re-established by Dryden. I believe it will be found that Italian words borrowed later than 1700 refer chiefly to music and the fine arts. For further remarks on this subject, see Trench's *English Past and Present*, Lect. III., where he mentions

several Italian words used by Spenser, Milton,¹ and Jeremy Taylor, but now obsolete.

It is, further, of much importance to remark that the influence of Italian reached France before it reached England, and was very powerful there during the reign of Francis I (1515-1547). Hence it is that *rather more than half* of the Italian words in English have come to us *through the medium of French*. This is a new point, which the usual books, I believe, neglect. See § 220.

§ 210. One curious point about Italian is its stability of form. Owing, no doubt, to its close resemblance to Latin, and the existence of literary Latin side by side with it as a fixed model for imitation, its forms have varied but slightly since the time of Dante. Hence a modern Italian dictionary is, in general, a sufficient guide to the spellings, and I have usually found it sufficient to use a small handbook, viz. that by Meadows. But in many cases I have derived great assistance from the Dictionary by John Florio, entitled *A Worlde of Wordes* (1598), and a later edition of the same by Torriano (1688). There are several editions, and they vary considerably; that of 1598 is the first.

As to the composition of Italian, we may accept the statement made by Diez, that quite nine-tenths of it is of Latin origin; but it must be remembered that Latin must here be taken to include a considerable number of words known to the vulgar tongue only, which either never found their way into any known literary composition, or have only been preserved by a casual mention of them, or by their occurrence in some old glossary. At the beginning of his *Grammatik der Romanischen Sprachen*, Diez gives a large number of Latin words, all of which are represented by some

¹ As for example :—

Forth rush the *Levant* and the *Ponent* winds . . .

Sirocco and *Libecchio*.—*Par. Lost*, x. 704.

Here *Libecchio* is a less common spelling of *Libeccio*.

derivative in one at least of the Romance languages, which have been preserved in a more or less casual manner. Amongst these, for example, he notes the Lat. *campzare*, to turn around a place, to sail by or double (a cape), used by Ennius, and preserved also in a gloss by Isidore, viz. '*camp-sat*, flectit'; and obviously related to Gk. κάμπτειν, to bend. Hence the Ital. *cansare*, to evade; with a derivative *scansare* (Lat. *ex-campzare*), to shun, to remove, displace. I mention this because there is a possibility that it may explain our difficult word *askance*, first used by Sir Thomas Wiat (Sat. i. 52), who, as we have seen, was the very man most likely to introduce an Italian word. It seems to answer to a phrase *a scanso*, which is recorded in the phrase *a scanso di*; unless, indeed, the *a* is the E. prefix seen in *a-side*, *a-slope*, i.e. a degraded form of the prep. *on*. I quote Florio's articles in full, as they strongly favour this hypothesis.

'*Cansare*, to diuide, to seuer, to part, to go out of sight, to ouerthrow, to go aslope, to giue place, to cleaue asunder.' [Evidently ill arranged; the senses 'to go aslope, to give place,' should come first.]

'*Canso*, deuided [*sic*], seuered, parted, gone out of sight, ouerthrowne, gone aslope, giuen place.'

'*Scansare*, to cancell, to blur, or blot foorth, to go a slope or a sponce or a skew, to go sidelin, to stagger or go reeling, to ward, to auoid or shun a blow. Also to overthrow, to ouerturne, to subuert or remooue any thing away, to balke by.'

'*Scansatura*, an ouerthrowe, or ouerturning of any thing, a staggering or reeling: also a blot, a blur or cancelling, a fall asconce or a-skewe, a balking by.'

'*Scanso*, a blurre, a blot, a cancelling; as *Scansatura*.'

'In Greek words,' says Diez (as translated by Cayley, p. 74), 'the [Italian] language is the next most abundant to the Wallachian, and in German words to the French. The Arabic words it has appropriated have been mostly imported

from the Spanish; a few are originally Italian. From the Slavonic it has borrowed fewer words than might have been expected from the vicinity of the two languages . . . There remains . . . a small residuum of foreign and enigmatical elements.' Some, it may be remarked, are of Eastern origin (Persian, Semitic, &c.), and due to Eastern commerce. Thus *fustian*, O. F. *fustaine*, Ital. *fustagno*, is from the Arab. *Fustât*, a name for Cairo, in Egypt; whence the stuff was introduced through Genoese commerce.

For a fuller account of Italian, and a book-list of works relating to it, see Gröber, *Grundriss der romanischen Philologie*, i. 488; and Körting, *Romanische Philologie*, iii. 599.

§ 211. **Pronunciation; Vowels.** The pronunciation of Italian offers but few difficulties. Nevertheless, I must remind the student that I only give the sounds *approximately*, for etymological purposes. The true pronunciation, accent, and intonation can only be learnt by *hearing the language spoken*. The pronunciation of the vowels is true and distinct, and may well be taken as the basis of any reformed system of spelling. It is, in fact, employed to some extent in the 'romic' system and in the 'palæotype' of Mr. Ellis.

Literary Italian is, nevertheless, rather a written or conventional than a spoken language. In actual speech, there are various dialects, which have been grouped together as belonging to lower or Southern Italy, Central Italy, and upper or Northern Italy. The Tuscan and Roman dialects belong to Central Italy, and have the most authority. The literary monuments go back to the thirteenth century.

The vowels are *a, e, i, o, u*. Of these, *a* is both long and short (*aa* and *a*); the former has the full sound of E. *a* in *father* (*faadhə*), and the latter is the same shortened, being common in unstressed syllables, and before a double consonant. Exx. *amata* (*amaa'ta*), *gamba* (*gam'ba*).

E has two values, distinguished as *open* and *close*, and sometimes as *è* and *é*, or as *e* and *ē*. In the former case the

mouth is wider open, which I take to mean that the jaws are farther apart. The *open e* answers, usually, to Lat. *ĕ, æ*, free or enclosed; and it may perhaps be best understood by remembering that the E. so-called short *e*, as in *bed, met, tell* is an open *e*. When not accented, *e* is always close.

Denoting the accent by (·), the open *e* and *o* by *è, ò*, and the close *e* and *o* by *é, ó*, the following are examples. *Medico* (mèd·ikó); *preda* (prè·da); *cento* (chèntó). Cf. Lat. *medicum*, acc.; *prædam, cēntum*. I do not give exceptions.

The close *e* answers to Lat. *ĕ, ē*, free or enclosed, and is sounded like E. *e* in *vein* (vein), but without any after-sound of *i*. Exx. *neve* (né·vé); *arena* (aré·na); *secco* (sé·k·kó). Cf. Lat. *nīvem, arēna, siccum*. There are, however, various exceptions; and, in fact, the chief difficulty in pronouncing Italian is to know when *e* and *o* are 'open,' and when 'close.' Rules will not always help us in this matter.

I, answering (usually) to Lat. *i*, is both short and long. The long sound is that of E. *i* in *machine*, or *ee* in *keen*; the short sound is the same shortened. We may denote them by (ii) and (i).¹ Exx. *fine* (fi·né); *ordine* (ór·diné). Cf. Lat. *finem, ordinem*. Double final *i* is written *j* or *ĭ*, as in *tempj* or *tempĭ* (tém·piĭ), put for *tempĭi*, pl. of *tempio*, a temple. Note here the characteristic Italian habit of changing *l* into *i* in such combinations as *bl, fl, pl, cl, gl*; so that L. *templum* becomes Ital. *tempio*.

O, like *e*, has two values, open and close; which may be distinguished as *ò* and *ó*, or as *o* and *o*. The *open o* answers, usually, to Lat. *ō, au*, free or enclosed; and it may be compared with the E. so-called short *o* in *not, cod, doll*. Exx. *bove* (bò·vé); *toro* (tò·ró); *donna* (dòn·na). Cf. Lat. *bōvem, taurum, domīnam*, short for *dōminam*.

The close *o* answers, usually, to Lat. *ŭ, ō*, free or enclosed,

¹ I admit that I use (i) with two values, but there need be no confusion. In English, it means the *i* in *pity, finny*; in foreign languages it means the true short *i*, as in F. *fini*.

and to *y*; and is sounded as E. 'long o' in *no* (nou), but without any after-sound of *u*, i.e. as G. *o* in *so*, or F. *eau*. Exx. *croce* (cró'ché); *ragione* (rajó'né); *onda* (ón'da); *torso* (tór'só), whence E. *torso*. Cf. Lat. *crūcem*, *rationem*, *undam*, *thyrsus* (Gk. *θύρσος*). Note that the Lat. *-ūm* invariably becomes Ital. *o*. Exx. *regno*, a kingdom, from L. *regnum*; *orto*, a garden, from Lat. acc. *hortum*. The unaccented *o* is close.

U, answering (usually) to Lat. *ū*, is both long and short. The long sound is like E. in *rule*, the short sound like *u* in *full*. Exx. *duro* (duw'ró); *rustico* (rus'tikó). Cf. Lat. *dūrum*, *rūsticum*.

We may tabulate the usual correspondences of Latin and Italian vowels thus; of course there are some exceptions.

LATIN.	ă, ā;	ě, æ;	ĭ, ē, œ;	ĭ, ī;	ō, au;	ō, ū;	ū.
ITALIAN.	ă, ā;	è ;	é ;	ĭ, ī;	ò ;	ó ;	ū.

The Lat. *ī* only remains as *ī* when unaccented.

The Italian vowels, as here given, precisely agree with the vowels in Folk-Latin; see § 145, p. 198 above.

To pronounce diphthongs, sound the vowels of which they are composed in rapid succession, and accent the *former* of the vowels, unless it is an *i* or *u*. Exx. *léi*, *fiéro* (both with open *e*), *fuóco* (in which the former *o* is open).

§ 212. **Consonants.** The pronunciation of the consonants is easy. *B*, *d*, *f*, *l*, *m*, *n*, *p*, *qu*, *t*, *v*, are like English.

C is *k* before *a*, *o*, *u*; E. *ch* before *e* and *i*. The sound of *k* before *e* and *i* is written *ch*.

Cc before *e* and *i* is pronounced as E. *ch* in *church*, but the sound is double; otherwise as *kk*. *Cch*, as *kk*.

G is hard, as in E. *game*, *go*, *gun*, before *a*, *o*, *u*; but is sounded as E. *j* before *e* and *i*, as in E. *gem*, *gin*. The sound of hard *g* before *e* and *i* is written *gh*. According to this system, the E. *get*, *gig*, would be spelt *ghet*, *ghig*. *Gg* before *e* and *i* is E. *jj*; otherwise, E. *gg*. *Gli*, when forming a part

of a word, is pronounced like E. *ly* (with consonantal *y*); i.e. like *l* followed by the *y* in *you*; or the *li* in *familiarise*. Standing alone, *gli* is pronounced (lyi). *Gn*(ny) is like E. *ni* in *minion*, or the *gn* in *mignonette*.

J (consonant) is the E. *y*; as in *justo* (yus-tó).

R is very strongly trilled, especially when doubled; never untrilled, as in English.

S is commonly voiceless, as in E. *sit*; it is only voiced (as E. *z* in *zone*, *s* in *rose*) between two vowels,¹ or before a liquid or a voiced consonant, such as *d*, *g*, *b*, *v*.

Sc before *e* and *i*, or *sci* before *a*, *o*, *u*, is sounded as E. *sh*. The sound (sk) before *e* and *i* is written *sch*.

Z is commonly sounded as E. *ts*, rarely as E. *dz*; *zz* is almost always *ts*, though there are a few exceptions.

K, *w*, *x* do not occur; *h* is very nearly lost, only appearing initially in *ho*, *hai*, *ha*, *hanno*, and finally in some interjections, as *ah*, *deh*, *ohimè*; and it is always mute.

Doubled letters, as *mm*, *nn*, &c. must be sounded really *double*, i.e. both at the end of one syllable and at the beginning of the next; thus *donna* is (dòn-na) in Italian, but (dòn'a) in English. We should be tempted to spell it *donnna*.

Exx. *cera* (ché-ra), wax; *cielo* (ché-lo, *by the side of* chié-lo), heaven; *che* (ké), that; *chi* (ki), who; *cacciare* (katchchaa-ré), to chase; *ricco* (rik-kó), rich, pl. *ricchi* (rik-ki); *già* (ja), already; *giovane* (jó-vané), young; *giudice* (juu-diché), judge; *geloso* (jéló-só), jealous; *giglio* (jii-lyó), lily; *lago* (laa-gó), a lake, pl. *laghi* (laa-gi); *pago* (paa-gó), I pay, 2 pers. *paghi* (paa-gi), thou payest.

Figlio (fii-lyo), son; *regno* (ré-nyo), kingdom, with close *e*, exceptionally; *justo* (yus-tó), just.

Tesoro (tézò-ró), treasure; *sguardo* (zgwar-dó), a look; *scena* (shè-na), scene; *scisma* (shiz-ma), schism; *scherzo* (skèrt-só), play, jest; *schizzo* (skit-tsó), sketch; *zia* (tsii'a),

¹ And that not always; it is voiceless, e.g., in *cosa* (kò'sa), thing, *riso* (rii-só), laughter, and in the suffix *-oso* (-ó'só).

aunt; *senza* (sént'sa), without; *mezzo* (mèd·dzó), middle; *Lazzaro* (lad·dzaró), Lazarus; *Nazzareno* (naddzarè·nó), Nazarene.

§ 213. The principal consonantal changes between the Latin and Italian forms may be briefly tabulated as below; remembering that the symbol > means 'becomes,' and the symbol < means 'is derived from.'

Folk-Latin. First of all, it should be noticed that, as in the case of French, Italian really arose from the spoken Latin or Folk-Latin rather than the literary language. This is why the list of Italian vowels at the end of § 211 agrees with the list of Folk-Latin vowels given in § 145.

Elision. Examples of *Elision* in the Folk-Latin are these: Ital. *parete*, wall, from F. L. *par'ete*, for L. *parietem*; *venti*, twenty, from F. L. *venti*, for L. *uiginti*.

Syncope. Examples of *Syncope* are these: Ital. *occhio*, from F. L. *oclu*, for L. *oculum*; Ital. *vecchio*, old, from F. L. *veçclu*, for L. *uetulum*; Ital. *donna*, lady, from F. L. *domna*, for L. *dominam*; Ital. *verde*, green, from F. L. *verde*, for L. *uiridem*. Observe that Folk-Latin frequently suppressed a short vowel after an accented syllable in proparoxytonic words, as has been explained above.

Palatalisation. When *e* or *i* preceded another vowel and followed an accented syllable, it was constantly turned into *y* (consonant) in F. L.; and this *y* invariably combined with and affected the preceding consonant, producing some very remarkable results. Thus *by* > *v*, *bb*, *bbi*, *ggi*; *cy* > *cci*, *zz*; *cty* > *zi*, *cci*; *dy* > *ggi*, *gg*, *zz*; *gy* > *ggi*; *ly* > *gli*; *my* > *mmi*, *mb*; *my* > *mi*; *ndy* > *nz*; *ny* > *gn*, *ng*; *py* > *cci*; *pty* > *cci*, *zi*; *que* > *ky* > *cci*; *sy* > *ci*, *gi*, *sci*; *sty* > *sci*; *ty* > *zi*, *zz*, *gi*; *vy* > *bbi*, *ggi*.

These instances of palatalisation obviously require attention, as they constitute the main difficulty of Italian etymology. I therefore give examples of all the above changes. L. *dubium*, F. L. *dubyu*, It. *dubbio*; L. *debeo*, F. L. *debyo*, It. *devo*,

debbo, deggio. L. *glaciem*, F. L. *glacya*, It. *ghiaccia*; Low. L. **populaceum*, F. L. *popolacyu*, It. *popolaccio* and *popolazzo*. L. *lectionem*, F. L. *lectyone*, It. *lezione*; L. *tractus*, pp., whence Low L. **tractiare*, F. L. *tractyare*, It. *tracciare*. L. *sedeo*, F. L. *sedyo*, It. *siedo, seggo, seggio*; L. *medium*, F. L. *medyo*, It. *mezzo*. L. *fageum*, adj. (beechen), F. L. *fagyo*, It. *faggio*, sb. (beech). L. *filium*, F. L. *filyo*, It. *figlio*. L. *vindemiam*, F. L. *vendemya*, It. *vendemmia*; L. *gremium*, F. L. *gremyo*, It. *grembo*. L. *commeatum*, F. L. *commyato*, It. *comiato*. L. *prandium*, F. L. *prandyo*, It. *pranzo*. L. *uineam*, F. L. *vinya*, It. *vigna*; L. *uenio*, F. L. *venyo*, It. *vengo*. L. *pipionem*, F. L. *pipyonem*, It. *piccione*. L. *captare*, Low L. **captiare*, F. L. *captyare*, It. *cacciare*; L. *eruptionem*, F. L. *eruptyone*, It. *eruzione*. L. *laqueum*, F. L. *lakyō*, It. *laccio*. L. *camisiam*, F. L. *camisya*, It. *camicia*; L. *occasionem*, F. L. *occasyone*, It. *cagione* (with loss of prefix); L. *basium*, F. L. *basyo*, It. *bascio* (obs.). L. *ostium*, F. L. *ostyo*, It. *uscio*. L. *nationem*, F. L. *natyone*, It. *nazione*; L. *puteum*, F. L. *potyo*, It. *pozzo*; L. *palatium*, F. L. *palatyō*, It. *palazzo*; L. *rationem*, F. L. *ratyone* (whence **radyone*), It. *ragione*. L. *caueam*, F. L. *cavya*, It. *gabbia*; L. *pluuiam*, F. L. *plovya*, It. *pioggia*.

Palatalisation even occurs in words that have already suffered syncope, viz. from the palatalisation of a *c*, when it occurs as the final letter of a combination.

The formulæ are: *dic* > *dc* > *ggi*; *nduc* > *nc* > *ngi*; *tic* > *tc* > *ggi*. Exx. L. *iudicare*, F. L. *iudc(i)are*, It. *giuggiare*. L. *manducare*, F. L. *manc(i)are*, It. *mangiare*. L. *siluaticum*, F. L. *selvatc(i)o*, It. *selvaggio*.

§ 214. **Assimilation.** Assimilation is a marked feature of Latin, which has, for example, *accipere* for *ad-capere*. It is carried still farther in Italian, which has *ammirare* for Lat. *admirare*; and the frequent occurrence of doubled letters in the examples just given must have been noticed. Other common examples are given by the formulæ: *ct* > *tt*; *gd* > *dd*; *mn* > *nn*; *pt* > *tt*; *nl*, *rl* > *ll*; *lr*, *nr* > *rr*. Exx. L.

dictum, It. *ditto* (obs.); whence E. *ditto*. L. *frigidum*, F. L. *fregdo*, It. *freddo*. L. *dominam*, F. L. *domna*, It. *donna*; whence E. *donna*. L. *aptitudinem*, It. *attitudine*; whence F. and E. *attitude*. (Similarly, L. *ipsum* became F. L. *epso*, It. *esso*). *Ll* appears in Ital. *colla*, put for *con la*, and in *costallo* (obs.), put for *costar lo*. *Rr* appears in *torre*, for L. *toll(e)re*; and in *porre*, for L. *pon(e)re*.

§ 215. **Other changes.** When the changes noted in the preceding articles have been allowed for, the remaining changes will appear of a simpler character, and are mostly such as might be expected. The chief of them are given by the following formulæ.

$B > b, bb, f, v; \text{ } \bar{b} s > s. \text{ } Bl > bi, bbi.$

$C > c, g; ce > ge, ze; ci > zi. \text{ } Cl > chi, cchi.$

$D > d, r. \text{ } F > f, b. \text{ } Fl > fi.$

$Gl > ghi, ggghi. \text{ } Hi, Hy > (j), gi, g(e). \text{ } H$ disappears.

I (consonant) $> j, gi, z$, and even ggi (medially).

$L > l, n, gli. \text{ } Ll > gli. \text{ } M > m, n.$

$N > n, l. \text{ } Ng > gn. \text{ } Nn > gn.$

$P > p, b, f, v. \text{ } Ph$ (Greek) $> f. \text{ } Pl > pi, ppi. \text{ } Qu > qu, cqu, c.$

$R > r, l, d. \text{ } Rh > fr, r.$

$S > s, z. \text{ } Si > sci. \text{ } Sce > ge. \text{ } St > z.$

$T > t, tt, d, dd. \text{ } Th > t. \text{ } V > v, b, g. \text{ } X > s, sc. \text{ } Ze > ge.$

NOTE. The changes $bl > bi$, $cl > chi$, $gl < ghi$, and $pl > pi$ occur *initially*; in other positions, the resulting combinations are *bbi*, *cchi*, *ggghi*, *ppi* respectively.

Examples of unchanged letters need not be given. Others are these.

L. *fabrum*, It. *fabbro*; L. *tabanum*, It. *tafano*; L. *habere*, It. *avere*. L. *obscurum*, It. *oscuo*. L. *blasphemare*; It. *biasimare*; L. *neb(u)lam*, It. *nebbia*.

L. *alacrem*, It. *allegro*, whence E. *allegro*; so also in E. *doge*, *gabion*, *gambol*, *salmagundi*. L. *ducentum*, It. *dugento*; Low L. *dominicellum*, It. *donzello*. L. *cimbalum*, for *cym-*

balum, It. dimin. *zimbello*. L. *clarum*, It. *chiaro*, as in *chiaroscuro*; L. *oc(u)lum*, It. *occhio*.

L. *medullam*, It. *mirolla* (obs., now *midolla*).

L. *floccum*, Ital. dimin. *bioccolo*. L. *florem*, It. *fiore*, whence the dimin. *fioretto*, a little flower, also a kind of silk tape, E. *ferret*. In the old word *florin*, the *fl* is preserved.

L. *glaciem*, It. *ghiaccio*; L. *strigula*, curry-comb, It. *stregghia*. L. *hyacinthum*, obs. It. *jacinto*, It. *giacinto*; L. *hierarchiam* (from Greek), obs. It. *jerarchia*, It. *gerarchia*. *H* is lost in It. *ortolano*, whence E. *ortolan*; from L. *hortus*.

L. *adiutare*, later *aiutare*, It. *ajutare*; L. *iam*, It. *già*; L. *iuniperum*, It. *ginepro*, *zinepro*; L. *maiorem*, It. *maggiore*.

L. *philomelam*, It. *filomena*; L. *compilare*, It. *compigliare*; L. *tollere*, It. *togliere*. L. *mespilum*, It. *nespolo*.

L. *Bononia*, It. *Bologna*. L. *cingere*, It. *cignere* (also *cingere*); L. *grunnire*, It. *grugnire*.

L. *prunum*, whence (indirectly, through the form *prunea*) It. fem. *brugna*, a plum; L. *supplicem*, It. *soffice*; L. *ripam*, It. *riva*. L. *philosophiam*, It. *filosofia*. L. *planum*, It. *piano*, whence E. *piano*, *piano-forte*. L. *duplum*, It. *deppio*. L. *aqua*, It. *acqua*; L. *antiquum*, It. *antico*.

L. *cerebrum*, It. *celebro*; L. *rarum*, It. *rado*; L. *rhombum* (from Gk. *ῥόμβος*), It. *frombo*. L. *rhythmum*, It. *ritimo*, *ritmo*.

L. *sulfur*, *sulphur*, It. *zolfo*. L. *simia*, It. *scimia*. L. *uascellum*, It. *vagello*. L. *instigare*, It. *insigare*.

L. *totum*, It. *tutto*. L. *palatinum*, It. *paladino*; whence F. *paladin*, E. *paladin*. L. *satisfacere*, It. *soddisfare*. L. *theatrum*, It. *teatro*.

L. *neruum*, It. *nerbo*; L. *uomere*, It. *gomire*. L. *exemplum*, It. *esempio*; L. *exire*, It. *escire*. L. *zelosum*, It. *geloso*.

§ 216. **Inserted letters.** Excrescent letters are sometimes found, such as *b* after *m*, and *g*, *d*, or *v* between two vowels to avoid an hiatus. Thus L. *simulare*, F. L. *sem'lare*, It. *sembiare*, *semlare*; It. *ragunare*, to join, lit. re-unite, for

ra-unare, from *ra-*, prefix (L. *re-ad*) and *unare*, for *unire*; L. *laicum*, It. *ladico*; L. *fluidum*, It. *fluvido*. We even find letters prefixed to words; as *b* or *g* before *r*, as in L. *ruscum*, It. *brusco*, butcher's broom; *graspo*, a grape-stalk, variant of *raspo*, a bunch of grapes; and *n* before a vowel, as in *ninferno*¹, hell. The most remarkable is the prefixed *s*. This letter is so common at the beginning of a word (where it can stand before every consonant except *j* and *z*), that it is often wrongly and needlessly prefixed; as in *smania*, variant of *mania*, fury, and in *spiaggia*, variant of *piaggia*, shore, from L. *plaga*. It. *s-* (as a real prefix) represents L. *ex-* and *dis-*. Thus *scommunicare* is 'to excommunicate'; *scordare* is 'to be dis-cordant.'

The insertion of *i* after *c* or *f* is not uncommon, and is to be accounted for in various ways, in different examples. Exx. L. *coma*, It. *chioma*; L. *encaustum*, It. *inchiostro*; L. *refulare*, It. *rifiutare*; O. H. G. *scūm*, foam, It. *schiuma*. *M* appears before *b* and *p* in *strambo* (L. *strabum*), *Campidoglio*, L. *Capitolium*, &c.; *n* before *t*, as in *lontra*, an otter (L. *lutra*); and *r* after *t*, as in *inchiostro*, ink, from L. *encaustum*, and in *celestro*, variant of *celesto*, *celeste*, celestial.

§ 217. The preceding rough and incomplete notes do not exhaust the list of the changes that distinguish Italian from Latin. Nevertheless, I believe I have mentioned all that are most material; and the student who already knows Latin may, by help of the above hints, soon come to understand the formation of hundreds of Italian words, and he will find that to understand this rightly is a powerful aid to the memory. In this way, enough of the language to enable one just to make out the sense of easy passages of Italian poetry may be picked up in a very short time; and any one who has a month's leisure is recommended to try the experiment. It should further be observed, that very many Italian

¹ In this case, the *n* represents the prep. *in*; see Diez, *Wörterb.* s. v. *Abisso*.

words (just as was the case in French) are formed from the literary, rather than from the popular Latin; and such words appear undisguised and with but very slight change. It is hardly possible to miss the sense of *glorioso, inferno, immortali, aurea, corona, magnanimo, agitato, imperio, oriente, innumerabile, loco*, all of which occur in the first six stanzas of Tasso's great poem; to which words of obvious meaning we may add several that, even if derived from popular Latin, suffered no change except at the end, viz. *mano, favore, ardori, parte, vero, molli, versi, persuaso, vita, fortuna, penna, terra, anno, campo, arte, gente, &c.* Much may be done by simply taking the accusative cases of Latin substantives and cutting off the final *m*; if *a* remains or *e* (in the third declension), let it alone; but if *u* remains, turn it into *o*. Thus *L. uitam* > *It. vita*; *L. frontem* > *It. fronte*; *L. locum* > *It. loco*. Of course phonetic laws constantly modify this result, as is shown by the last instance. *Loco* is a 'learned' word; the 'popular' form is *luogo*¹. So again, the *Lat. faciem* was pronounced *facye* or (by a change of declension) *facya* in Folk-Latin, and the Italian form is, consequently, *faccia*. The final *s* of neuter nouns may be cut off in the same way; thus *tempus* gives *It. tempo*, and even the *Lat. adv. melius* gives *It. meglio*.

§ 218. One great value of Italian is the assistance it gives in investigating the etymologies of words in the Romance languages, on account of its usually exhibiting fuller forms, that conduct us more easily to the original Latin. And in general, it must be understood that no etymology of a Romance word can be correct, unless the Latin word will yield, in accordance with phonetic laws, *all* the connected extant words in all the Romance languages. The value of the assistance which each of them gives the other is obvious. By way of example, we may take the E. word *search*,

¹ Hence arise doublets; thus the learned word for 'cold' is *frigido*; the popular form is *freddo*.

borrowed from the A. F. *sercher*, which is equivalent to mod. F. *chercher*. The Ital. form is *cercare*, which takes us back at once to Lat. *circare*, to go about, traverse (Lewis and Short), hence to explore, in medieval Latin. It is therefore a verb formed from the Lat. *circum*, around. Or again, take the E. word *coy*, borrowed from the F. *coi*. The O. F. form was *coi(t)*, the Span. form is *quedo*, and the Ital. *cheto*, all of which can be formed from the Lat. acc. *quietum*. We thus learn that *coy* is merely a double of *quiet*; a fact which is hardly obvious at first sight. And so in other cases.

§ 219. I now attempt to give a list of the chief words in English that have been borrowed from Italian, either directly, or through the medium of the French. The list is, I trust, longer and more correct than any that has yet been given. The list in Trench's *English Past and Present* contains over 100 words, and includes *ambuscade*, *domino*, *filigree*, and *lagoon*¹, which are of Spanish origin, *protocol*, which is French, and *harlequin*, which seems to occur in French long before it was known to Italian. The present list is at least three times as long, and might be further increased by adding several musical terms, such as *andantino*, *sostenuto*, *maestoso*, *moderato*, *largo*, *larghetto*, *con spirito*, *con brio*, *lento*, *marcato*, *staccato*, &c.; but these are technical terms, and their Italian origin is well known. I find a list of Italian words in *A Manual of our Mother Tongue*, by Hewitt and Beach, 4th ed. 1889, p. 490²; but it is extremely disappointing to find that, though the authors had my dictionary to copy from, they were unequal to copying it correctly, and

¹ I once likewise thought *lagoon* was Italian; but two passages in Dampier's *Voyages* (1699), i. 241, iii. 8, prove that it is the Span. *laguna*.

² There are some good things in this book; it is a sign that some knowledge of Anglo-Saxon is becoming commoner. But the A. S. words, when deprived of their accents, have a comic look and are valueless to the learner. If a press has not the types *á*, *é*, &c., then it is best to print *ā*, *ē*, &c.

inform us that such words as *ball* (dance), *captain*, *companion*, *guitar*, *gulf*, *soar*, are Italian, when they are clearly French, and there is no special reason for supposing that the French forms were borrowed from Italian in particular. Also, that *farrago* is Italian, when it is obviously Latin, and of course the Italian word would take the form of the accusative case; in fact, it is *farraggine*. Also, that *folio* and *quarto* are Italian; whereas they are mere Latin ablatives, like *octavo* and *duodecimo*. Trench makes the same mistake of calling *folio* Italian, but he leaves out *quarto*.

§ 220. In the following list, I do not give the full etymologies, as I have given them elsewhere; except in a few cases, where I have noticed words that I have not hitherto treated. But I indicate the etymologies generally by noting the ultimate source in each case. The symbols used are these following.

(1) Words borrowed from Italian *directly* are printed in Roman type.

(2) Words borrowed through the medium of French are in Italic type.

(3) Words not followed by any remark are of *Latin* origin.

(4) In other cases, the ultimate source is indicated by the following marks: Arab.—Arabic; C.—Celtic; Du.—Dutch; G.—German; O.H.G.—Old High German; M.H.G.—Middle High German; Gk.—Greek; Heb.—Hebrew; Pers.—Persian; Skt.—Sanskrit; Teut.—Teutonic; Turk.—Turkish. The symbol (?) indicates that the source is unknown or uncertain.

*Accolade*¹, accordion², *alarm*, *alarum*, *alert*, *allegro*, *alto*, *altruism*³, *andante* (?), *apartment*, *appoggiatura* (L. and Gk.)

¹ F. *accolade*, It. *accollata*, fem. pp. of *accollare*; L. *ad, collum*.

² It. *accordare*, to accord; for the suffix, cf. *clar-ion*.

³ It. *altrui*, (for) another, probably from the L. stem *altr-*, with a termination taken from the interrogative pronoun *c-ui*; with Gk. suffix *-ism*.

arabesque (Arab.), *arcade*, archipelago (Gk.), *arpeggio* (Frankish *harpa* = A.S. *hearpa*), *artisan*, askance, *attitude*.

Bagatelle (Teutonic), balcony (Teut.), baldacchino (Pers.)¹, *baluster* (Gk.), *balustrade* (Gk.), bandit (O.H.G.), *banisters* (= *balusters*), barouche (through G.), *barracks* (Low L.), *barytone* (Gk.), *bassoon*, *bastion* (?), *battalion*, belladonna, *bergamot* (Turk.)², *biretta* (Gk.)³, bombast (Gk.), botargo (Arab.)⁴, bravo (?), breve, *brig* (?), *brigade* (?), *brigand* (?), *brigantine* (?), broccoli, *bronze* (Teut.), *brusque* (?)⁵, *bulletin*, bunion (?), *burin* (G.), *burlesque* (?), *bust* (?).

Cab or *cabriolet*, cabbage (vegetable), cameo (?), campanile⁶, *candy* (Pers.), *canopy* (Gk.), cantata, *canteen* (G.), canto, canzonet, *cape* (headland), caper (a dancing about), *caprice*, *capriole*, *capuchin* (?), *carcase* (Pers.?), *caricature* (C.), *carnival*, *caroche* (C.), *carousal* (for *carousel*, a pageant, C.), *cartel* (Gk.), *cartoon* (Gk.), *cartouche* or *cartridge* (Gk.), *cascade*, *casemate* (?), *casino*, *cassock*, catacomb (?), *catafalque* (?), *cavalcade*, *cavalier*, *cavalry*, *charlatan*, cicerone, *citadel*, cognoscenti (i. e. connoisseurs, knowing ones), *colonel*⁷, *colonnade*, *compliment*, comply, *compost*, *concert*, *concordat*, contraband (L. and G.), contralto, conversazione, *cornice*, *corporal* (in an army), *corridor*, *cortege*, *costume*, *countertenor*, *cuirass*, cupola, curvet.

Dado, *decant* (L. and O.H.G.), *diaper* (Gk., from Arab.),

¹ From *Bagdad*, in Persia; spelt *Baldacco* in Italian.

² It. *bergamotto* is thought to be an adaptation of Turk. *beg-armüdi*, prince's pear (Murray). This remark applies to the bergamot pear. But there is another *bergamot*, the name of a tree (*Citrus Bergamia*). This also is Italian, from the place-name *Bergamo*.

³ From It. *berretta*, Low L. *birretum*, cap, dimin. of *birrus* (*byrrhus*), cape of wool, from Gk. *νύββος*, flame-coloured.

⁴ M. It. *botargo*, Arab. *butarkhah*, preserved mullet-roë, Coptic *outarakhon*, Copt. article *ou* and Gk. *ραπίχιον*, pickle; see Murray.

⁵ It. *brusco*, sour; prob. from *labrusca*, sour wine (Florio); L. *la-brusca*.

⁶ I. e. a bell-tower, from *campana*, a bell.

⁷ Also *coronel*, which is the Spanish form.

dilettante, ditto, doge, *douche*, *dredge* (to sprinkle flour, from Gk.), *ducat*, duel, duet.

Emery (Gk.), *escarpment* (L. and Teut.), *escort*, *espalier* (Gk.), *esplanade*, *extravaganza*.

Facade, ferret (silk), fiasco, florin, floss (silk), *fracas*, fresco (O.H.G.), *frigate* (?), *fugue*, *fustian* (Egyptian).

Gabion, *gala* (?), *gallery* (?), *gallias* (?), *galligaskins* (Gk.), galvanism, *gambol*, gazette (?), generalissimo, *germander* (Gk.)¹, *giaour* (Turk., Arab.), gondola (Gk.), gonfalon (G.)², grampus, granite, *grolesque* (Gk.), grotto (Gk.), *group* (G.), gurgle, *gusset* (?), gusto. *Halt* (a sudden stop, G.)³.

Imbroglia (?), imprese, improvisatore, innamorata, innamorato, *incarnadine*, incognito, *infantry*, influenza, infuriate, intaglio, isolate; *jargonelle* (Pers.), junket⁴.

Lava, *lavender*, lavolta (for *la volta*, the vault, i. e. bound), lazaretto (Gk., from Heb.), levant, loto (O. H. G.), *lutestring*.

Macaroon, macaroni, madonna, *madrepore* (L. and Gk.), madrigal (Gk.), *magazine* (Arab.), malaria, *manage*, *manège*, mandolin (Gk.), manganese (Gk. ?), manifesto, maraschino⁵, *marchpane*, marmot, *maroon* (the colour, of unknown source), martello (tower), mezzotinto, *mien*, milliner, miniature, *mizen*, *model*, monkey, monsoon (Malay, Arab.), *motel*, motto, *mummy* (Pers.) *muscadel* (Pers., from Skt.), *muscadine* (Pers., from Skt.), *musket*, *muslin* (Syriac).

Niche, ninny (?), nuncio; opera, *orange* (Pers.), oratorio, orchestra (Gk.), orris (Gk.), *ortolan*.

Paladin, *palette* or *pallet*, *pantaloen* (Gk.), *pantaloons* (Gk.), *partisan* (one of a party), *parapet*, *pasquin*, *pasquinade*, *pastel*,

¹ F. *germandrée*, It. *calamandrea*, L. *chamædrys*, Gk. χαμαίδρυς.

² *Gonfalon* is the Ital. form, *gonfanon*, the French.

³ It. *alto*; from G. *halt*, hold!

⁴ We might add 'Jerusalem artichoke,' substituted for It. *girasole*.

⁵ From It. *marasca*, 'a kinde of sowre cherrie,' Florio; probably from L. *amarus*, bitter. Cf. It. *amarine*, 'the first cherries that come, called so because they are something bitter'; id. In fact, the form *amarasca* occurs; see Diez, *Et. Dict.* II a, s. v. *marasca*.

pedant (Gk. ?), *periwig* (Du., from F., from Ital.), *peruke*, *piano*, *pianoforte*, *piastre* (Gk.), *piazza* (Gk.), *pilaster*, pilgrim, *pinnacle*, *pistol*, *pistole*, *piston*, *pivot*, *polony*, *poltroon* (G.), *pomade*, *pontoon*, *populace*, *porcelain*, *portico*, *postillion*, *pre-concert*, *profile*, *punchinello*, *Punch*.

Quartet, *quota*; *ravelin* (?), *rebeck* (Arab.), *rebuff* (?), *redoubt*, *regatta* (?), *reprisal*, *revolt*, *rice* (of Eastern origin), *ridotto* (redoubt), *rivulet* (= Ital. *rivoletto*), *rocket* (firework, G.), *rocket* (plant), *rodomontade*, *ruffian* (Teut. ?).

Salad, *sallet* (helmet), *salmagundi*, *saveloy*, *scamp*, *scamper*, *scaramouch* (Teut.), *scarp* (Teut.), *scimeter* (Pers.), *scope* (Gk.), *semibreve*, *sentinel*, *sentry*, *sequin* (Arab.), *seraglio*, *serenade*, *shamble*, v. (Du., from F., from It.), *sienna*, *signor*, *signior*, *sirocco* (Arab.), *size* (glue), *sketch* (Du., It., L., Gk.), *smalt* (O. H. G.), *soda*, *solo*, *somersault*, *sonata*, *sonnet*, *soprano*, *spinet*, *squad*, *squadron*, *stanza*, *stiletto*, *stoccado* or *stoccata* (Teut.), *strappado* (Teut.), *studio*, *stucco* (O. H. G.).

Taffeta (Pers.), *tarantula*¹, *termagant*, *terrace*, *terra-cotta*, *theorbo* (?), *tirade* (Teut.), *tontine*, *torso* (Gk.), *tramontane*, *travertine*², *trill* (?), *trio*, *trombone*, *tuck* (a rapier, G.), *tucket* (O.H.G.), *tufa*³, *turquoise* (Pers.).

Umbler, *umbrella*, *ultramontane*; *vault* (to leap), *vedette*, *vidette*, *vermicelli*, *violin*, *violoncello*, *virtuoso*, *vista*, *vogue* (G.), *volcano*, *Voltaic*. *Wig* (Du., from F., from It.). *Zany* (Gk., from Heb.), *zero* (Arab.).

To the above list I have little hesitation in adding *jane*, a kind of cloth. *Jane* in M. E. meant *Genoa* or *Genoese*.

¹ Ital. *tarantola*, 'a serpent called an eft or an euet; some take it to be a flye whose sting is perillous and deadly, and nothing but diuers sounds of musicke, can cure the patient; also, a fish so-called'; Florio. Named from *Tarentum*.

² In modern geology; It. *travertino*, older form *tivertino*, from L. *Tiburinus*, from *Tibur* (*Tivoli*).

³ In geology; for It. *tufa*, L. *tofus*, soft stone.

CHAPTER XV.

THE SPANISH ELEMENT.

§ 221. The nature of the contact between English and Spanish is remarkably different from that between English and Italian. In this case, the direct literary influence is inappreciable. There never was a time when Spanish literature was generally or widely understood or sought after in England; and almost the only Spanish author known even by name to the general public is Cervantes, whose *Don Quixote* was first translated into English by Shelton in 1612-20, and has been translated very frequently since. We must look in other directions for our opportunities of becoming acquainted with Spanish. It will be found that our borrowings from it have been due to our commercial and political relations with Spain, augmented by the descriptions of Spain and of her colonies which have been furnished by travellers and navigators. There was no doubt a brief period, in the days of queen Mary and her successor Elizabeth, when *dons*, *grandees*, and *hidalgos* (all Spanish words) were to be seen in England, and when some smattering of Spanish might be met with at the English court; but it soon passed away, and has left no remarkable traces behind it. The real place of meeting between the Englishman and the Spaniard was in the western world and on the open sea. Hence it is that nearly all the West Indian, Mexican, and Peruvian words in our language have come to us in a Spanish

spelling; a matter which will be considered hereafter, when we consider such words more particularly.

We have also to note the remarkable difference between Spanish and Italian caused by the invasion of the Moors, who first landed in Spain in 709, and continued to exercise dominion there till 1492, the very year in which Columbus first touched at San Salvador (Oct. 12). Hence Spanish abounds with words of Arabic origin, and we find many substantives to which the Arabic definite article *al* (the) is prefixed, as in Span. *al-coran*, the Koran, which Chaucer has introduced into his *Man of Lawes Tale* (l. 332) with the spelling *Alkaron*. A large admixture of Semitic with Aryan words in the same language is a remarkable phenomenon; but it has its parallel in Persian, wherein the number of foreign or Arabic words is very large, though the structure of the language remains Aryan still. Of course it will also be readily understood that many of the Moorish words that occur in Spanish are found in Portuguese likewise.

§ 222. It is important to remember that the Arabs, and amongst them the Moors, were remarkable for their love of letters. They were well skilled in Greek, and translated from Greek into Arabic numerous scientific treatises, especially such as related to mathematics, metaphysics, physics, and the science of medicine. They founded universities in Spain, and many of their scientific works were soon translated into Latin¹. Hence it came to pass that many of our medieval scientific terms, such as *zenith*, *azimuth*, *algebra*, and the like, though of Arabic origin, really came to us from Spain, sometimes through the medium of French, and sometimes in a Latin or Spanish form; and they appear in English literature much earlier than might, perhaps, be expected. Some such words occur in Chaucer and even before his time, and

¹ See Dissertation II. in Warton, *Hist. Eng. Poetry*; and the Introduction to Lockhart's *Spanish Ballads*, or consult the Histories of Span. Literature by Bouterwek and Ticknor.

will, mostly, be considered in discussing words of Semitic origin; but it will be well to notice here such as came to us in a Spanish form; and this leads up to the first question, viz. what are the words that reached us in a Spanish dress (sometimes slightly modified by a French spelling) before what I have called the modern period, i.e. before the year 1500?

§ 223. Such a question, owing to my imperfect knowledge, I can only answer partially; but it is not difficult to point to more than twenty. By consulting my Dictionary, and the Supplement to it, it will be seen that *hazard* and *tabor* occur in *Havelok* (before 1300); and that Chaucer uses the words *alembic*, *galingale*, *hazard*, *realgar* (which he spells *resalgar*), *racket*, *sugar*, *zenith*; also, in his *Astrolabe*, prol. 62, *almenak* (for *almanac*), and *azimuth*¹. In the *Promptorium Parvulorum* (1440), we find such words as *amber*, *battledoor*, *caraway*, *cork*, *pint*, *ream*. *Capstan* occurs in *Allit. Poems*, ed. Morris, B. 418; *cotoun*, i.e. *cotton*, and *quybybes*, i.e. *cubebs*, in *Mandeville's Travels*, pp. 212, 50. The *Liber Custumarum*, p. 83, has the A. F. *basene*, i.e. *basil* (leather) and *cordewan*; the *Liber Albus*, pp. 224, 225, has A. F. *alemaundes*, i.e. *almonds*², *symak*, i.e. *sumach*, and *genetre*, i.e. fur of the *genet*. To which we may add the verb *to garble*, occurring in 1483, and discussed in § 224.

All these words were imported with the things which they describe, excepting the words *azimuth*, *zenith*, and *almanac*, which were also imported, but in a different manner, viz. as scientific or 'learned' words which had found their way into MSS. written in Latin or French. *Hazard* was originally a game at dice, and found its way into French very early.

¹ Chaucer has *azimut*, which is the Spanish form. I have wrongly derived it from Arabic directly.

² The A. F. *al-emaunde* is derived from L. *amygdalum*, with insertion of *n* before *d*; but it also has the Arab. prefix *al* (the), proving that the name came to France by way of Spain.—See the New E. Dict.

Racket was likewise, as now, the name of a game. Similarly, *saffron* and *alkali* were early imports, but though both of Arabic origin, they do not seem to have come to us through Spanish. Chaucer likewise uses other scientific words of Arabic origin, such as *almicanteras* and *almury*, terms relating to an astrolabe; but they are obsolete.

§ 224. **Spanish words of the modern period.** Passing on to the period after 1500, we meet, sooner or later, with words that were imported from Spain directly or gathered from the mouths of travellers in that country, such as *alcalde*¹, *alcayde*, *alcove*, *castanets*, *chopine*, *don*, *duenna*, *dulcimer*, *hidalgo*, *lackey*, *matador*, and some others; names of dances, as *fandango*, *morris-dance*, *pavan*, *saraband*; names of card-games or cards, as *ombre*, *primero*, *quadrille*, *spade*, to which add the verb *to punt* (to play at basset); names of coins, as *doubloon*, *maravedi*, *real*; names of armour or arms, as *casque*, *morion*, *grenade*, *petronel*; words relating to merchandise, as *cask*, *tariff*, *quintal*, and numerous imported articles, as *benzoin*, *cochineal*, *indigo*, *jade* (a green stone), *julep*, *pellitory*, *sassafras*, *sherry*, *syrup*, *taic*, *tent* (wine), *ultramarine*, *vanilla*; nautical terms, as *armada*, *arsenal*, *commodore*, *filibuster*, *flotilla*, *launch* (a long-boat), *stevedore*, *tornado*; names of races, as *creole*, *sambo*, and of foreign animals, &c., as *albatross*, *alligator*, *armadillo*, *bonito*, *booby* (the bird), *chinchilla*, *giraffe*, *manchineel* (the tree), *mosquito*; besides the numerous words relating chiefly to the New World, some of which are true Spanish, as *coral*, *llano*, *lasso*, *mustang*, *quadrone*, *ranch*, *savanna*. The number of what may be called 'literary' words, referring to abstract conceptions, is extremely small; such are *paragon* (Shakespeare), *punctilio* (Ben Jonson), *peccadillo*; *hazard* was originally the name of a game at dice, and *risk* meant, at the first, no more than a

¹ *Alcalde* is Span. for 'the *cadi*'; see *cadi* in my Supplement, and Murray's Dictionary. *Alcayde* is a different word, and meant 'the captain of a castle'; see Murray.

dangerous rock at sea. Of course we have frequently, in our English manner, turned many of the substantives into verbs, as *to hazard*, *to risk*, *to cork*, *to caparison*, *to mask*, &c.; but I can find no words that were actually introduced as verbs except *to garble* (discussed below), *to disemboque*, a traveller's or seaman's term, *to punt*, a term in card-playing, and the nautical terms (of somewhat doubtful origin) *to pay*, i. e. to pitch a ship, and *to capsize*. *Carbonado* was at first a substantive, as in Marlowe, 1st part of *Tamburlaine*, iv. 4. 47; though also used as a verb by Shakespeare, *Wint. Ta.* iv. 4. 268; see the New E. Dictionary. The verb *to garble* was borrowed from the O. F. *garbeler*, to sift, which is merely the Span. *garbillar*, to sift, from the sb. *garbillo*, a sieve. Cotgrave gives the form as *grabeller*, but Godefroy has *garbeller*, though he has misunderstood the word and entered it in the wrong place. Under the heading *gerbele* (for which he has neither quotation nor authority, and which he explains as a sb. meaning a sort of spice (*sorte d' épice*), he has two quotations, both containing the form *garbelle*. The former runs thus:—'xxviii. quintaulx, lii. ll., vii. onces poivre net et *garbelle*,' which clearly means:—'28 quintals, 52 pounds, 7 ounces of pepper, pure and *garbled* (i. e. sifted). *Garbelle* is not here a sb., but the pp. *garbellé*, agreeing with the masc. sb. *poivre*, just as the adj. *net* does; for the accent over the past participle is not marked in O. F. MSS. This quotation gives us, in fact, the very form which, in my Dictionary, I had to assume as being the original of the E. word, which was used in the sense 'to sift' as early as 1483.

§ 225. It has been noticed that the literary influence of Spanish upon English has been extremely slight, and was chiefly confined to the sixteenth century. Thus Sir Philip Sidney's *Arcadia* owes something to the *Diana Enamorada* of Montemayor, and to the Spanish romances of *Amadis of Gaul* and *Palmerin*, and queen Elizabeth herself was a Spanish scholar. But the acquaintance of Englishmen with

Spanish was far less intimate than their knowledge of Italian, and this was the cause of an odd grammatical error which is by no means uncommon. Englishmen picked up the fact that *-ado* was a Spanish suffix, as seen in *Don Armado* and in Massinger's play of *The Renegado*, and they attempted to generalise from this in an odd way, in order to display their knowledge. Accordingly, they turned the Span. fem. sb. *carbonada* into *carbonado*, and played the same trick with Span. *emboscada*, Tudor E. *ambuscado*; Span. *bastonada*, Tudor E. *bastinado*; Span. *barricada*, Tudor E. *barricado*; and several other words of the same kind; see the suffix *-ado* in the New E. Dictionary. Emboldened by this, they even substituted this *-ado* for the Italian suffix *-ata*, as in the case of the Ital. *strappata*, Anglicised as *strappado*. *Palisado* was another form, answering neither to the Spanish *palizada* nor the Ital. *palicciata*, but obtained by turning the F. *palissade* into imagined Spanish. Even Shakespeare twice uses *armado* instead of *armada* to mean 'a fleet'; though it might have been thought that he knew sufficiently what an armada was like, to be able to give a good account of it.

In the eighteenth century, we may just notice a useful book known as H. Swinburne's *Travels through Spain* in 1775-6, which is occasionally cited in Johnson's Dictionary.

Quite recently, there has been somewhat of a revival of Spanish in English literature, chiefly due to the numerous novels and poems relating to America in which reference is made to the various American colonies that belong, or once belonged, to Spain. Thus I take up a copy of Bret Harte's *Poems*, and find in it such words as *adobe*, unbaked brick (cf. Ar. *tūb*¹, a tile); *alcalde*, a cadí or judge; *cañon*, a deep ravine, spelt on another page *canyon*, i.e. phonetically; *caballero*, a cavalier; *chapparal*, a grove, put for Span. *chaparral*, a grove of ever-green oaks; *hacienda*, a planta-

¹ The Arab. *al tūb* regularly becomes *at tūb*, by assimilation.

tion with a residence; *madroño*, a strawberry tree (*Arbutus unedo*); *peso*, a coin, originally a weight (cf. F. *poids*, from L. *pensum*); *ranch*, short for Span. *rancho*, a cattle-station (due to O. H. G. *hring*); *rancheria*, a set of buildings at a ranch; *tortilla*, a kind of pan-cake, lit. 'little tart'; *vaquero*, a cow-boy (from L. *uacca*); besides other more familiar words, such as *lasso*, *mustang*, *padre* (priest), *rey* (king), *señor*, *sierra*, *stampede*. It may be doubted whether the current spelling is always correct; thus we have seen above how the Span. *chaparral* has become *chapparal*, and in the poem of Friar Pedro's Ride, we find:—

'Each swung a lasso, *alias* a "riata."

Here *riata* (the usual spelling) is a mistake for *reata*, the true Span. form; the probable derivation is from L. *re-* and *aptare*, to fit; cf. Span. *atar*, to bind. Over and above this, the English in America have coined another form, *lariat*, out of the same, by prefixing the fem. def. article *la*. In like manner, we may find a fair sprinkling of Spanish words scattered up and down the pages of such novels as *The Rifle-rangers*, or the *War-trail*, by Capt. Mayne Reid. It is curious to note how, after some centuries, Spanish words are thus drifting into English works of fiction, coming to us, not from Spain itself, but across the Atlantic ocean.

§ 226. One interesting point about the American Spanish is that it has certain peculiarities of pronunciation, which should be noted. Thus *lasso* cannot be derived from the Span. *lazo*, as is usually said (because in that word the *z* is pronounced as E. *th*), but represents another form *laso* (with voiceless *s*, as in English), as given in Minsheu's Span. Dict. (1623), agreeing with the form now in use in Texas. In the same way, Mexican and Peruvian words, preserved to us in Spanish spellings, commonly depend upon the Spanish pronunciation of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; and it sometimes makes a difference.

I may mention here the names of a few of the most useful books for the purpose of tracing such words. Such are: R. Percyvall's *Bibliotheca Hispanica* (Gram. and Dict.), 1591; Jas. Howell's *Lexicon Tetraglotton*, in English, French, Italian, and Spanish, 1660; Minsheu's Span.-Eng. Dict., 1623, quite a distinct work from Minsheu's Eng. Dict., or *Ductor in Linguas*, 1617 (2nd ed. 1627), though they are often confounded¹; Capt. J. Stevens' Span.-Eng. Dict., 1706 (2nd ed. 1726); and P. Pineda's Span.-Eng. Dict., 1740. The last is very useful, but I suspect that the author copied a good deal from his predecessors. A later work is the Dict. by Neumann and Baretti, ed. Seoane, 2 vols. 8vo. 1862. See also the book-list in Körting, *Rom. Phil.* iii. 539. E. words of Span. origin may be found in Hakluyt's *Voyages*, 1589 and 1598-1600; The Three First English Books on America, ab. 1555, ed. Arber, 1885; J. Frampton's *Joyfull Newes out of the newe founde Worlde*, from the Spanish of N. Monardes, 1577; Acosta's *Natural History of the E. and W. Indies*, translated into English by E. G., 1604; &c. I have also found help from the *Diccionario Etimologico de la lengua castellana*, por el Dr. D. P. F. Monlau; Madrid (2nd ed.), 1881. A very useful book is the *Glossaire des mots espagnols et portugais dérivés de l'arabe*, by Dozy and Engelmann; Leyden, 1869.

§ 227. **Sources of the language.** The main source of Spanish is Latin, but the Latin element is by no means so large as in Italian. The other sources are well described in the Introduction to Monlau's *Diccionario Etimologico*, pp. 53-67, and by Körting; the principal being Greek, Gothic, Arabic, Basque, French, Italian, and various languages of the West Indies; and there are even a few words from German and English. Amongst the last the author notices

¹ One correspondent told me that there is *no such book* as the Span. Eng. Dict. of 1623. I was obliged to disbelieve this, as I possess copies of *both* works. Correspondents say strange things.

bifteck, *bill*, *brick*, *esplin*, *lord*, pl. *lores*, *milor*, *rosbiff*, and *wagon*; and he would add *ardite*, *contradanza*, *mequetrefe*, and *zafó*. Some of these are not obvious; however, *bifteck* is *beef-steak*, *esplin* is *spleen*, *lores* is the plural of *lord*, *milor* is *my lord*, and *rosbiff* is *roast beef*. *Ardite*, an old word meaning 'a farthing,' is said to be a corruption of the E. *farthing*, but there are difficulties about this etymology; Diez supposes it to be of Basque origin. *Contradanza* is *country-dance*. *Maketrefe* is a *maker of trifles*, a noisy, objectionable fellow. *Zafó* is a nautical term, meaning 'clear of risk'; i.e. it is the E. *safe*.

The Greek element comes in *twice*; once through the Latin, and again through Arabic, as the Arabs knew Greek well. It is also used for modern scientific terms.

Gothic, i.e. Wisi-Gothic, appears chiefly in proper names and in terms of war; but its traces are perhaps slighter than we might expect to find them. English has borrowed *guy*-in *guy-rope*, and *stamped*.

Arabic, on the other hand, has had great influence, not only upon the vocabulary, but even upon the pronunciation, especially on the sounds of *j*, *z*, and *x*; and we can hence understand the frequent occurrence of the aspirate *h*, which is so weak in Latin, and is as good as lost in Italian. However, the Span. *h*, formerly strongly aspirated, is at present nearly mute. The number of Arabic words in Spanish exceeds a thousand, though many of them are archaic. Many place-names are likewise of Moorish origin, as *Gibraltar* (mountain of Tarik), *Guadalquivir* (great river); indeed, the prefix *Guada* in river-names is the Arab. *wādī*, channel of a river, which we write as *Wady* in place-names. Many Arabic words begin with *al-* or *a-*, the definite article; some words that once had this prefix have now dropped it. Strangely enough, *al-* is even prefixed to words of pure Latin origin. The Moors were fond of *h*, *x*, *z*; hence the substitution of *h* for *f*, as in *humo*, smoke; L. *fumum*.

Monlau singles out the following words as being frequently of Arabic origin, viz. such as prefix an *al-*, and such as begin with the combinations *az*, *co*, *ça*, *ha*, *cha*, *chi*, *cho*, *chu*, *en*, *gua* (esp. *guada*), *xa*, *xe*. He adds some curious examples of the effect of Arabic pronunciation upon Latin names; thus *Pax Iulia* became *Bathlios*, *Badallos*, and is now *Badajoz*; *Castra Cesaris* is now *Cáceres*; *Hispal* became *Hisbalis*, *Asbilia*, and is now *Sevilla*; *Castra Iulia* was cut down to *-tra Iulia*, *Torgiella*, *Truxillo*, *Trujillo*; and *Cesar(is) Augusta* became *Saracosta*, *Zaragoza*.

The words of Basque origin are not numerous, but cause great difficulty. This difficulty was largely increased by Larramendi, the author of the best Basque Dictionary, who had an unlucky theory that nearly *all* Spanish was derived from it. Consequently his work abounds with absurd puerilities, many of which every philologist will instinctively recognise as inventions. It is a sad reflection that bold and hardy inventions were once considered commendable, and even admirable, in an etymologist. Now that we are expected to search out the facts, there is some hope for the study.

Several French and Italian words have been admitted into Spanish without difficulty, owing to the similarity of the idioms and to facility of communication.

Some words are formed from names of places or of men, like E. *calico*, *pasquinade* (which are not Spanish).

Some words, as in other languages, are of imitative origin; it is supposed that *tiritar*, to shiver with cold, is intended to imitate the chattering of teeth; cf. Gk. *raprapiseiv*, used in the same sense. This is the verb whence, possibly, comes E. *tartan*, originally a very thin cloth.

For more exact details about the history of the Spanish language and its dialects, see Körting, *Encyclopaedie und Methodologie der Romanischen Philologie*, Heilbronn, 1886; part iii. pp. 501-564.

§ 228. **Pronunciation.** I merely give here some hints on the more important sounds; and beg leave to refer the reader to the account in the Spanish Grammar by W. I. Knapp, Boston, 1881, which describes the pronunciation of Castilian, as in use at Madrid; to P. Foerster's *Spanische Sprachlehre*, Berlin, 1880; and to Del Mar's *Span. Grammar*, 5th ed. 1853.

Vowels. The sounds of the primary vowels are simple; *a, e, i, o, u*, have the usual Italian sounds, the *e* and *o* being 'close,' like E. *e* in *vein* and *o* in *no* (abating the after-sound of *u*). *E* and *o* sometimes take, however, the 'open' sound, viz. when *e* stands before final *r*, and when *o* stands before final *r* or final *n*; cf. E. *there, gone, glory*; to which Foerster adds the cases in which *e* and *o* stand before *r* followed by another consonant, or before such combinations as *sp, st, zc, zqu*. Otherwise they retain the close sound, and all the vowels are sounded fully and clearly. 'In Castilian the vowel-sounds predominate over those of the consonants to a degree without a parallel in the other Romance tongues; and, whereas the vowel-sounds are full and sonorous, those of the consonants are subordinate, smothered, and frequently suppressed;' (Knapp).

Y is written for the vowel *i* finally after another vowel, as in *rey*, and in the word *y*, i. e. and. Otherwise, it = E. *y*.

NOTE. When *e* and *o* receive the accent, they often pass into the 'rising' diphthongs *ie, ue*, in which each element is distinctly pronounced, with the accent on the latter. Thus from L. *sentire* we have Sp. *sentír*, infin., to feel, but *yo siento*, I feel. From L. *rogare*, we have *rogár*, to ask, but *ruégo*, I ask.

The usual correspondence with the Latin and Folk-Latin vowels may be thus expressed.

<i>Latin.</i>	<i>a, ā ē, æ</i>	<i>ē, ī, œ</i>	<i>ī, ō, ū</i>	<i>au</i>
<i>Folk-Latin.</i>	<i>a, ē</i>	<i>e, i</i>	<i>o, u</i>	<i>au</i>
<i>Spanish.</i>	<i>a, ie (ye)</i>	<i>e, i, ie</i>	<i>i, o, ue, o, u</i>	<i>u, au, o</i>

Exx. L. *mālum*, Sp. *malo*; *clārum*, *claro*; *uēnire*, *venir*; *fērūm*, *fiero*; *cælum*, *cielo*; *equam*, *yegua*; *uērūm*, *vero*; *uīridem*, *verde*; *pœnam*, *pena*; *librum*, *libro*; *niuem*, *nieve*; *uīuum*, *vivo*; *rōgare*, *rogar*; *rōgo*, *ruego*; *hōram*, *hora*; *gūlam*, *gola*; *plūuiam*, *lluvia*; *cūram*, *cura*; *causam*, *causa*; *taurum*, *toro*.

N. B. *E* also arises from *a*, when *i* follows in the next syllable; as in *capio*, *quepo*; *laŕcum*, *lego*. And *o* also arises from *al*, as in *alterum*, *otro*.

Diphthongs are very numerous, and are always pronounced by pronouncing separately, but quickly, the vowels which compose them.

Del Mar gives the following list, viz. *ái* (*áy*), *áu*, *éa*, *éi* (*éy*), *éo*, *éu*, *íá*, *íé*, *ió*, *íu*, *oé*, *ói* (*óy*), *uá*, *uí*, *úy*, *uó*; also the triphthongs, *íái*, *íéi*, *uái*, *uéi*, *uéy*. He remarks that it so happens that the accent always falls on the vowel which comes first in the order of the alphabet, except in *íó* and *ói*.

We have seen that *ie* may arise from Lat. accented *ĕ*, as in *fiero* from L. *fērūm*; and from Lat. accented *e* 'in position,' i.e. before two consonants, as in *siento* from L. *sentio*. Occasionally it stands for L. (accented) *i*; as in *nieve*, from L. *niuem*. If *ie* occurs at the beginning of a word, it is written and pronounced *ye*; as in *yegua*, a mare, from L. *ĕquam*.

Ue arises from L. accented *o*, as in *ruego*, L. *rogo*; or from L. *ō* in position, as in *fuelle*, L. *fontem*; and sometimes from L. *u* when *i* follows in the next syllable, as in *vergüenza*, O. Span. *vergüēña*, L. *uerecundiam*.

Au also arises in several ways from the vocalisation or loss of a consonant. Thus we have L. *actum*, *auto*; *captium*, *cautivo*; *absentem*, *ausente*; *parabolam*, *paraula* (obsolete, now *palabra*); *salicem*, *sauce*; *adhuc*, *aun*. Thus *au* < *ac*, *ap*, *ab*, *al*; or from contraction.

§ 229. **Consonants.** The following account is sufficient for the purposes of E. etymology. I must beg the reader to

remember that it is insufficient for the purpose of speaking the language, as the sounds must be *heard*.

There is no written *k* or *w*.

B. As E. *b*; but see the account of *v* below.

C. As E. *k* before *a*, *o*, *u*, or a consonant; as E. *th* (th) in *thin* before *e*, *i*. Hence *ca* (ka), *ce* (thé), *ci* (thi), *co* (kó), *cu* (ku). Here the vowels have the Italian sound; *e* and *o* being close.

Ch. Precisely E. *ch* in *church*. *Cci* is (kthi), as in *accion* (ak'thiòn), i. e. action, with open *o*.

D. 'D has technically the E. sound; but, as in the case of *b* and *v*, there is simple contact without pressure, on the part of the organs involved in its formation.' Initially, it is E. *d*, slightly inclining to (dh), i. e. E. *th* in *thou*. Between two vowels, and finally, it actually passes into this sound. Exx. *dar* (dar, d^har), to give; *hado* (aa'dhó), fate; *ciudad* (thiu'dhadh), city, the accent being slightly on the *i*, but nearly evenly distributed between the *i* and *u*, which are pronounced separately and in rapid succession; *Madrid* (madh'ridh), Madrid. In a sentence, it inclines to (d) near voiceless letters, and to (dh) near voiced ones or a vowel.

F as in English. So also *l*, *m*, *n*, *p*, *t*, *x* (if not final), *y* (consonant).

G. As E. *g* before *a*, *o*, *u*; but as Sp. *j* (see *j* below), or like E. *h* (strongly aspirated), before *e*, *i*. Thus *ga* (ga), *ge* (hé), *gi* (hi), *go* (gó), *gu* (gu). If E. hard *g*, as in *get*, *give*, is to be denoted, it is written *gu* before *e* and *i*; thus *gue* (gé), *gui* (gi); except in the diphthongs *güe*, *güi* (gwé, gwi), where the *u* is duly marked. Remember that in the 'romic' notation, the sound (g) never varies.

H, formerly a strong aspirate, is now silent.

J. A very difficult and peculiar sound, and by some thought to be due to Moorish influence, though it does not appear to be much older than A. D. 1600¹. It comes very near the sound

¹ See Körting, *Rom. Phil.* iii. 512.

of G. *ch* in *ach* before *a*, *o*, *u*, and that of G. *ch* in *ich* before *e*, *i*. We may write it, provisionally, as (kh), for the present purpose. When final, it is also written *x*; as in *reloj*, *relox*, (reló'kh), pl. *relojes* (reló'khes). But many now say and write *reló*. This strange-looking word is merely the L. *horologium*¹.

K. The sound, but not the symbol, exists; it is written *c* before *a*, *o*, *u*; *qu* before *e*, *i*.

L. As in English. But *ll* is E. *lli* in *William* (wil'yəm), and stands for L. *cl*, *gl*, *pl*, *bl*, *fl*, *ll*. Exx. *llave* (lyaa'vé), key, L. *clauem*; *sellar* (sél'yar), L. *sig(i)llare*; *llano* (lyaa'nó), a plain, L. *planum*; *trillar*, L. *trib(u)lare*; *llama*, L. *flamman*; *silla* (sil'ya), a chair, L. *sella*.

N. As in English. But *ñ* is E. *ni* in *onion* (ən'yən); as in *año* (an'yo), a year, L. *annum*. Pronounce the *a* very clearly here, almost (aa). *Ng* = E. *ng* in *linger*, not as in *singer*.

P = E. *p*. *Qu* = E. *k*; but only used before *e*, *i*. The E. *qu* exists before *a*, *e*, *i*, but is written *cu*; as in *cuarto* (kwar'tó), L. *quartum*; *cuerpo* (kwèr'po), L. *corpus*; *cuidar* (kwidhar'), to heed, take thought for, L. *cogitare*.

R. *R*, between two vowels, is the trilled E. *r*, as in E. *very*; it remains trilled before any consonant, and after *b*, *v*, *t*, *d*. This Knapp calls the 'smooth r.' But there is also what he calls a 'rolling r,' by which I suppose he means that it is 'buzzed,' as Mr. Sweet calls it (Handbook of Phonetics, § 109). This occurs in the case of initial *r*, double *r*, and after *l*, *n*, *s*. We might write it (rr). Exx. *ara* (aa'ra), altar; *puerto* (puer'tó), port; *bruto* (bruu'tó), brute; *ramo* (rraa'mó), bough; *error* (èr'ròr), error; *honra* (hón'rra), honour. [This must be learnt by ear.]

S. *S* is invariably voiceless, according to Knapp. Note particularly the voiceless sound between two vowels, as in

¹ The O. Span. *j* was precisely the E. *j* in *judge* (juj), O. F. *j* and *ge*, now turned into F. (zh). Thus L. (*ho*)*rologium* became O. Sp. *reloj* (reló'j), by dropping *ho*.

mesa (mé'sa), a table. According to Foerster, it is voiced *finally* in unaccented syllables, as in *casas* (ka'saz), houses; and in the prefix *des-* or *dis-* when a vowel or voiced consonant follows. *Bs* is pronounced as *ps*. *T* = E. *t*.

V. This is a difficult sound, and unknown in English. It closely resembles *b*, and is frequently confused with it; and they are often written one for the other. Thus the old *beuer* = *bever*, to drink, is now written *beber*, and *viuir*, to live, was formerly *viuir*; so that the medieval inscription on a drinking-cup, *BIBERE EST VIVERE*, was enforced, in Spain at least, by the confusion between the sounds of the words. Even *volver*, to turn, was formerly written *boluer*, in spite of the Latin spelling *uoluere*. The *v* is, in fact, merely the voiced *b*, made by keeping the lips nearly in the same position as for *b*, and allowing voiced breath to pass. The English *v* is made by a greater change in the position of the lips, viz. by drawing in the lower lip beneath the edges of the upper teeth, thus producing a much clearer difference between *v* and *b*. Knapp remarks:—‘These two letters are distinct in theory, and in most situations interchangeable in practice. The Castilian does not give either of them the full English sound, except [to *b*] after *m*, because with him the approximation of the organs employed in their production amounts to simple contact without pressure.’ If the *b* be pronounced with but slight effort, the true labial *v* resembles it the more. Knapp quotes a curious passage in which the Spanish Academy affirm that *b* and *v* ‘are alike in a great part of Spain, although they ought not to be’; which is very oracular.

X. As in English, *x* = *ks* (ks); except finally, in a few words, when written for *j*. See *j* above. In old books, *x* frequently has the sound of *j*, as in *Don Quixote* (don kikhó'té)¹, in which name Englishmen who say (kwixət) with the E. *i* mispronounce every single letter except the *t*! In

¹ Now usually spelt *Quijote*, to indicate the *j*-sound.

the case of *Sancho Panza* (san'chó pan'dha), the Englishman who says (sæn'kó pæn'zə) also manages to score five mistakes.

Y. *Y* is like E. *y* in *you*. *Z* has the sound of E. *th* in *thin* before *a*, *o*, *u*; the same sound being written as *c* before *e*, *i*. It is commonly sounded as *th* in *thou* (dh), between vowels and finally, and in conjunction with liquids or voiced consonants. Foerster gives the pronunciation of *escena*, a scene, as (ezdhé'na); which is quite an exceptional case.

N. B. The symbol *ç* was formerly used in words now spelt with *z*; as in *çarabanda*, now *zarabanda*, a lively dance, E. *saraband*.

We may notice the following examples in which the *same sound* is denoted variously, according to the vowel which follows.

K. In *ca*, *que*, *qui*, *co*, *cu*.

G (hard). In *ga*, *gue*, *gui*, *go*, *gu*.

Th (voiceless). In *za*, *ce*, *ci*, *zo*, *zu*.

J (kh). In *ja*, *ge*, *gi*, *jo*, *ju*.

Spanish avoids doubled letters, *ll* being considered no double letter, but a special symbol.

Only *cc*, *nn*, and *rr* are admitted, and these only in different syllables; as in *ac-cé-so* (akthé'só), *en-no-ble-cér* (en-nó-ble-thér'), *cár-ro* (kar'ró). *Accents* are often used to denote the accented syllable, or to distinguish words spelt alike. The usual rule for unmarked words is to accent the *last* syllable of words ending in a consonant, and the *last but one* of words ending in a vowel. The reason is that the former set have usually *lost* a syllable. Thus *ciudad* represents L. *ciuitatem*, and *tenér* is L. *tenere*. In short, the Latin accent is usually preserved.

§ 230. The present spelling is, to a considerable extent, phonetic. The older spelling is more vague, and we may notice in it the following confusions, viz. *l* for initial *ll*; *y* for *i*; *i* for *j* and *y*; *u* for *v*; *x* or even *g* for *j*; confusion of *c* with *qu*; and of *ç* with *z* and *s*; &c.

The sounds must also have changed considerably in many instances. Thus *debda*, debt, from L. pl. *debita*, became *devda*, and is now *deuda* (dé'udha). The intervocal *d*, becoming (dh), was sometimes dropped, as in *ver*, to see, for *veder* (L. *uidere*). *C* or *ç* before *e* and *i* was originally (ts), and is now (th). Voiced *z* was (dz), and is now (dh). *X* and *j* were at first distinct, *x* being (sh), and *j* the E. *j* (j), but later the F. *j* (zh). Later still, both were used for (kh).

English words are mostly taken from the Spanish of the 16th and 17th centuries, and preserve old pronunciations. Thus E. *saraband* is from *çarabanda* (with *ç*=ts?); but *ç* became (th) and is now written *z*, so that we have to look for it under *z*. E. *lasso* represents *laso*, later *lazo*, now pronounced (lath'o). In *zenith* and *azimuth*, the Span. *z* was derived from Arab. voiceless *s*. The E. *sherry* (at first *sherris*) goes back to a time when the *X* in *Xeres* was still (sh). *Jennet*, a Spanish horse, and *giraffe*, were borrowed from F. *genette*, *giraffe*, from Span. *ginele*, *girafa*, from Arab. *zenâta*, *zarâfa*; where the Span. *g*, like the French *g*, was (zh), substituted for the Arab. *z*. The same Arab. *z* occurs in Port. and O. Span. *azagaia*, which we have Englished as *assegay* or *assagai*, by turning the voiced *z* into voiceless *s*; cf. E. *lancegay*. In this case, the Span. *z* must have been pronounced as in Portuguese and Arabic, i. e. as E. *z* in *zone*. Tudor E. words such as *barricado* (Sp. *barricada*) show no trace of the sound of *d* as (dh). Other examples occur in words of West Indian origin.

§ 231. **Derivation.** In passing from Latin to Spanish, the usual vowel-changes are given in § 228. Other changes that have been noted above are these: *a* > *e*, when *i* is in the following syllable; *ab* > *au*; *ac* > *au*; *al* > *au* or *o*; *ap* > *au*; *i* > *ie*, *ye*; *b* > *v* > *u*, as in pl. *debita*, F. L. *deb'ta*, whence *debda*, *devda*, *deuda*; *nn* > *ñ*; *bl*, *fl*, *gl*, *pl*, *cl* > *ll*. *Cu* is written for *qu* in *cuarto*, *cuestion*. *H* is dropped in pronunciation, and may be dropped in spelling.

The consonantal changes are given by Diez, and, much more fully, by Foerster, and are complex, involving derivation from Arabic, &c., as well as from Latin; the difficulties have been increased by the changes in pronunciation and in spelling. I shall here only mention such of the changes as are most necessary for understanding the etymologies of such Spanish words, of Latin origin, as have found their way into English; with a few additional examples. The principal changes, then, are given by the following formulæ.

$C > qu, g$; $qu > cu, c$. $Ce, ci, c(e), c(i), cci > ch$.

$T > d$; $ti > z$; $tc(e) > ch$. $Ct > t, (n)t, ch$; $nt > nt$.

$P > b, v$. $B > v, u$. $F > h$.

Initial $sc, sp, st > esc, esp, est$. $Sc > z$. $X > s$.

$L > r$; $r > l$. $Mn > mb, ñ$. $Pl, cl > ll$.

To these we may add the vowel-changes already noticed, viz.— $a > e$, when i is in the next syllable; $ab, ac, ap > au$; $al > au, o$. Lat. $ě > e, ie$; $ĩ > e$; $ǫ > o, ue$; $ũ > o$.

It will be understood that such changes as of c to g , t to d , p to b, v , are commonest when the voiceless letter occurs between two vowels. Voiced letters, as d, g , and even Lat. i (consonant) sometimes disappear between two vowels; and unaccented vowels disappear between two consonants. Substantives are formed from the accusative case of the Latin noun, as in Italian and French.

§ 232. **Vowels.** Low L. *caballarum*, S. *caballero*; Low L. *primarium*, S. *primero*. L. *balbum*, S. *bobo*, whence E. *booby*. L. *sextam*, S. *siesta*. L. *uiridem*, Folk-L. *ver'de*, S. *verde*; whence S. *verdugo*, a young shoot of a tree, a rod, *verdugado*, a thing provided with hoops or bent twigs, explained by Minsheu (1623) as 'a *verdingall* reaching to the feet;' later forms *fardingale*, *farthingale*. L. *dominum*, F.L. *domnum*, S. *don*; L. *domina*, S. *dueña* (for *duenna*), E. *duenna*. Low L. *maiorinum*, a steward of a household (from L. *maior*), S. *merino*, s., an inspector of pastures, *merino*,

adj., roving from pasture to pasture (said of sheep), whence E. *merino*.

§ 233. **Gutturals.** L. *muscam*, a fly, S. *mosca*; dimin. *mosquito*, a little fly. L. *buccam*, mouth, S. *boca*; whence *embocar*, to enter the mouth (of a river), *desembocar*, to flow (as a river) into the sea, with change of *c* to *g* in E. *disembogue*. L. *lacertum*, a lizard (pronounced occasionally as *lacartum*?), S. *lagarto*, a lizard; whence *el lagarto*, the (great) lizard, E. *alligator* (confusing *el*, from L. *illum* or *ille*, with Arab. def. art. *al*), formerly spelt *alagarto*, *aligarto*, later *alligarto*, &c.¹ The E. *paragon* is from the obsolete Span. *paragon*, now spelt *parangon* (with inserted *n* like E. *n* in *messenger*, *passenger*, &c.); Minsheu (1623) has: '*Parangon* or *Paragon*, an equall, a fit man to match him, one comparable with.' The etymology of this difficult word has been much disputed. Mr. Braunscholtz kindly refers me to the probable solution of it by Tobler (*Zeitschrift für Roman. Phil.* iv. p. 374), who connects it with Gk. *παράκωμ*, a touch-stone.

L. *quatere*, to shake, *quass-are*, to shatter, F. *casser*); hence an extended form **quassicare*, to shatter, S. *casçâr*, to shatter, break in pieces; hence S. *casco*, a shard of a broken pot, and then used in a variety of senses; Minsheu (1623) has: '*Casco*, a burganet, a skull, a caske; a head, a pate, a skonce, an earthen pot, sheard or galley cup; also, burnt tile or bricke, a peece of a broken bone, a shard of a pot or tile,' i.e. it meant a pot-sherd, then a pot, cup, finally a *casck* (in one direction); also a cup, scull, head-piece, *casque* (in another). *Casck* represents the Spanish, and *casque* a French spelling.

L. *cimicem*, a bug, Folk-L. *cim'ce*, S. *chinche*; dimin. *chinchilla*, a quadruped so named, as if from its smell; but the name is undeserved, and the reason for it not apparent.

¹ Which proves that the E. *a* was still pronounced (aa), being confused with *ar*, in the 17th century.

L. coccus, a berry (from Gk. κόκκος), also kermes for dyeing, which was likened to a berry; hence *L. coccinus*, scarlet; *S. dimin. cochinilla*, cochineal, made from insects that resemble berries. *L. regalem*, *S. real*, royal (with loss of *g*), also the name of a coin; *E. real*. *L. uagina*, sheath, *S. vaina*; dimin. *vainilla*, a pod of a plant; *E. vanilla*.

§ 234. **Dentals.** *T > d*. *L. armatu(m)*, *S. armado*; dimin. *armadillo*. So also *L. camer-a*, with suffix *-alam*, gives *S. camarada*, a company, also an associate, *E. comrade*. *L. renegatum*, *S. renegado*, *E. renegade*. *L. scala*, a ladder; whence *S. escalada*, *F. escalade*, *E. escalade*. *L. granatum*, full of seeds, *S. granado*; fem. *granada*, a pomegranate, also a grenade filled with combustibles, *F. grenade*, *E. grenade*. *L. paratam*, prepared, *S. parada*, a being in readiness, hence 'a standing or staying-place where hunters stay for to shoot at a deere,' Minsheu; *F. parade*, a halt on horseback, hence, a display; *E. parade*. So also *E. carbonado*, substituted for *S. carbonada*, as explained in § 225; from *L. carbonem*, coal. *E. tornado*, for *S. tornada*, a return (of a storm), from *tornare*, to turn. *L. batuere*, to beat, *S. batir*; whence *batidor*, a beater, *E. battledore*. Cf. *matador*, *stevedore* (§ 235). *L. commendare*, to commit to trust, *S. comendar*, to recommend; hence *S. comendador*, 'a commendary, he who has a revenue in commendam, either Priest, or Knight of the Military Orders,' Pineda; shortened in *E.* to *commodore* (for *comendador*)¹. *L. creatum*, *S. creado*, one created, also one who is educated, also spelt *criado*, with the sense of 'servant'; hence dimin. *criadilla*, a little servant-maid, contracted to *creole* by the negroes.

L. spatha (spata), a sword (from Gk. σπάθη, sword-blade), *S. espada*, a sword; pl. *espadas*, 'the suit at Cards

¹ Minsheu explains *comendador* as 'a commander, a lieutenant, one that hath commandments given him in charge.' It was used, however, as a *title*, like our admiral. I find it so used in a letter by Columbus, dated 1500.

call'd Spades, more properly call'd by the Spaniards *espadas*, because on their Cards they are made in the Shape of Swords; ' Pineda.

Ti > *z*. L. *rationem*, S. *razon*, reason; similarly, from Low L. *capa*, a cape, Low L. *caparo*, a kind of cape, was formed S. *caparazon* (as if = **caparationem*), O. F. *caparasson*, E. *caparison*.

Tc(e) > *ch*. L. *corticem*, Folk-L. *corf'ce* (pron. kortse), S. *corcho*, cork; also made into *corque*, *al-corque*, whence E. *cork*.

Ct > *t*, (*n*)*t*, *ch*; *nct* > *nt*. L. *fructum*, S. *fruto*, fruit; similarly, L. *mactatorem*, a slayer, S. *matador*. L. *pectus*, breast, S. *peto*, breast-plate, *petrina*, girdle; hence F. *petrinal*, E. *petronel*. (S. *petrina* is also spelt *pretina*, with a dimin. *prethinilla*, a small belt). L. *pictum*, painted, S. *pinlo*, where the *n* is evidently due to the infin. *pingere* (cf. E. *paint*); fem. *pinta*, a spot, mark, later a marked measure, a pint, F. *pinte*, E. *pint*. L. *dictum*, a saying, S. *dicho*; similarly, L. *factum*, (pp. of *facere*), S. *hecho* (pp. of *hacer*), a deed, whence *mal-hecho*, an evil deed; this explains 'miching mallecho' (pron. mich'ing malee'cho), skulking mischief, in Hamlet, iii. 2. 146; the *h* being silent. L. *tinctum*, S. *tinto*, deeply tinted; *vino tinto*, red wine, E. *tent* (wine). L. *punctum*, S. *punto*, point, dot, pip on a card; hence F. *ponte*, a punt, a punter, *ponter*, to punt; E. *punt*. The dimin. is S. *puntillo*, a small point (of honour), E. *punctilio*, with *c* needlessly inserted.

§ 235. **Labials.** *P* > *b*, *v*. L. *duplum*, double, S. *doble*; S. *doblon*, a double-pistole (coin); F. *doublon*, E. *doubloon*. L. *stipare*, to press together, S. *estivar*; whence S. *estivador*, a packer, stower, E. *stevedore*.

B > *v*. Gk. *σάβανον*, a linen cloth, L. *sabanum*; S. *sabana*, *savana*, a sheet for a bed, hence a plain, E. *savanna* (cf. E. 'sheet' of water).

F > *h* (common). L. *fumum*, S. *humo*; so also L. *facere*, S. *hacer*, whence Low L. *facienda*, a farm (Ducange), S.

hacienda, landed property, E. *hacienda* (in books about America). L. *filium*, S. *hijo*, son; whence S. '*hijo dalgo* or *hidalgo*, a gentleman' (Minsheu); lit. 'son of something'; *dalgo*=d' *algo*, from *de*, of, and *algo*<L. *aliquid*. The usual sense of *algo* is 'something.' But some say that this is only 'popular etymology,' and that *hidalgo* is a corrupt spelling of *idalgo*, from Lat. *Italicum*, with reference to the privilege of the *ius Italicum* (Pliny, Nat. Hist. iii. 21)¹.

§ 236. Spanish prefixes *e* to *sc*, *sp*, *st*. We have already had *escalade*, from L. *scala*; and S. *espada* from L. *spatha*; so too *estable* is Spanish for 'stable'; cf. E. *establish* (from French).

Sc>*z*; thus Gk. *σκαμβός*, crooked, L. *scambus*, has become Span. *zambo* (tham·bó); but the older form was *çambo*, once pronounced (tsam·bó); hence E. *sambo*, applied to a negro; a term of derision (§ 230). *X*>*s*; thus L. *anxium*, S. *ansio*, anxious. L. *saxifraga*, saxifrage, O. Span. *sassafragia*, S. *sasafras*; whence F. *sassafras*, E. *sassafras*.

§ 237. *Liquids*. *L* and *r* interchange. L. *lilium*, lily; S. *lirio*, iris; so S. *dulcemele*>E. *dulcimer*. Gk. *νύκθρον*, a hot plant (from *νῦρ*, fire), L. *pyrethrum*, S. *pelitre*, E. *pellitory* (distinct from '*pellitory* of the wall,' from L. *parietaria*). So too E. *freebooter* was turned into Spanish as *filibuster*, a form which we have borrowed back from them without recognising

¹ 'Como *aliquid* y *bonum* son términos correlativos, se toma el *algo* por *bien*. Y así la ley 2, título xxi, partida ii, hablando de los *hijos-dalgo*, dice: "E porque estos fueron escogidos de buenos logares, é con *algo*, por en los llamaron *ijos de algo*, que muestra tanto como *ijos de bien*."—Monlau, Dict. Et. s. v. *algo*. I. e. As *aliquid* and *bonum* are correlative terms, *algo* is taken as meaning *property*. And thus Law 2, tit. 21, part 2, speaking of the *hijos-dalgo*, says: 'And forasmuch as they were selected from good positions, and possessed of *something*, therefore they called them *sons of something*, which signifies as much as *sons of property*.' But, s. v. *hidalgo*, Monlau favours the other etymology, from *Italicus*. However, the O. Span. form was *fidalgo*, which has to be explained as a contraction for *fijo 'dalgo*, from *filium Italicum*. It would settle the matter if we might be allowed to have historical proof of this.

it as an E. word. *Mn* > *mb* (with excrescent *b*); L. *hominem*, Folk-L. *hom'ne*, S. *hombre*, whence *juego del hombre*, 'game of the man,' E. *ombre*, a card-game; S. *juego* < L. *iocum*. Also, *mn* > *n*, as in F. L. *dom'na*, S. *dueña*; whence E. *duenna*.

Pl > *ll*; L. *planum*, S. *llano*, E. *llano*, a plain. The Span. *ll* also occurs in L. *olla*, a pot, S. *olla*; hence *olla podrida*, 'a hotchpotch of divers meats put in one pot,' Minsheu; this we have turned into *olio*, just as Shakespeare turned *armada* into *armado*. Also in *puntillo*, a small point (of honour), E. *punctilio*; *pecadillo*, E. *peccadillo*, a little sin, dimin. of *pecado*, a sin, L. *peccatum*.

§ 238. I now attempt to give a list of words that came to us from Spanish, either immediately or through the medium of French (as in the case of words borrowed from Italian). The latter are distinguished by being printed in italics. I also make a note of the ultimate source, using the abbreviations: Ar.=Arabic; C.=Celtic; Du.=Dutch; E.=English; G.=German; O. H. G.=Old High German; Gk.=Greek; Mex.=Mexican; P.=Persian; Peru.=Peruvian; Skt.=Sanskrit; T.=Turkish; W. I.=West Indian. Words of Latin origin are left unmarked; those of doubtful origin (?). The whole number of words exceeds 200, of which about 70 came to us through the French; about 50 (i.e. a quarter) are of Arabic origin, and more than 20 came from N. or S. America. It will be seen that the words of Latin origin form but a small proportion; which is remarkably different from the case of Italian.

Alcalde (Ar.), alcaide (Ar.), alcove (Ar.), *alembic* (Ar., from Gk.), also spelt *limbeck*, alguazil (Ar.), alligator, alpaca (Peru.), *amber* (Ar.), *ambuscade* (G.), anchovy (Basque?), *aniline* (Ar.-Pers.), armada, armadillo, arsenal (Ar.), asinigo or assinigo¹, atabal (Ar.), auto-de-fé.

¹ Spelt *asinico* in Sh. Troil. ii. 1. 49 (modern editions *assinigo*); S. *asnico* (Minsheu), dimin. of *asno*, ass; L. *asinum*.

Barricade (?), *basil* (leather, Ar.), *bastinado* (?), *battledoor*, *benzoin* (Ar.), *bilboes* (place-name), *bizarre* (Basque?), *bolero* (?), *bonito* (Ar.), *booby*, *bravado* (?), *brazil* (Arab.?), *brocade*.

Cacao (Mex.), *cacique* (W. I.), *calabash* (Pers.?), *calenture*, *cambist*, *camisado* (C.?), *cannibal* (W. I.), *cannon* (at billiards, of doubtful origin), *canoe* (W. I.), *caparison*, *capsize* (*doubtful*), *capstan*, *caracole* (*or else* Italian, of doubtful origin), *carafe* (Ar.), *caravel* (Gk.), *caraway* (Ar.), *carbonado*, *cargo* (C.), *carmine* (Ar.), *cask*, *casque*, *cassava* (W. I.), *castanets* (Gk.), *cayman* (W. I.), *chinchilla*, *chocolate* (Mex.), *chopine* (?), *chulo* (?), *cid* (Ar.), *cigar* (?), *cinchona* (place-name), *coca* (Peru.), *cochineal* (Gk.), *cockroach* (Gk.), *commodore*, *comrade*, *condor* (Peru.), *copal* (Mex.), *cordwainer* (place-name), *cork*, *corral*, *cotton* (Ar.), *courtesan*, *creole*, *cubeb* (Ar.).

Desperado, *disembogue*, *domino*, *don*, *doubloom*, *dragoman* (Ar.), *duenna*, *dulcimer*. *Eldorado*, *embargo* (?), *ensilage* (Gk.), *escalade*.

Fandango (?), *fanfare* (Ar.), *farthingale*, *filibuster* (E.), *filigree*, *flotilla*, *funambulist*.

Gabardine (Low L.), *galingale* (Ar.), *galleon* (?), *galliard* (?), *galloon* (?), *gambado*, *garbage* (Ar.), *garble* (Ar.), *garrote* *or* *garrotte* (C.), *genet* (Ar.), *giraffe* (Ar.), *grandee*, *grenade*, *guanaco* (Peru.), *guano* (Peru.), *guava* (W. I.), *guerilla*, *better guerrilla* (O. H. G.), *guaiacum* (Mex.).

Hacienda, *hazard* (Ar.-Pers.), *hidalgo*, *hurricane* (W. I.), *Iguana* (W. I.), *imbargo* (?), *indigo* (Skt.), *infanta*. *Jade* (stone), *jennet* (Ar.), *jesuit* (Heb.), *julep* (Pers.), *junta*, *junto*.

Lackey (Ar.), *lagune* *or* *lagoon*, *lasso*, *launch* (kind of boat), *lilac* (Pers.), *limbeck* (Gk.), *llano*. *Maize* (Mex.), *mallecho*, *manatee* (W. I.), *manchineel*, *mandilion* (Ital., from Span., from Ar., from L.), *maravedi* (Ar.), *maroon* (*for* *cimarron*, Gk.), *mask* *or* *masque* (Ar.), *masquerade* (Ar.), *matador*, *merino*, *minaret* (Ar.), *morion* (Basque?), *morris-*

dance (Gk.), mosque (Ar.), mosquito, mulatto (Ar.)¹, mustang. *Ogee* or *ogive* (Ar., from Gk.), *olio*, *ombre*.

Parade, paragon, parroquet or paraquito (Gk.), pavan (Tamil), pay², peccadillo, pelleter or pellitory (Gk.), peso, *petronel*, *picadill*, picador³, picaroon⁴, *pint*, pintado⁵, platina (Gk.), potato (W. I.), primero, punctilio, *punt* (at cards). *Quadrille* (card-game), quadroon, *quintal* (Arab., from L.), quixotic (name).

Raquet or racket (Ar.), ranch (from O. H. G. *hring*), real (coin), *realgar* (Ar.), *ream* (Ar.), reformado, renegade or renegado, *risk*, *rob* (a conserve of fruit, Ar.), *rumb* (Gk.), rusk (?).

Saker (a gun, Ar.), salver, sambo (Gk.), *saraband* (Pers.), sarsaparilla (?), *sassafras*, savanna (Gk.), *shallop* (?), sherry, siesta, spade (at cards, Gk.), *spaniel* (from *Spain*), *spinach* (Pers. ?), stevedore, *sugar* (Skt.), *sumach* (Ar.), *syrup* (Ar.).

Tabby (Ar.), tabor (Pers.), talc (Ar.), talisman (Gk.), *tambour* and *tambourine* (Pers.), tare (allowance for waste, Ar.), *tariff* (Ar.), tarragon (Pers., from Gk.), *tartan*, tent (wine), tobacco (W. I.), tomato (Mex.), tornado, trice (of imitative origin), truck (to barter, Gk.?). Ultramarine. Vanilla, verandah⁶. Xebec (Turk.). Yucca (W. I.). *Zenith* (Ar.).

¹ Not from L. *mulus*; but from Arab. *muwallad*, foreigner, not a true Arabian, allied to *walad*, a son.

² I. e. to pitch a ship; prob. from Span. *pegar*, to pitch a ship; from L. *pix*. Or perhaps from A. F. *peier*, to pitch; see *poier* in Godefroy.

³ A *picador* is a rider or jockey, from *picar*, to prick, spur.

⁴ *Picaron*, a great knave; from *picar*, to spur, also, to run away.

⁵ A guinea-hen; lit. 'painted,' pp. of *pintar*, to paint; from L. *pingere*.

⁶ Usually said to be Eastern. But it is O. Spanish. Minsheu has '*varanda*, railles to leane the breast on'; from *vara* (L. *uara*), a stick. See the article on *Veranda* in Yule's Anglo-Indian Glossary. It is spelt *varanda* in 1498; was carried to India by the Portuguese; found its way even into late Sanskrit; and was brought back again from India to England.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE PORTUGUESE ELEMENT.

§ 239. Trench, in his 'Study of Words,' mentions thirteen English words which he supposes to have been of Portuguese origin. I suspect that the number is at least thrice as many; and this question is worth much more consideration than it seems to have received. The difference between Spanish and Portuguese is striking in many respects. The pronunciation of the latter does not seem to have been affected by Arabic to any great extent, and consequently is sometimes nearer to the Latin; on the other hand, it shows, in several points, a marked resemblance to French, especially in the frequent use of the nasal *m* and *n*. Again, it is chiefly through Spanish that we have acquired many Arabic and West Indian words; but the words acquired through Portuguese have often come from Africa, from Brazil, and even from India, precisely as history would teach us. In fact, we may, in dealing with foreign terms, expect that words from Persia and the Levant will come through Italian, unless the Persian words come through Arabic and Spanish; that words from Mexico, Peru, and the West Indian islands will come through Spanish; and words from Africa, India, and Brazil will come through Portuguese, as above said. Very few of the foreign words of the modern period have reached us through French *directly*, but it is, in a great many instances, the *last channel* through which they pass before we can get them from Spain or Italy. The geographical conditions are modified by the history of the nations; we must know where

each nation has been most active, and at what period. All is expressed when we say that 'borrowings are due to actual contact'; history will tell us how contact has been attained.

§ 240. Portuguese, being one of the Romance languages, is mainly of Latin origin; but, like the rest, contains several foreign elements, of which one is Arabic. The Arabic words are rather numerous; many of them begin with *al*, the Arabic definite article. It has a much smaller Basque element than Spanish has, but a much larger infusion of French. The language is spoken in the province of Galicia as well as in Portugal. 'Commercial intercourse,' says Diez, 'introduced many northern words into Portugal, which are unknown to the sister language, as *britar*, to break (A. S. *bryttian*, cf. E. *brittle*), *doudo* (E. *dolt*), *pino*, a peg (E. *pin*).' Of these, the term *doudo* is the origin of E. *dodo*, so that the word has come back to us, but effectually disguised. The Portuguese literary monuments go back to the 13th century. For further information, see Körting, *Romanische Philologie*, iii. 564.

§ 241. **Pronunciation.** The language is not always spelt phonetically; in particular, the pronunciation of unaccented vowels varies from that of accented ones. The normal pronunciation of *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u*, is the same as in Italian, *e* and *o* (also *a*) occurring both with the close and open sounds. But *a*, *e*, *o*, when unaccented, pass, respectively, into *ə* (the indeterminate vowel), *i*, and *u*; as in *graça* (*gra'sə*), grace; *lume* (*lu'mi*), light, where the *i* is indistinct, being a 'mixed' vowel; *fogo* (*fó'gu*), fire¹, with close accented *o*. A final vowel is often dropped, leaving the last syllable accented; as in *amor* (*əmə'r*), love, L. *amōrem*.

As a full account of the pronunciation would extend to

¹ I take these examples from an article by M. Gonçalves Vianna, a native of Lisbon, in *Le Maître Fontique*, July, 1889; p. 79. The account of the pronunciation in Vieyra's Port. Grammar, 1858, is hopelessly unintelligible.

some length, I only give here a few notes. But the reader will find an elaborate paper on all the sounds of 'Spoken Portuguese,' by Dr. Sweet, in the Phil. Soc. Transactions, 1882, p. 203.

Diphthongs are very common, and frequently arise from the loss of a consonant between two vowels; as *eu* (eu), I; L. *ego*. *Tr* is similarly lost in *pai* (pa'i), father; L. *patrem*. *Ai*, *ei*, arise from *a*, *e*, followed by *i* in the next syllable; as *aipo* (ai'pu), celery (L. *apium*); *feira* (fei'rə), a fair; L. *feriam*. *Ect* > *eit*; as in *direito* (direi'tu), right, L. *directum*. *Act* > *ait* > *eit*; as in *feito* (fei'tu), made, older form *faito*, L. *factum*. This is strikingly like O. French, and unlike Spanish, which has *derecho*, *hecho*. *Oi* similarly arises from *o* followed by *i* in the next syllable; as *coiro* (koi'ru), leather; L. *corium*. *Ou* is sometimes a close *o*, and sometimes a diphthong; it answers to L. *au*, *oc* (before *t*), and *u* followed by *i* in the next syllable; as in *cousa*, L. *causam*; *doutor*, L. *doctorem*; *Douro*, a river-name, L. *Durium* (nom. *Durius*).

§ 242. **Consonants.** Doubled consonants are common, but are not always sounded double, as in Italian. The most remarkable points about the consonantal sounds are these.

Ce, *ci*=*se*, *si* (se, si), as in French; otherwise *c* has the power of *k* (k). When *c* is to be sounded as *s* before *a*, *o*, *u*, it is written *ç*, as in French. *Ch* was originally (ch), as in E. *chin*, but is now, in Lisbon, *sh*, as in French; ex. *cheiro* (shéi'ru), smell, from Low L. *flagrare*, put for L. *fragrare*. This *ch* answers, etymologically, to Span. *ll*, and to L. *cl*, *fl*, *pl*, as in *chamar*, Sp. *llamar*, L. *clamare*; *chamma*, Sp. *llama*, L. *flamman*; *chorar*, Sp. *llorar*, L. *plorare*.

G, precisely as in French, is pronounced as E. *g* in *go* before *a*, *o*, *u*, but as (zh) before *e* and *i*. *Gu*, is (gw) before *a*, *o*; but (g) before *e* and *i*. *J*, as in French, is pronounced (zh) before all vowels.

Initial *h* is invariably mute. *L*, as in English; but *lh* (= Span. *ll*) has the sound of (ly), i. e. as *lli* in *William*

(wil'yəm). *Lh* answers to L. *ll*, *li*, *cl*, *tl*, *gl*, *pl* (see Diez); ex. *filho*, son, L. *filium*. Final *l* is often dropped; as in *só*, alone, L. *solum*; *mu*, mule; *diabo*, devil. *M*, when occurring initially or between vowels (in the same word) is pronounced as (m); finally, or before a consonant, it is dropped, like the F. nasal *n*, but nasalises the preceding vowel; such words as *assim*, thus, *bem*, well, must be heard to be appreciated.

The letter *n* is treated in exactly the same way as *m*; but the final *n* is never written in full. It is merely indicated by the mark called *til* in Portuguese, and *tilde* in Spanish, which is written over the preceding vowel, or over the *former* vowel of a diphthong. This mark is the medieval mark of contraction for *n* (or *m*), and is merely a roughly written *n* flattened out by having its upright strokes made very short; and it was customary to write it above the preceding vowel. The Port. custom of writing it over the former vowel of a diphthong is curious, as it does not agree with the medieval custom. Thus, in Latin MSS., *catēa*=*catena*; but in Portuguese, *não*=*naon*, and is pronounced (naun), i. e. as (nau) with a nasal pronunciation; it is the same word as the F. *non*, L. *non*. In Portuguese, the final *ão* is extremely common, as it often answers to L. *-onem*, as in *razão* (rəzaun), reason; *visão* (vizaun), vision. The *til* is also used for writing plurals in *ns*; thus the pl. of *cão*, a dog, is *cães*; written at length, these words would be spelt *caon*, *caens*. The name of the poet *Camoens* is written *Camões*. *Nh* is the Port. equivalent of Span. *ñ*, It. *gn*, i. e. (ny), or the sound of *n* in *onion*. It occurs in E. *ipeacuanha*, which is pronounced in a way peculiarly our own¹; I suppose (ipe'kakwan'ya) would be nearer the correct sound; but the word is really Brazilian (see § 244). A genuine Port. word is *banho* (ban'yu),

¹ I only know it, as a literary word, in some verses quoted in the *Sabrinae Corolla*:—

'Coughing, in a shady grove, sat my Juliana;
Lozenges I gave my love, íp-e-cá-cu-án-ha.'

Ital. *bagno*, Sp. *baño*, a bath; from L. *ba(ſ)neum*. *Nh* < L. *n*, *nn*, *ni*, *ne*.

Qu, as in Spanish, is pronounced as *k* before *e* and *i*. Before *a* and *o*, it is usually (kw).

S, like E. *s*, is voiceless initially, but voiced, i. e. becomes (z), between two vowels; as in E. *sin*, *chosen*. Also, *s* has the E. sound of *z* in *zone*. But, in the pronunciation of Lisbon, the *s* and *z* at the end of a syllable are peculiarly treated. They are pronounced as *sh* (sh) at the end of a sentence, or before a voiceless consonant, and as (zh), i. e. as *z* in *azure*, before a liquid or a voiced consonant. Exx. *mesma* (mézh'mə), the same; *sonhos* (són'yuzh), dreams, the next word beginning with *m*; *tristeza* (trishtë'zə), sadness; *luz* (lu'sh), light; *rosas* (rò'zəsh), roses, the next word beginning with the sound of *s*, and note that the *o* is open; *viçosas como boninas* (visò'zəsh kó'mu buni'nəsh), luxuriant as daisies; *não és tu* (naun èsh tu), it is not thou.

X varies; its values are (ks), (s), (z), and (sh), according to Sweet. Etymologically, it is the Lat. *x*.

§ 243. **Derivation.** So many Port. words in English are taken from foreign languages, that little need be said of its relation to Latin. The following notes will, I think, be found sufficient.

The Span. forms *lo* (used before adjectives and abstract substantives), and *la*, occurring for the def. article (L. *illum*, *illam*), lose the *l*, and appear in Portuguese as *o*, *a*, the genitive being *do*, *da* (for *de o*, *de a*). This explains the name *O-porto*, i. e. 'the port'; hence E. *port* (wine). Again, the form *auto-da-fé*, act of the faith, is Portuguese; the Span. phrase is *auto de fé*. In *auto*, from L. *actum*, we see the change from *act-* to *aut-*; but L. *factum* became *feito*, and L. *factitium* became *feitiço*, artificial, or, used substantively, witchcraft, sorcery; hence E. *fetish*, a term which the Portuguese took to Africa. The L. suffix *-tium* in *factitium* became *-ço* (as above); so also *-ceum* became *-ço* in L.

mellaceum, made with honey, Port. *melaço*; hence E. *melasses*, now ill spelt *molasses*.

T>d. L. *materia*, Port. *madeira*, properly 'material,' hence timber, wood; whence the island of *Madeira* was named; E. *madeira* (wine). L. *monetam*, a mint, money, Port. *moeda*, a mint, with loss of *n*; hence *moeda d'ouro*, money of gold, E. *moidore*. The shorter term *moeda* answers to E. *moy*, in Shakespeare, Hen. V. iv. 4. 14¹. So also the L. suffix *-ata* becomes Port. *-ada*, as in Spanish; it occurs in *marmel-ada*, originally a conserve of quinces, from *marmelo*, a quince, L. *melimelum*, a quince, lit. honey-apple (with *ar* for *el*, the short *i* being dropped); hence F. *marmelade*, E. *marmalade*.

The loss of final *l* has been noted above (§ 242). Similarly, medial *l* is lost between two vowels, as in L. *colorem*, colour, Port. *cor*. So also the classical L. *colubra*, a snake, became *colôbra* in Folk Latin, the second *o* being both open and accented. Hence Port. *co'obra*, by contraction *cobra*; and *cobra de capello* means 'snake with a hood'; see Notes and Queries, 7 S. ii. 105.

Metathesis of *r* and *l* occurs in Gk. παραβολή, L. *parabola*, parable, speech, Port. *palavra* (for **paravla*); this word also the Portuguese took to Africa; whence E. *palaver*.

L. *pigmentum*, a pigment, also, juice of plants, gave rise to Port. *pimenta*, which we have turned, as our manner is, into *pimento*.

L. *stagnum* gave us O. F. *estang*, a pond, M. E. *stank*, a pool. The Span. form is *estanque*, but the Port. dropped the Lat. *s*, so that the form became *tanque*, with *qu=k*. Hence E. *tank*, a word which the Portuguese took to India, where it is common in the sense of 'reservoir.' See Yule's Glossary of Indian terms, where it is shown that the word occurs also

¹ Schmidt quotes Douce's objection, that there were no *moidores* in the time of Shakespeare. The objection is naught; we have only to suppose that the Portuguese had 'money' of *some* kind at that date. No one can doubt it.

in the Guzeráthí *tānkh*, Mahrattí *tānken*, *tanka*; but there is every reason to believe that, even if these be indigenous words, the Port. word was in use also at an early period, as shown by the quotations given in that work. The M. E. *stank* occurs early, and is explained by the fact that the A. F. *estang*, a pool, is also spelt *estank* (Year-books of Edw. I. i. 415, ii. 451).

Other Latin words require no special explanation.

§ 244. I now give a list of the principal Port. words in English. I dare say it might be considerably increased by adding less common names of foreign articles. As in the two preceding chapters, I distinguish the (very few) words which have come to us through French by printing them in italics, and I note the sources of words that are of non-Latin origin.

Albatross (Port., from Sp., from Ar., from Gk.), albino, ananas (Brazilian), almyra¹, *apricot* (Ar., from Gk., from L.), assagai (Ar.), auto-da-fé, ayah.

Banana (Congo), *bayadere*², betel (Malabar), *bezoar* (Pers.), binnacle, bonze (Japan.), buffalo (Gk.), cash³, caste, cobra or cobra de capello, coco or cocoa, compound (in the Anglo-Indian sense of 'enclosure')⁴, *corvette*, dodo⁵, emu (?).

Fetish, firm (in the phrase 'a mercantile firm'), flamingo, gentoo⁶, ipecacuanha (Brazilian), joss (a corruption of Port. *Deos*, God, like E. *deuce*), junk (in the senses of 'old rope' and 'salt junk'), kraal (Du., from Port., from L.), lingo⁷,

¹ Anglo-Indian for 'a wardrobe'; Port. *almario*, L. *armarium*; cf. E. *ambry*, *aumbry*.

² F. *bayadère*, Port. *balhadeira*, a dancing-girl; from Low L. *ballare*, to dance.

³ In the sense of small coin; Port. *caixa* (by confusion with *caixa*, a money-chest), Tamil *kāsu*, Skt. *karsha*, the name of a small weight.

⁴ The E. word is from Malay *kampung* (Yule); but *kampung* may be from Port. *campo*, field.

⁵ Port. *doudo*, stupid (for **doldo*; from E. *dolt*).

⁶ Port. *gentio*, gentile, heathen.

⁷ Port. *lingoa*, L. *lingua*.

madeira, mandarin (Malay from Hind., from Skt.), *marmalade* (Gk.), moidore, molasses, negro¹.

Pagoda (Skt. ?), palanquin (Skt.), palaver, *parasol*, pimento, port (wine), tank, verandah (*better veranda or varanda*),² yam³ (Benin), zebra (Ethiopian).

¹ Port. rather than Spanish (Yule).

² Probably borrowed by Portuguese from Spanish, and so taken to India; see the Spanish Word-list in Chap. XV; p. 341, n. 6.

³ Port. *inhame*, O. Span. *ñame*. It has long been thought to be African, but without evidence. However, the following quotation shows that it came from Benin, on the Guinea coast. 'Their bread is a kind of roots, they call it *Inamia*,' &c., in a Voyage to Benin; Hackluyt's Voyages, ii. 2. 129 (1599).

CHAPTER XVII.

THE GREEK ELEMENT.

§ 245. The Greek element in English is of considerable importance, but it is not necessary to treat it at any great length. Greek is the language to which modern English mainly resorts for its scientific terms; but these terms give (or should give) but little trouble to the etymologist, owing to the very slight changes which are made in coining the term. At the same time, it must be borne in mind that such words are often coined by men who have but slight acquaintance with the language to which they resort, and that the resulting forms are frequently due to bungling and blundering. Thus *thermo-meter* is a sort of compromise between a pure Gk. form *thermo-metron* and a French form *thermomètre*, with an accentuation which is solely due to the convenience of the Englishmen who wish to pronounce it; and many other words have Latin or French or English suffixes which must much astonish a Greek. Thus *acephalous*, *anonymous* have the suffix *-ous*, from L. *-osum*; the *-cy* in *aristocracy*, *democracy*, is not Greek, but a French travesty of Greek; and the Gk. *u* (*v*) is invariably turned into *y*, and pronounced like the E. *i* in *bit*, or, rarely, like the *i* in *bile*. The scientific men who constructed *thermometer* are responsible for the term *barometer*; but the latter term displays rather an ignorance than a knowledge of Greek. The Greek for 'warm' is *θερμός* (*thermos*), with a stem *thermo-*, used for making compounds; but if we were to conclude

from this that the stem *baro-* (in *barometer*) meant 'heavy,' as we certainly ought to be able to do, we should go wrong; for the Gk. for 'heavy' is βαρύς, with a stem βαρυ-, which would give *barymeter*, in accordance with *bary-tone*. It is usual to explain *barometer* by saying that it is derived from the sb. βάρος, weight, but I suspect it was simply made up, to pair off with *thermometer*, without any observation of the fact that the Gk. stem βαρυ- is the one usually employed in forming compounds. It is quite common for tradesmen to coin 'Greek' and 'Latin' compounds rather to please themselves than with any regard to the rules of composition. I remember that there used to be hair-brushes made without a handle, the 'sine-manubrium' hair-brushes; where *sine* means 'without' and *manubrium* is 'handle,' and the compound was therefore assumed to be correct. The fact that *sine* governs an ablative case was not taken into account. Then, again, there were *antigrópelos* boots; and it was at last discovered that this wondrous word was compounded of ἀντί (*anti*), against, ὑγρός (*hygrós*), wet, and πηλός (*pelós*), mud; whence *anti-ygró-pelos*, a defence 'against wet mud,' soon turned into *antigrópelos*, with *i* for *y*, because *anti-* happens to be a familiar prefix. Here again, we have to suppose that ἀντί governs a nom. case, and that the Gk. aspirate can be suppressed at pleasure; the fact being that (except in Ionic) ἀντί must be turned into ἀνθ- whenever ὕ follows it. Even the turning of the η of πηλός into the E. short unaccented *e* is rather a strong measure; but the English accent overrides everything, and shortens the η in *clematis* and the ω in *euphony* without the slightest hesitation.

§ 246. The fact, that a very large proportion of derivatives from Greek are either formed for scientific use or chiefly used in literature of a learned or classical character, renders their etymology easy and obvious enough to any one who has a moderate acquaintance with the language, and can, with some facility, consult a Greek lexicon. Even

the 'omniscient schoolboy' can tell us the etymologies of such words as *acropolis*, *anthropophagi*, and *bibliomania*; indeed, the longer the word, the more transparent are often its component parts; so that there is no need to dwell upon this part of the subject. Yet the very ease with which such words can be taken to pieces is a great snare; for the boy who can perform the somewhat easy feat of explaining such words as these, is very apt to draw the conclusion that he has come to the end of etymological investigation, and has nothing more to learn. This is a very common delusion, and even sometimes affects good classical scholars; for it is constantly the case that even Greek words present considerable difficulty, as soon as they become slightly concealed in a French dress. I much doubt if the etymologies of such words as *blame*, *celery*, *currants*, *dropsy*, *fancy*, *frenzy*, *govern*, *graft*, *grot*, *gudgeon*, *ink*, *liquorice*, *megrim*, *place*, *quince*, *slander*, *surgeon*, and a great many more words of the same kind are all of them familiar to the reader who has duly learnt Greek, and should therefore hold the key to explain them. Still more difficult are some words that have been disguised by passing through other languages; such as *torso* (through Italian), *marmalade* (through Portuguese), *effendi* (through Turkish), and the like.

§ 247. I think it may safely be asserted that no Greek word has reached us *directly* except during the modern period and through the medium of modern printed books; and even of these, the greatest part has been simply borrowed from various Greek lexicons, and consciously coined or adapted to suit the wants of literary composition or of scientific nomenclature. A considerable number of words has come to us, at various dates, through the medium of Latin; and, chiefly during the Middle English or the Tudor English periods, through both Latin and French. In every case Greek words have been reduced to a Latin spelling, the chief transliterations being *th* for *θ*, *c* for *κ*, *rh* for *ρ*,

y for *v*, *ph* for *φ*, *ch* for *χ*, *ps* for *ψ*, and *h* for the rough breathing or aspirate. In most cases, moreover, the Gk. suffixes are much changed or neglected; thus the Gk. *-ov* became L. *-um* in *emporium*, *asylum*, *opium*; the Gk. *-os* became L. *-us* in *chorus*, *isthmus*, *nautilus*, or is entirely dropped in E., as in *abyss*, *centaur*, *spasm*. So also *apsis* becomes *apse*; *κάνιστρον*, L. *canistrum*, becomes *canister*; *εὐλογίον*, L. *eulogium*, becomes *eulogy*; and so on. Words that have come through French can only be understood by help of the phonetic laws of that language; as when, for example, Gk. acc. *πυξίδα*, a box, Low Lat. *buxida*, produces the O. F. *boïste*, M. E. *boïst*, with the Low Lat. dimin. *bustellum*, *bussellum*; whence, through O. F., the E. *bushel*. The last instance may remind us that the Latin form is often a late one, and unknown to the classical period. After these preliminary remarks, it is obvious that we must consider the more general question, as to how, and at what times, Greek words have reached us.

§ 248. Of the few Latin words of the First Period (vol. i. § 398), only one seems to be borrowed from Greek, viz. the verb to *pine*, from L. *poena*, a very early loan-word, from Gk. *ποινή*; but amongst those of the Second Period, i.e. from the fifth century to the Norman Conquest, about one third are certainly so borrowed; see vol. i. § 401, where the list of them is duly given. Most of these have reference to religious matters, and to such sciences as botany and medicine. Similarly, during the Anglo-French period, numerous Anglo-French words are ultimately of Greek origin, as *almond*, *anise*, *astronomy*, *baptize*, *bible*, &c.; and the same is true of a considerable number of Central French words likewise. Hence Greek shares with Latin, though to a smaller extent, the distinction of being a continuous source of supply to English from the fifth century down to the present day; the only difference between one period and another being that, whereas all earlier Greek words reached

us at second or third hand, they may have reached us immediately ever since the revival of Greek learning, which may be dated, for England, in A. D. 1540 (vol. i. p. 15).

§ 249. The number of channels whereby Greek words have reached us is considerable. Such as were borrowed by Latin could obviously reach us through *any* of the Romance languages; and such as were borrowed by Arabic could likewise reach us through Spanish, or even through Italian and French. Using the symbol — to denote ‘from,’ the following examples prove the point. *Alms* (Low L.—Gk.); *adamant* (F.—L.—Gk.); *grotto* (Ital.—L.—Gk.); *grotesque* (F.—Ital.—L.—Gk.); *sketch* (Du.—Ital.—L.—Gk.); *cochineal* (Span.—L.—Gk.); *palaver* (Port.—L.—Gk.); *marmalade* (F.—Port.—L.—Gk.); *troubadour* (F.—Prov.—L.—Gk.); *petrel* (F.—G.—L.—Gk.), &c.; to which may be added examples in which the Latin word is not classical, but quite medieval. On the other hand, through Arabic, we have *talisman* (Span.—Arab.—Gk.); *alembic* (F.—Span.—Arab.—Gk.); *carat* (F.—Arab.—Gk.). And again, we may notice *sanhedrim* (Heb.—Gk.); *effendi* (Turk.—Gk.). I believe I was the first to make a systematic list of the channels through which borrowed words have flowed into English. The old system (as for instance, in Mahn’s Webster’s Dictionary) was to toss down an unarranged handful of related words, entirely ignoring the mode of their relationship. To this slovenly and unhistorical system I trust that we may never revert.

§ 250. Greek is one of the Aryan languages, as explained in vol. i. § 84. It is very largely original, the number of loan-words being few. But it has, at various times, borrowed words from Persian, Sanskrit, Hebrew, Arabic, and a few other languages. English examples are: *cinnabar* (Gk.—Pers.); *pepper* (L.—Gk.—Skt.); *camel* (L.—Gk.—Heb.); *naphtha* (L.—Gk.—Arab.). The case of *panther* is curious; this is the F. *panthère*, from L. *panthera*, from Gk. *πάθηρ*;

where the Greek form is due to an attempt to give the word a native appearance; and a popular etymology from *πᾶν*, all, and *θήρ*, a beast, gave rise to fables about its possessing the qualities of many other animals; see, e.g. the *Bestiary* of Philip de Thaurin, l. 223, in Wright's *Popular Treatises on Science*, p. 82. But it is really, as might be expected, only a Greek adaptation of an Indian word, and answers to Skt. *pundarikas*, which, after all, may be not an Aryan word at all. See E. R. Wharton's *Etyma Græca*, 1882, where the number of loan-words in classical Greek is estimated at 641.

§ 251. **The Alphabet.** The letters of the classical Greek alphabet are: α β γ δ ε ζ η θ ι κ λ μ ν ξ ο π ρ σ τ υ φ χ ψ ω, of which the letter σ (s) has a second form ς, which is only employed at the *end* of a word. Every vowel that begins a word is marked either with the smooth breathing (as ᾱ) or the rough breathing (as ᾰ). The latter is practically a 25th letter, viz. an aspirate, written as *h* in transliterating Greek words; as in *ἑπτά*, *hepta*, seven, whence E. *hepta-gon*, *hept-archy*. Moreover, the symbol ρ is written *rh*, as in Gk. *ῥεύμα*, L. *rheuma*, F. *rheume*, E. *rheum*. The other letters are usually thus transliterated: *a b g d e z ē th i k l m n x o p r s t u ph ch ps ō*. Note that ε (*e*) and ο (*o*) are short, and answer to Lat. *ĕ*, *ŏ*; and that υ, when not forming part of a diphthong, is always represented by *y* in Latin, and consequently in all borrowed words in English; but the *u* is written when we wish to express the real Greek word in roman type. The word *type* itself is an instance; it is from the F. *type*, from Lat. *typum*, accus. of *typus*, from the Greek *τύπος* (*τύπος*).

Capital letters are sometimes employed, chiefly for distinguishing proper names; but, for the present particular purpose of explaining English etymologies, they are an unessential luxury. The capital letters are: Α Β Γ Δ Ε Ζ Η Θ Ι Κ Λ Μ Ν Ξ Ο Π Ρ Σ Τ Υ Φ Χ Ψ Ω. The names of the letters are well known, and are slightly changed from the names which they bore in the Phœnician alphabet. The most note-

worthy are *alpha* (α), *bēta* (β), which conjointly give the L. *alphabetum*, and the E. *alphabet*, i.e. AB; *delta* (δ), used as the name for the spreading island formed by alluvial deposit at the mouth of a great river, originally applied to that at the mouth of the Nile, from the shape of the capital letter (Δ); *zēta* (ζ), preserved in the E. name *zed* for (z); *iota* (ι) from Heb. *yod*, employed in the forms *iota* and *jot* to signify something very small, from the smallness of the Heb. *yod*; and *omega* (ω), i.e. ω μέγα, or 'great *o*,' long *o*, the *last* letter, and so used in the sense of 'end.'

§ 252. **Pronunciation.** The usual pronunciation of Greek is to pronounce it as English, which is certainly wrong as regards the vowels. But it is usual to pronounce the Gk. γ (g) correctly, keeping it always hard; it is a pity the same rule is not usually extended to Latin, where it would be equally correct.

Vowels. The vowels changed from time to time, and were different in different dialects. As the subject is complex, and to some extent doubtful, I give the following approximate scheme; for a more exact one, see Sweet's *Primer of Phonetics*, p. 107. I may add that I attach but little value to §§ 252, 253, and 254, and do not guarantee their accuracy.

α . If long, as (aa) in E. *psalm*; if short, the same sound shortened. Cf. Lat. *āmātā*.

ϵ ; as E. *e* in *met*. η ; as E. *e* in *vein*, without the after-sound of *i*; or as G. *ee* in *See*.

ι . If long, as E. *i* in *machine*; if short, the same sound shortened, as in F. *fini*, or nearly as E. *i* in *pity*.

\omicron ; as E. *o* in *not*, *for*. ω ; as E. *o* in *no* (*nou*), but without the after-sound of *u*, or as G. *o* in *so*.

υ ; as G. *ü*, whether long or short.

When Gk. words were borrowed by Latin, the Gk. υ was invariably written with the Gk. symbol υ (=Gk. Υ), in order to distinguish it from the Lat. *u*, which kept the primitive sound. The symbol υ is still called *y-grec* (Greek υ) in

modern French. But the change did not stop here; for the sound of *v* again changed from *u* (*y*) to *i* (*i*, *ii*), which is its value in modern Greek. Moreover, the F. *y* was also pronounced as *i* (*i*, *ii*), in consequence of which mod. E., which turns (*ii*) into (*ai*), pronounces *hydra* as (*hai'drə*), and treats short *y* as short *i*, as in *system* (*sistəm*). Thus *hydra*, from Gk. *ὑδωρ* (*hyy'door*), illustrates all the changes from (*yy*) to (*ai*) in the order (*yy*), (*ii*), (*ei*), (*ai*); where (*ei*) represents the sound of E. long *i* in the 16th century.

§ 253. **Diphthongs.** *ai*. As *ai* in *Isaiah*; (*ai*).

ei. Varies; as *ee* in G. *See* (Sweet).

oi. As *oi* in *boil*; (*oi*).

au. As *au* in G. *haus*; nearly as *ou* in E. *house*; (*au*).

eu. As *e*, followed by *v*; but the E. *Eu* in *Europe* (*yuurəp*) is sufficiently near.

ou. Originally, as *o* followed by *v*; but in Attic, in the fifth century B. C., it had already passed into the simple *v̄*, i.e. (*uu*), or as E. *oo* in *pool* (*puul*); and it is best to give it this value.

ui. As *v* followed by *i*; but, if we put the accent on the *i*, the *v* becomes *w*; hence as (*wii*).

g, *η*, *φ*, may be pronounced as *ā*, *η*, *ω* (*aa*, *ee*, *oo*), neglecting the subscribed *ι*.

In Latin words borrowed from Gk., *ai* became *ae*, *æ*, at first pronounced (*ai*), as in Gk., but confused, in F. L., with long open *e* (*èè*). *ei*, like O. Lat. *ei*, became L. *ī*, and it passed into the same sound in Greek itself as early as the 3rd century B. C. (Brugmann, § 64); this at once explains the use of *ei* to represent *ī* in Gothic, in which language the symbol *i* is restricted to the short vowel only. *oi* became L. *oe*, *æ*, originally with the same sound (*oi*), but confused, in F. L., with long close *e* (*éé*). *au*, *eu*, remain as *au*, *eu*; and *ou* was written *ū* simply. We have also to remember that *v* was written *y* (as above).

§ 254. **Consonants.** The following were originally pro-

nounced as in English: β (b), δ (d), κ (k), λ (l), μ (m), ν (n), ξ (x), π (p), ρ (r, *trilled*), σ (s, z), τ (t), ψ (ps). The σ was commonly voiceless; but was voiced to *z* before β and μ , and in other cases before voiced consonants, usually causing assimilation, &c. The γ (g) was always hard, as in *go*, *gun*. In the combinations $\gamma\gamma$, $\gamma\kappa$, $\gamma\chi$, the γ was pronounced as *ng* in *sing*. In the middle of a word the value of ζ is supposed to have been (dz)¹, and this is the best value to give to it in *all*-positions. Its latest value was simple (z), as in modern Greek.

The letters θ , χ , ϕ , may be considered together. The original sounds were like the Skt. *th*, *ph*, *kh*, i. e. as *t*, *p*, *k* immediately followed by a slight escape of breath; compare the Irish pronunciation of *Teddy* as *T(h)eddy*. The Romans could not easily achieve these sounds; so they reduced θ , χ , to simple *t*, *k*, as in E. *Thomas*, *anarchy*. The ϕ , written *ph*, they either pronounced as in Greek, or reduced to simple *p*. In late F. L., *ph* became *f* (§ 167). For the modern Greek sounds, see § 255.

Besides these, we have to consider the smooth and rough breathings, and the digamma. The rough breathing took the place of *y* consonant; cf. Gk. *ῥs*, who, with Skt. *yas* (Brugmann, § 129); but it became like E. *h* in *house*, and must be so sounded. It also arose, in some cases, from an original initial σ , as in *ἐπρά*, cognate with L. *septem*, E. *seven*; or even from an initial digamma (see § 265). The smooth breathing may be neglected in pronunciation. The digamma, written *f*, answers to E. *w*, L. *u* (consonant); it was early lost, and passed, initially, into the rough, or else into the smooth breathing. Thus *ἑσπερος* (E. *Hesperus*) is allied to L. *uesper*; whilst *ἔρος*, a year, allied to L. *uetus*, old, was originally *féros*.

§ 255. In connection with this subject, it is well to con-

¹ If (dz) be unvoiced, it becomes (ts); hence the value (ts) for *z*, in Old French and in German.

sider the pronunciation of modern Greek; for which see E. M. Geldart's *Guide to Modern Greek*, London, 1858. The pronunciation, like that of English, has changed considerably.

Vowels. The modern values, in broad romic symbols, are these: α (a, aa); ε (èè), i. e. open long *e*; ι, η, υ, all alike, as (ii), i. e. *i* in *machine*; ο, ω, both alike, as (ao), i. e. *au* in *naught*.

Diphthongs. αι, as mod. Gk. ε; ει, οι, υι, all alike, as (ii), which has already been given as the value of ι, η, υ, so that these *six* sounds are all alike; ου, as (uu), i. e. E. *oo* in *pool*; αυ, as (aav), i. e. *a* followed by E. *v*, unless a voiceless consonant follows, when the *v* is *f*, and the sound is (aaf); ευ, as (eev) or (eef), i. e. ε followed by *v* or *f*, according as a voiced or voiceless consonant follows; ηυ, as (iiv) or (iif), i. e. η followed by *v* or *f*, in like circumstances.

Consonants. β; as E. *v* (v). γ; as G. *g* in *tag* (tagh); or, before ε, η, ι, αι, ει, οι, υι, as E. *y* in *year*. γγ, γκ; as E. *ngg* in *finger* (fing-gəə); slightly palatalised if ε, η, ι, &c. follow. δ; as E. voiced *th* in *thou*, i. e. as (dh). ζ; as E. *z*. θ; as E. *th* in *thin*; (th). κ; as E. *k*; but slightly palatalised if ε, η, &c. follow. λ; as E. *l*; but nearly as Span. *ll* (ly), if ι, η, υ, ει, οι, υι follow. μ; as E. *m*. ν; as E. *n*; but as Span. *ñ* (ny), if ι, η, υ, &c. follow. ξ; as E. *x*; but γξ (=νξ) as E. *ngz*. π; as E. *p*; but as E. *b* after μ. ρ; as *r*, but always trilled. σ; as E. voiceless *s* (s); but as *z* before μ. τ; as E. *t*; but as E. *d* after ν. φ; as E. *f*. χ; as G. *ch* in *ach*; but as G. *ch* in *ich* before ε, ι, &c. ψ; as *ps*; but as *bz* after μ. The rough breathing, though still written, is now silent.

It will thus be seen that the palatal vowels ε, ι, η, υ, greatly affect the preceding consonant in many cases. This is doubtless modern.

The change of the sound of η to (ii) has its counterpart in English: we write *meet*, but we say (miit).

§ 256. **Accentuation.** It is usual, in printing and writing Greek, to mark each word with an appropriate accent. As a boy at school, and afterwards as a student at college, I had to do this, when writing exercises and themes. But on no occasion was the slightest hint ever given me, as to what the accents meant; and this want of instruction was the more puzzling, because I was taught, as other boys are, *never to pay the slightest attention to them* when reading Greek aloud. But, I have since learnt that the accents were intended to mark the syllables that were accented in pronunciation, and, in modern Greek, are duly regarded. It must be noted, But that the modern Greek accent is one of *stress*, as in English, whereas, in classical Greek, it was one of *pitch*, and is difficult to reproduce.

§ 257. The account of the modern Greek accents in Geldart's *Guide to Modern Greek* is so full of instruction that I do not hesitate to copy it. I alter, however, his mode of giving the pronunciation, by employing the 'broad romic' symbols, as throughout the present volume.

'With the exception of the following words:—*ὁ, ἡ, οἱ, αἱ* (ao, ii, ii, è), the¹; *εἰ*, (ii), if; *ἄς* (aos), as; *οὐ, οὐκ, οὐχ* (uu, uuk, uukh), not; *ἐκ, ἐξ* (ek, ex), out of, all words in Greek are accented.

'The accents are three in kind:—

'(a) The acute, *ὀξεῖα* (aoksii'a), which indicates that the syllable so marked has the principal stress—a stress which is given much as in English, but usually with a more distinct elevation in tone². [Ex. *φίλος* (phii'laos), dear.]

'(b) The grave, *βαρεῖα* (vari'a), which indicates that the syllable has a more decided stress than any unaccented

¹ Remember that the rough breathing is lost in the modern pronunciation.

² I believe this elevation of tone was very marked in classical Greek, in which the accent was rather one of pitch than of stress.

syllable, yet less than one which has the acute accent¹.
[Ex. χορός (khaorao's), a dance.]

(c) The circumflex, *περισπωμένη* (paeriispaome'nii), in practice no longer distinguishable from the acute, though in theory and origin it is composed of the acute and the grave. It was held by the ancient Greek grammarians that every unaccented syllable had in reality the grave accent; consequently a word like ἀγαπάει (aghapaa'ii), *he loves*, might be regarded as if written ἀγὰπάει. When ἀγαπάει was contracted to ἀγαπᾷ, the accents `` were supposed to coalesce, and form a kind of musical wave or transition from a higher to a lower key. Hence arose the circumflex, first written ^, and afterwards in cursive manuscript rounded into ˘. It may be assumed that so long as the *subscriptum* was heard in ἀγαπᾷ, so long would the grave accent be heard; and then, when this was no longer audible, only the acute would be so².

§ 258. 'The acute accent may stand over either of the two last syllables but one in a word, or on the last syllable when it comes at the end of a sentence or clause; or over a monosyllable interrogative, as τίς, τί.

'The grave accent can only stand over the last syllable of a word, or over monosyllables, as τὸ μικρὸν πτηνὸν ᾄδει, the little bird sings. At the end of a clause or sentence the grave becomes acute, as ᾄδει τὸ μικρὸν πτηνόν, or ᾄδει τὸ πτηνὸν τὸ μικρόν. In writing, the acute is frequently used in place of the grave.

'The circumflex accent, from the nature of the case, cannot stand further back than the last syllable but one; . . . such a form as ἤμεθα would presuppose ἔμεθα, which is impossible. In the case of an accented diphthong, the accent like the breathing goes with the last [i. e. latter] vowel, and in case of

¹ Compare the secondary accent in English in such a word as *adamantine*, where *d* shows the primary, and *a* the secondary accent.

² As a circumflex marks a contraction, the vowel-sound over which it stands is always long, and frequently diphthongal.

an initial diphthong is written, if a grave or acute, *after*, if a circumflex, *over* the breathing; as *αῦρη*, *αἶμα*, *αἶ*, *οἶνος*, *ποῦ*, *παῖ*, *αῖραι*. The relative position of the accent and breathing is the same in the case of the simple vowel, as *ἀν*, *ῆν*, *ῆν*, *ῆς*. In the case of initial capital vowels, the accent and the breathing are written before the vowel, as *Ἀθήναι*, *Ἀθῆναι*, *Ἦ*; but when a whole word or sentence is printed [in capital letters], both accents and breathings are usually omitted.'

§ 259. It may easily be guessed that Mr. Geldart urges, in his Preface, that, in reading Greek, the accents should be fully regarded. As he well observes, 'let a man be accustomed from the first never to pronounce a single Greek word without its appropriate accent, and he will never be in doubt how to write it, or "hardly ever"; the cases where he might hesitate between a circumflex and an acute being very soon mastered when not only the ear, but the eye and ear together are exercised by writing and reading aloud with due regard to the accent'.

I will just observe, further, that accent has nothing to do with vowel-length. Indeed, we do not greatly regard the vowel-length ourselves when we wrongly accent such a word as *ἐτῶν*, 'of years,' on the former syllable. Yet I suspect it is partly on account of the *ω* that we wrongly accent *ἀνθρώπος* on the long second syllable in our pronunciation, though we really take care to write it *ἄνθρωπος*. Let the reader pronounce this word *as written*, i. e. as (aan'throopos), by way of experiment, and he will, for once, be somewhere near the truth, and a modern Greek, who says (aan'thraopaos) might make shift to understand him. And, by the time that he has tried this experiment once or twice, he will have had his attention called to the accent in so striking a manner, that he will remember *how to accent* this word in writing for the rest of his life; and it is universally admitted, that to *write* the accent correctly is meritorious.

§ 260. **Transliteration.** Gk. *υ* = L. *y*. It has been ex-

plained, in § 251, that the Gk. *υ* was written *y* in Latin. Examples of E. *y* from Gk. *υ* are consequently numerous; I may instance these: *amethyst*, *anonymous*, *asphyxia*, *asymptote*, *barytone*, *Caryatides*, *cataclysm*, *chrysalis*, *colocynth*, *cotyledon*, *cryptogamia*, *cyst*, &c., all formed from the Greek directly. Others were borrowed from the Latin less directly, as: *abyss*, *asylum*, *bryony*, *chalybeate*, *chrysolite*, *chyme*, *crypt*, *cynic*, *cynsure*, &c.; and others, still less directly, through the French, as: *crystal*, *cycle*, *cylinder*, *cymbal*, *cyress*, &c. As such words are numerous, these examples may suffice.

In the case of *ligure*, L. *ligurius*, Gk. *λιγύριον*, the name of a precious stone, the Gk. *υ* remains. But the word is only known from the Septuagint version of the Bible; and other spellings, as *λιγγούριον*, occur. So also *cube*, L. *cubus*, Gk. *κύβος*.

Gk. *αι* = Lat. *ae*, F. *e*. Examples occur in *æsthetic*, *aphæresis*, *archæology*, *pædobaptist*, *palæography*, &c. And, not uncommonly, the *æ* becomes *ē*; as in *demon*, *ether*, *hematite*, *meander*, *phenomenon*; *anapest* as well as *anapæst*, *peony* as well as *pæony*, &c. In *heresy*, *heretic*, the E. accent has shortened the *ē*.

Gk. *ει* = L. *ī*; rarely *ē*. Exx. *chirography*, *empiric*, *irony*, *pirate*, *Siren* (not *Syren*). But *e* in *panacea*.

Gk. *οι* = L. *œ*, F. *e*; E. *œ*, *e*. Exx. *cænobite* (*cenobite*), *diarrhœa*, *homœopathy*, *onomatopœia*. But *e* is commoner, as in *cemetery*, *economy*, *epicene*, *esophagus*, *phenix*, *solecism*. It appears as *o* in *diocese*.

Gk. *ου* = L. *ū*; the E. *u* is sometimes short. Exx. *butter*, *bucolic*, *colure*, *ecumenical*, *enthusiasm*, *epicure*, *eunuch*, *liturgy*, *metallurgy*, *muse*, *museum*, *theurgy*, *utopian*. So also in *chirurgion*, *surgeon*. But *o* occurs for *u* in *mosaic*, F. *mosaïque*.

Gk. *η* = L. *ē*; but the E. *e* is often short. Exx. *catalepsy*, *catastrophe*, *catechise*, *category*, *comet*, *epidemic*, *panegyric*, *parallel*, etc. Spelt *ee* in *spleen*. It has become *ea* in

treacle, *zeal*; and the sound is shortened in *zealous*, *jealous*, *treasure*; all of these came to us through French.

Gk. ω =L. \bar{o} ; but the E. *o* is usually short. Exx. *axiom*, *carotid*, *chromatic*, *euphony*, *theorem*, *theory*.

Gk. φ =L. \bar{o} . E. *ode*, *epode*, *palinode*; but changed to *e* in *comedy*, *tragedy*; O. F. *comédie*, *tragedie*. The E. *oo* in *oolite* answers to Gk. $\omega\omicron$; and the *oo* in *zoology* to Gk. $\varphi\omicron$; hence the *oo* is here *o-o*, not as *oo* in *pool*.

Gk. *o* (unaccented)=L. \ddot{u} . It has been already explained that Gk. *o* (unaccented) became L. \ddot{u} , especially in suffixes; as in *exodus*, *emporium*. This explains the change from *o* to *u* in *numismatic*; for though the Gk. accent was on the *o* in $\nu\acute{o}\mu\sigma\mu\alpha$, it was on the α in the Latin adaptation of it; hence *nūmīsmā*.

Consonants. Gk. κ =L. *c*. Exx. *catechise*, *decagon*, etc. Also, with *c*=(*s*); as in *centre*, *citron*.

Gk. ρ (initial)=L. *rh*. Exx. *rhapsody*, *rhetoric*, *rheum*, *rhinoceros*, *rhododendron*, *rhombus*, *rhubarb*, *rhythm*. But *rhumb* is also *rumb*.

Gk. θ =L. *th*, *t*; O. F. *t*. Exx. *theorem*, *thesis*, etc.; *anathema*, *bathos*, etc. But as *t* in *tansy*, *treacle*, *treasure*, *tunny*; and pronounced as *t* in *thyme*. The *th* has been restored in mod. E. *theatre*, *theme*, *throne*; the M. E. forms are *teatre*, *teme*, *trone*.

Gk. ϕ =L. *ph*; O. F. *f*. On the one hand, we have *phantasy*, *phrenology*; on the other, *fancy*, *frantic*, *frenzy*.

Gk. χ =L. *ch*; pronounced as (*k*), even before *e* and *i*. Exx. *bronchial*, *chaos*, *chemist*, *technical*, *oligarch*.

Numerous other changes occur, such as the change of κ to *ch* in *chair*, of β to *v* in *canvas*, etc.; the loss of θ in *chair*, of initial $\dot{\iota}$ in *dropsy*, etc.; but these belong to the history of the phonetics of Anglo-French, French, and Middle-English, and have been already touched upon.

§ 261. The E. words of Greek origin are nearly all substantives and adjectives, the exceptions being very few. Of

course many of these, as *anchor*, *pirate*, etc. can be used as verbs, in our English fashion; but the true verbs are rare. We should further set aside such verbs as *glose*, from M.E. *glose*, sb.; *prophecy*, from *prophecy*, sb.; and a few more. Others, as *sap*, to undermine, *scarify*, *strangle*, are really founded upon Gk. substantives; and the same is true of the hybrid words *contrive*, *retrieve*, *intoxicate*. I can hardly call to mind any true verbs except *baptize*, βαπτίζω; and *govern*, κυβερνᾶν; both of which are but secondary formations from more primitive forms. Hence there is no necessity, as in the case of Latin, to consider here the principal parts of verbal conjugation. Nevertheless, the principles of vowel-gradation, as explained in brief in § 197, and illustrated in § 198, are of great importance, especially in ascertaining primitive forms. But I refer the reader to what is there said, and to the books that treat specially of the subject.

§ 262. **Combination of consonants.** The general values of the consonants, in relation to other languages, are given in the Table in vol. i. § 107, p. 125; with numerous illustrations in the following sections.

As in the case of Latin (§ 199), the mode in which Greek consonants are affected when used in combination requires careful attention. I refer the reader to Brugmann's *Grammatik*, Iwan Müller's *Handbuch der klassischen Altertums-Wissenschaft*, II. (Nördlingen, 1885), the translation of Curtius' *Greek Etymology* by Wilkins and England, King and Cookson's *Sounds and Inflections*, &c.

I shall here throw together a few useful notes; cf. King and Cookson, p. 192.

As in all other languages, difficult combinations pass into easier ones.

The following seem to have been graphic changes only, not affecting the pronunciation; $\kappa\theta > \chi\theta$; $\pi\theta > \phi\theta$.

The following are useful formulæ.

$\gamma\tau, \chi\tau > \kappa\tau$. $\phi\tau > \pi\tau$. $\delta\tau, \theta\tau, \tau\tau > \sigma\tau$.

δθ, θθ > σθ. κδ > γδ. πδ, φδ > βδ.

βμ, πμ, φμ > μμ. κμ > γμ. νπ > μπ. νφ > μφ.

As in other languages, voiceless letters become voiced before a voiced letter, and conversely, which at once explains the changes denoted by κδ > γδ, πδ > βδ, γτ > κτ, and the like.

Exx. λέγ-ειν, to speak; whence E. *dia-lec-t*, *ec-lec-tic*. E. *stalag-mite*, allied to *stalac-tile*. ἔχ-ειν, to hold; whence E. *hec-tic*, *Hec-tor*. βαφ-ή, a dipping, βάπ-τω, I dip; E. *baptize*. γλύφ-ω, I carve; E. *gryp-tic*. ἰδ-εῖν, to see, ἴσ-τωρ, knowing, a witness; E. *history*. μαδ-άειν, to be moist, μασ-τός, breast; E. *masto-don*. πείθ-ω, 3 perf. pass. πέ-πεισ-ται; πατ-έομαι, 3 perf. pass. πέ-πασ-ται. ψεύδ-ομαι, ἐ-ψεύσ-θην; πείθ-ω, ἐ-πείσ-θην. πλέκ-ω, πλέγ-δην. κρύπ-τω, κρύβ-δην; γράφ-ω, ἐπιγράφ-δην. τρίβ-ω, τρίμ-μα. ὄψομαι = ὄπ-σομαι, I shall see; whence ὄμ-μα (for ὄπ-μα), the eye. γράφ-ω, I write; γράμ-μα, a letter; cf. E. *graph-ic* with *gram-mar*, *ana-gram*, *dia-gram*, *epi-gram*, etc. δοκ-έω, I am of opinion; δόγ-μα, an opinion, *dogma*. ἐν, in, becomes ἐμ- in *em-piric*, *em-porium*, *em-pyrean*; also in *em-phatic*, *em-phasis*.

Even a combination of *two* voiceless consonants may become voiced; thus from ἐπτά, seven, we have ἐβδομάς (stem ἐβδομάδ-), a week; E. *hebdomal*. From ὀκτώ, eight, we have ὄγδοος, eighth.

κ, τ, π become χ, θ, φ, when an aspirate follows; exx. ὑπό, under, ἐν, one, E. *hyp-phen*; ἀπ-ό, off, appears in E. *aphæresis*, *aphelion*, *aphorism*; κρύπ-τειν (base κρυπ), to hide, gives E. *apo-crypha*; κατ-ά, down, according to, appears in *cath-edral*, *cath-olic*; ἐπί, for, appears in E. *eph-emeral*; and compare the πτ in *optics* with the φθ in *ophthalmia*.

§ 263. **Combinations with y.** The traces of the existence in Greek of the sound of a consonantal *y*, which I shall here denote by the E. symbol *y*, are clearly marked, and many changes in the forms of words can be thus explained. I shall only give here a few ex-

amples of the commoner formulæ, which may be thus expressed.

(a) $\lambda y > \lambda\lambda$. $\tau y, \theta y, \kappa y, \chi y > \sigma\sigma$ ($\tau\tau$). $\gamma y, \delta y > \zeta$.

(b) Also: $\nu y > \iota$. $\rho y > \varphi$.

I shall give examples of (a) and (b) separately.

§ 264. (a) Gk. * $\delta\lambda$ -yos (= Lat. *al-ius*) > $\delta\lambda\lambda\sigma$; hence E. *allopathy*, *parallel*. In the same way $\beta\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omega$ stands for orig. * $\beta\alpha\lambda$ -yω, so that the true stem contains but one λ; cf. $\beta\acute{\epsilon}\lambda$ -os, a dart, $\beta\omicron\lambda$ -ή, a throw, E. *parabola*, *hyperbola*, *belemnite*, *balustrade*. The suffix -yω, for verbs, is common in all the Aryan languages; cf. Lat. *sal-iō*, *cup-iō*, A. S. infin. *luf-ian*, *hat-ian*, and all the verbs of the 4th conjugation in Skt., which form the base by affixing *ya* to the root. So also we have Gk. $\sigma\acute{\kappa}\acute{\epsilon}\lambda$ -λω, I dry, for * $\sigma\kappa\epsilon\lambda$ -yω; whence E. *skel-eton*. Gk. $\sigma\tau\acute{\epsilon}\lambda$ -λω, I place, for * $\sigma\tau\acute{\epsilon}\lambda$ -yω, with base $\sigma\tau\epsilon\lambda$ -, middle grade $\sigma\tau\omicron\lambda$ -; whence E. *dia-stol-e*, *sy-stol-e*, also *apostle*, *epistle*. Gk. $\psi\acute{\alpha}\lambda$ -λω, I play the harp, for * $\psi\acute{\alpha}\lambda$ -yω; hence E. *psal-m*, *psaltery*. $\tau y > \sigma\sigma$; $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\iota$, stem $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\iota\tau$ -, honey; * $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\iota\tau$ -ya, $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\iota\sigma\sigma\alpha$, honey-maker, bee. $\theta y > \sigma\sigma$; * $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\theta$ -yos (Skt. *mādhyā*), middle, Æolic $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\sigma\omicron\varsigma$, weakened in Attic Gk. to $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\omicron\varsigma$; whence E. *mes-entery*. $\kappa y > \sigma\sigma$; * $\pi\rho\acute{\alpha}\kappa$ -yω, $\pi\rho\acute{\alpha}\sigma\sigma\omega$, I do; E. *practice*, *prac-tical*; the κ becomes γ (regularly) before μ; hence E. *prag-matic*. * $\tau\acute{\alpha}\kappa$ -yω, $\tau\acute{\alpha}\sigma\sigma\omega$, I set in order; hence E. *tac-tics*, *architect*, *taxidermy* (from $\tau\acute{\alpha}\xi\iota\varsigma$ = $\tau\acute{\alpha}\kappa$ -ois). * $\pi\lambda\acute{\eta}\kappa$ -yω, $\pi\lambda\acute{\eta}\sigma\sigma\omega$, I strike; hence E. *apo-plexy*, *apo-plec-tic*. * $\sigma\acute{\alpha}\kappa$ -yω, $\sigma\acute{\alpha}\tau\tau\omega$, I fasten on a burden; whence * $\sigma\acute{\alpha}\kappa$ -μα > $\sigma\acute{\alpha}\gamma$ -μα, a pack-saddle (stem $\sigma\acute{\alpha}\gamma\mu\alpha\tau$ -), whence Low Lat. **sagmat-arius*, O. F. *sommetier*, a pack-horse driver, E. *sumpter*, the same, as used in K. Lear, ii. 4. 219. $\chi y > \sigma\sigma$. Gk. $\gamma\lambda\acute{\omega}\sigma$ -σα, tongue, whence E. *gloss*, *gloze*, stands for $\gamma\lambda\acute{\omega}\chi$ -ya, being allied to $\gamma\lambda\omega\chi$ -ίς, the end of a strap, the point of an arrow; cf. our phrase 'the *tongue* of a strap.' $\gamma y = \xi$; $\rho\acute{\epsilon}\gamma$ -os, a dyed rug; from $\rho\acute{\epsilon}\zeta\omega$ = * $\rho\acute{\epsilon}\gamma$ -yω, I dye. $\delta y = \zeta$; $\phi\rho\acute{\alpha}\zeta\omega$, I speak, is for * $\phi\rho\acute{\alpha}\delta$ -yω, the stem $\phi\rho\alpha\delta$ - appearing in $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\acute{\epsilon}$ - $\phi\rho\alpha\delta$ -ον, $\pi\acute{\epsilon}$ - $\phi\rho\alpha\delta$ -ε, and in $\phi\rho\alpha\delta$ -ή, understanding; cf. E. *phrase*. So too $\xi\zeta$ -ομαι,

I sit, for ἵδ-ομαι; cf. ἕδ-os, a seat; E. *cathedral*, *polyhedron*. ῥίζα, a root, for *ῥιθ-ya, allied to E. *wort*. σχίζω, I cleave, for *σχιδ-γω, perhaps allied to L. *sci(n)do*; hence σχίσ-μα, for *σχιδ-μα, a rent, E. *schism*; σχίσ-τος, for *σχιδ-τος, easily cleft, E. *schist*; σκίλ-λα, for *σκιδ-λα, a *squill*, from its easily splitting into scales.

§ 265. (b) γυ > ιν. Gk. *φαν-γω, I appear, became φαίνω; the fact that φάν- is the true base is proved by other parts of the verb, as fut. φαν-οῦμαι, φαν-ήσομαι, 1 aor. pass. ἐ-φάν-θην, 3 perf. sing. πέ-φαν-ται, &c. and by derivatives; cf. E. *phantasm*, *phan-tom*, *dia-phan-ous*, *epi-phan-y*; *fan-cy*, *fan-tasy*, *fan-tastic*; the αι (> ē) is preserved in *phenomenon*. Gk. μαν-ια, E. *mania*, is allied to μαιν-ομαι = *μάν-γομαι, I am mad; cf. μάν-τις, a seer. Gk. τείν-ω = *τεν-γω, I stretch; the middle grade of τεν- is του-, whence E. *ton-ic*, *tone*, *dia-tonic*; the same root appears in Lat. *ten-ere*, to hold; cf. E. *ten-acious*, *ten-ement*. Cf. μέλαινα for *μελαν-γα, fem. of μέλας (base μέλαν-), black; E. *melan-choly*.

ργ > ιρ. ἀγείρω, I assemble, for *ἀ-γέρ-γω; allied to ἀ-γορ-ά, a market, ἀ-γυρ-ις, an assembly, παν-ή-γυρ-ις, a full assembly; whence E. *pan-e-gyr-ic*. κείρω, I shear, for *κέρ-γω, has lost an initial σ; originally *σκέρ-γω, cognate with A. S. *scer-an*, to shear. χαίρω, I rejoice, for *χάρ-γω; the true base appears in E. *eu-char-ist*; from the same verb we have E. *chervil*.

περ-άω, I pass through, allied to *πέρ-γα, i. e. πείρα, an attempt, trial, *ex-per-i-ence* (from Lat. *experiri*, to try); cf. L. *per-iculum*, E. *per-il*; from the Gk. πειρατής, one who attempts or attacks ships, we have E. *pir-ate*. σειρά, a rope, string, for *σερ-γά; allied to L. *ser-ies*.

The treatment of the consonantal υ, which I shall here denote by w, is similar to this. Thus Lat. *ner-uus* (= *ner-uus*), whence E. *nerve*, is precisely Gk. *νέρ-ων > νεύ-ρον, a nerve; whence E. *neuralgia*, an affection of the *nerves*. Gk. ταῦρος, a bull, answers to an older form τάρ-ως, the

precise equivalent of O. Irish *tarb*, a bull; the L. *taurus* is merely borrowed from Greek.

§ 266. Many other peculiarities of Greek might be noticed, but I only give such notes as are most often required, and I desire rather to stimulate the reader than to satisfy him. Of course the language, like all others, requires a special and exhaustive treatment. I add a few more observations, by way of conclusion.

1. Greek is fond of vowel-endings, and allows of no final consonants except *ν*, *ρ*, *ς*, *ξ*, with a few rare exceptions, such as *εκ*. The *ξ* is really included in the mention of *σ*, as it is a compound letter, for *γς*, *κς*, or *χς*. There are several examples of it even in English words borrowed from Greek, viz. *anthrax*, a carbuncle, Gk. *ἀνθραξ*, a burning coal; *calyx*, *climax*, *helix*, *larynx*, *lynx*, *onyx*, *phalanx*, *pharanx*, *phlox*, *phoenix*, *sardonyx*, *sphinx*, *storax*, *styx*, *thorax*. Hence final consonants are often lost, as in **μέλιτ*-, honey, nom. *μέλι*; *γύναι*, for **γυναικ*, vocative of *γυναικ*-, stem of *γυνή*, woman; *πρᾶγμα*, deed, for **πραγματ*, gen. *πράγματος*. The stem of a sb. is to be got from its genitive case rather than from the nominative.

2. Initial *s* is regularly represented merely by the rough breathing, though it is retained in Latin; as in *ἔξ*, L. *sex*; *ἐπτά*, L. *septem*; *ῥς*, L. *sus*; *ἡμι*-, L. *sēmi*-; *ἔζομαι*, L. *sedeo*. Hence E. has both forms; cf. *hexagon*, *sexagenarian*; *heptarchy*, *Septimus*; *hyena*, sow (from A. S. *sugu*); *hemi-stich*, *semi-quaver*; *poly-hedron*, *sedentary*. Traces of a similar change occur in Persian, which has *haft* for 'seven'; and in Welsh, which has *hen* for 'old' (cf. L. *senex*), *halen*, 'salt.'

3. The *w* (*f*), lost in Gk., is retained in Latin. Cf. *ἔσ-θης*, garment, L. *uestis*; so that *ἔσ-θης* stands for *φ-εσ-θης*. So also *φῶσπερος*, L. *vesper* (E. *Hesperus*, *vesper*); *φῆαρ*, spring, L. *uēr*; *φοῖκος*, L. *uīcus* (cf. E. *di-ocese*, *di-acious*, *vicinity*); *φάλισσα*, allied to L. *uoluo* (cf. E. *helix*, *volute*, *volume*); *φῆπος*, allied to L. *uox* (cf. E. *epic*, *voice*); *φιδεῖν*, whence *φιστωρ*,

φιστορία, allied to L. *uidere*, A. S. *wilan* (cf. E. *history*, *vision*, *wit*); *φóινος*, L. *uinum*; *φορ-άω*, L. *uer-eor*, allied to A. S. *wær*, wary (cf. E. *di-or-ama*, *war-y*); *φλο-ν*, L. *uio-la* (cf. E. *io-dine*, *vio-let*). Thus *f* is mostly represented by the smooth breathing, but sometimes by the rough. This loss of *w* in Greek much obscures the relationship of words; it is not obvious that *diocese* is from the same root as *vicinity*, or that *helix* is co-radicate with *volume*. It is striking to find that the missing *w* of Gk. *wépy-on* is still preserved in E. *work*, G. *Werk*. Cf. Homer, Il. ii. 338:—

νηπιάχοις, οἷς οὔτε μέλει πολεμήϊα φέργα.

4. *Sw* at the beginning of a word appears as *h* only. Thus E. *sweet*, L. *suavis* (for **suad-uis*), is cognate with Gk. **σφηδ-ύς*, which became *ήδύς*; E. *sweat*, A. S. *swát* (for **swait*), L. *sūdor* (for **swid-or*), is cognate with **σφιδ-ρός*, i. e. *ιδρώς*.

5. **Prothesis.** Greek sometimes prefixes an unoriginal vowel to a word, chiefly before λ, ρ, μ, or a combination of consonants. Exx. E. *red*, L. *rub-er*, cognate with Gk. *ἐ-ρυθρός*; E. *light*, L. *lewis*, cognate with Gk. *ἐ-λαχύς*; E. *milk*, v., L. *mulcere*, cognate with Gk. *ἀ-μέλω*; E. *brow*, cognate with Gk. *ὀ-φρύς*. There is every reason to believe that it was also prefixed to some words that began with *f* (*w*), as **ἄ-φεθ-λον*, the prize of a contest, cognate with E. *wed*; usual form *ἄεθλον*.

6. Of the instances of vowel-gradation, that of the interchange of *ε* and *ο* is the most marked; and, as there are some curious results from it in English, I make a note of them.

βέλ-ος—βολ-ή; *bel-ennite*, *para-bol-a*.

γέν-ος—γον-ή; *Gen-esis*, *cosmo-gon-y*.

ἐργ-ον—ἐργ-ανον; *en-erg-y*, *org-an*.

ἕχ-ω—ἐπ-οχ-ή; *hec-tic*, *ep-och*.

λέγ-ω—λόγ-ος; *ec-lec-tic*, *log-ic*, *bio-log-y*.

νέκ-ειν—νομ-ός, νόμ-ος ; *nem-esis, nom-ad, eco-nom-y.*

σκέπ-τομαι—σκοπ-ός ; *scep-tic, tele-scope.*

σπείρω = *σπέρ-γω—σπόρ-ος ; *sper-m, spore, spor-adic.*

στελ-λω—στολ-ή ; *stole, dia-stol-e, sy-stol-e, epi-stol-ary, apo-stol-ic.*

στρέφ-ω—στροφ-ή ; *Streph-on, stroph-e.*

τέμ-νω—τομ-ός ; *tome, a-tom, ana-tom-y, epi-tom-e, en-tom-ology.*

τρέπ-ω—τρόπ-ος ; *trope, trop-ic.*

φέρ-ω—φόρ-ος ; *Christo-pher, dia-phor-etic, phos-phor-us.*

φθέγγ-ομαι—φθογγ-ός ; *di-philhong.*

φλέγ-ω—φλόξ ; *phleg-matic, phlox.*

CHAPTER XVIII.

PREFIXES AND SUFFIXES.

§ 267. The chief Prefixes of English origin are given in vol. i. ch. xii. pp. 213-8. A full list of all the prefixes used in English is given in the Appendix to my Etym. Dict. in both editions; but it may be useful to make a note here of the chief prefixes of Latin and Greek origin, and of the forms which they assume in English.

Note that the numerous variations in the form of a prefix are commonly due to the letter which succeeds it.

A-, from various sources (besides those of E. origin).

L. *ab-*, F. *a-*; as in *a-chieve*; see **Ad-**.

L. *a-*; as in *a-vert*; see **Ab-**.

L. *e-*, F. *a-*; as in *a-mend*; see **Ex-** (1).

L. *ah*, interj., O. F. *a*; as in *a-las*!

Gk. *á-*; as in *a-byss*; see **An-** (2).

Arab. *al*, *a-*; as in *a-pricot*; see **Al-** (3).

The word *a-vast* seems to be a worn down form of Du. *hou'vast* (for *houd vast*), i. e. 'hold fast.'

Ab- (1), **A-**, **Adv-**, **Av-**, **V-**. L. *ab*, off, from; as in *ab-dicate*, *ab-undance*, the latter being French. Lengthened to *abs-* in *abs-cond*; with which cf. Gk. *ἀψ*, away, back. Cognate with E. *of*, Gk. *ἀπό*, Skt. *apa*, away from; see **Apo-**. This prefix also appears as *a-*, *adv-* (for *av-*), *av-*, *v-*; *exx. a-vert*, *adv-ance*, *av-aunt*, *v-anguard*.

Ab- (2). Put for L. *ad-*; in *ab-breviate*; see **Ad-**.

Abs-; see **Ab-** (1). **Ac-**; see **Ad-**.

Ad-, A-, Ab- (2), **Ac-, Af-, Ag-, Al-** (1), **An-** (1), **Ar-, As-, At-**. L. *ad*, to, for; as in *ad-apt*, *ad-dress*, the latter being French. Cognate with E. *at*. It appears as *a-*, *ab-*, *ac-*, *ad-*, *af-*, *ag-*, *al-*, *an-*, *ap-*, *ar-*, *as-*, *at-*; exx. *a-chieve*, *ab-breviate*, *ac-cede*, *ad-mire*, *af-fix*, *ag-gress*, *al-lude*, *an-nex*, *ap-pend*, *ar-rogate*, *as-sign*, *at-tract*.

Adv-; see **Ab-** (1). **Ac-, Af-, Ag-, Al-** (1); see **Ad-**.

Al- (2). Span. *el*, the; from L. *ille*, he, that. Only in *al-ligator*, for Span. *el-lagarto*, the lizard. See **L-** (2).

Al- (3), **A-, Ar-, As-, El-, L-**. Arab. *al*, the def. art.; as in *al-cohol*, *al-kali*, &c. Also found as *a-*, *ar-*, *as-*, *el-*, *l-*; as in *a-pricot*, *ar-tichoke*, *as-sagai*, *el-ixir*, *l-ute*.

Am- (1); in *am-bush*. For F. *em-*, from L. *im-*, for *in*; see **In-** (2).

Am- (2); in *am-brosia*. Gk. *am-*, for *av-*; see **An-** (2).

Ambi-, Amb-; as in *ambi-dextrous*, *amb-ition*. L. *ambi-*, *amb-*, on both sides, around (also used in French.) Cognate with Gk. *ἀμφί*; see below.

Amphi-; as in *amphi-theatre*. Gk. *ἀμφί*, on both sides, around; cognate with L. *ambi-* (above).

An- (1); see **Ad-**. **An-** (3); see **Ana-**.

An- (2), **A-, Am-**, negative prefix. Gk. *av-*, *ā-*, negative prefix; also *am-*; as in *an-æsthetic*, *a-byss*, *am-brosial*. Cognate with L. *in-*, E. *un-*; see **In-** (3).

An- (4); as in *an-oint*. For F. *en-*, L. *in*; see **In-** (2).

An- (6); as in *an-cestor*. F. *an-*, for L. *ante*; see **Ante-**.

Ana-, An- (3); as in *ana-gram*, *an-eurism*. Gk. *ἀνά*, *av-*, upon, on, up. Cognate with E. *on*.

Ante-, Anti-, Anci-, An-; as in *ante-cedent*, *anti-cipate*, *anci-ent*, *an-cestor*. L. *ante*, before; L. *anti-*; F. *anci-*, *an-*.

Anti-, Ant-, Anth-; as in *anti-dote*, *ant-agonist*, *anth-em*. Gk. *ἀντί*, against, opposite to; cognate with A. S. *and-* in *and-swerian*, E. *an-* in *an-swer*. (*Anthem* is a late form for M. E. *ant-em*).

Ap-, Ar- (1), **As-** (1), **At-**; see **Ad-**.

Apo-, Aph-; as in *apo-cope*, *aph-æresis*. Gk. ἀπό, ἀφ-, off, from. Cognate with L. *ab*.

Ar- (2), As- (2); as in *ar-tichoke*, *as-sagai*; see **Al- (3)**.

Archi-, Arche-, Arch-; as in *archi-lect*, *arche-type*, *arch-angel*. Gk. ἀρχί-, ἀρχέ-, ἀρχ-, chief; cf. ἀρχεῖν, to be first. (The *arch-* in *arch-bishop*, is A. S. *arce-*, from L. *archi-*, from the same).

Auto-, Auth-, self; as in *auto-maton*, *auth-entic*. Gk. αὐτό-s, self; αὐθ- (before a rough breathing). Hence *eff-* in *eff-endi*.

Av-; as in *av-aunt*. F. *av-*, from L. *ab*; see **Ab- (1)**.

Bi-, double (whence **Ba-** in *ba-lance*). L. *bi-*, double, from an earlier form *dui-*, related to *duo*, two. Cognate with Gk. δι-; see **Di- (1)**.

Bin-; as in *bin-ocular*. L. *bin-i*, a distributive form allied to *bi-*, double (above).

Bis-; as in *bis-cuit*. F. *bis*, from L. *bis*, twice; allied to *bi-*, double (above); see also **Dis-**.

Cata-, Cat-, Cath-; as in *cata-ract*, *cat-echism*, *cath-olic*. Gk. κατά, down, downwards.

Circum-, Circu-, round. L. *circum*, around; prep. Hence *circu-* in *circu-il*.

Com-, Co-, Col-, Con-, Cor-, Coun-, Cu-, Cur-; as in *com-mute*, *co-agulate*, *col-lect*, *con-nect*, *cor-rect*, *coun-cil*; and as *co-* in *co-uch*, *co-st*; as *cu-* in *cu-stom*; and as *cur-* in *cur-ry* (to dress leather). L. *com-*, together, used in composition for *cum*, together. Allied to Gk. σύν, together; see **Syn-**.

In the word *com-bustion*, the derivation is from a form **burere*, rather than *urere*.

Contra-, Contro-, Contr-, Counter-, as in *contra-dict*, *contro-versy*, *contr-alto*. L. *contra*, against; whence F. *contre*, Ital. *contra*. F. *contre* appears in *contr-ol*; but is usually *coun-ter-*, as in *counter-act*.

De- (1), Di- (3); as in *de-scend*, *de-bate*, the latter being French; and in *di-stil*. L. *de*, down, downward; used with

an oppositive force in *de-form*, and with an intensive force in *de-clare*, &c.

De- (2); as in *de-feat*. O. F. *de-* (F. *dé-*), for O. F. *des-*; see **Dis-**.

De-, Dea-; as in *de-vil*, *dea-con*; see **Dia-**.

Demi-, half. F. *demi*, half; from L. acc. *dimidium*, half. From L. *di-*, for *dis*, apart; and *medius*, middle.

Des-, Di -(2); as in *des-cant*, *di-verge*; see **Dis-**.

Di- (1), double; as in *di-lemma*. Gk. *di-*, double, allied to *dis*, twice, and *δύο*, two; see **Bi-**.

Di- (3); as in *di-stil*. For *de-*; see **De-** (1).

Dia-, Di- (4), **De-, Dea-**; as in *dia-bolic*, *di-æresis*, *de-vil*, *dea-con*. Gk. *διά*, through, between, apart. Allied to **Di-** (1).

Dis-, Des-, De- (2), **Di-** (2), **Dif-, S-**. L. *dis-*, apart, in two, another form of *bis*, double; *dis-* and *bis* are from O. L. *duis*, double, in two, apart; cognate with Gk. *dis*; see **Bis-** and **Di-**. Hence L. *di-*, *dif-*; O. F. *des-*, *de-*; M. E. *dis-*, for O. F. *des-*. Exx. *dis-pel*, *des-cant*, *de-feat*, *di-verge*, *dif-fuse*, *s-pend*, *s-port* (for *dis-pend*, *dis-port*).

Duo-, Du-, Dou-; as in *duo-decimo*, *du-al*, *dou-ble*. L. *duo*, two; cognate with E. *two*; whence O. F. *do-*, *dou-*, E. *dou-* in *dou-ble*, *dou-ble*.

Dys-, badly. Gk. *δύς*, badly, with difficulty; as in *dys-entery*, *dys-pepsy*.

E- (1), **Ef-, Es-**; see **Ex-** (1).

E- (4); as in *e-squire*. This *e-* is a F. addition, of purely phonetic value, due to the difficulty experienced in pronouncing initial *sc*, *sq*, *st*, *sp*. So also in *e-scutcheon*, *e-state*, *e-special*; to which add *e-schew*.

Ec-, El- (1), **Ex-** (2); as in *ec-logue*, *el-lipse*, *ex-odus*. Gk. *ἐκ*, *ἐξ*, out, out of. Cognate with L. *ex*; see **Ex-** (1).

El- (2); as in *el-ixir*. Arab. *el*, for *al*, def. art.

Em- (1), **En-** (1); as in *em-brace*, *en-close*; see **In-** (2).

Em- (2); as in *em-piric*; see **En-** (2).

En- (2); as in *en-ergy*. Gk. ἐν, ἐμ-, in; cognate with L. and E. *in*; see **In-** (2). And see above.

En- (3); as in *en-emy*; neg. prefix; see **In-** (2).

Endo-; as in *endo-gen*. Gk. ἐνδον, ἐνδο-, within; extended from ἐν, in; see **En-** (2). And see **Ind-**.

Enter-; as in *enter-tain*. F. *entre*; see **Inter-**.

Epi-, Ep-, Eph-, as in *epi-gram*, *ep-och*, *eph-emeral*. Gk. ἐπί, ἐπ-, ἐφ-, upon, on. Cognate with Skt. *api*; allied to L. *ob*. See **Ob-**.

Es-; as in *es-cape*; see **Ex-** (1).

Eso-, within; as in *eso-teric*. Gk. ἔσω, within; from ἐς, εἰς, into.

Eu-, Ev-, as in *eu-logy*, *ev-angelist*. Gk. εὖ, well; neut. of εὖς, good, orig. 'real'; for * ἐσὺς, from √*es*, to be.

Ex- (1), **A-, E-, Ef-, Es-, Iss-, S-**; as in *ex-tend*, *a-mend*, *e-normous*, *ef-fect*, *es-cape*, *iss-ue*, *s-ample*. L. *ex*, *e*, out of; also used intensively; whence L. *ef-*; F. *a-, es-, iss-*; E. *s-* for *es-*. Cognate with Gk. ἐξ; see **Eo-**.

Ex- (2); as in *ex-odus*. Gk. ἐξ, out of; see **Eo-**.

Exo-; as in *exo-gen*. Gk. ἔξω, outside, without; adv. from ἐξ (above).

Extra-, Stra-; as in *extra-vagant*, *stra-nge*. L. *extra*, without, a comparative abl. form, from L. *ex*, out; see **Ex-** (1). Compare *exter-* in *exter-ior*, *exter-nal*.

For-; as in *for-feit*, *for-close* (sometimes spelt *fore-close*). F. *for-*; from L. *foris*, outside, out, lit. out of doors; cf. L. *fores*, pl. doors.

Hemi-, Me-; as in *hemi-sphere*, *me-grim*. Gk. ἡμ-, half; cognate with L. *semi-*. See **Semi-**.

Hetero-, other; Gk. ἕτερο-, other.

Holo-, entire; Gk. ὅλο-, entire.

Homo-, same; **Homœo-**, like; Gk. ὁμό-, same, cognate with E. *same*. Hence ὁμοιο-, like.

Hyper-, above, beyond. Gk. ὑπέρ, above.

Hypo-, Hyph-, Hyp-; in *hypo-crite*, *hyph-en*, *hyp-allage*. Gk. ὑπό, under. Cognate with L. *sub*; see **Sub-**.

In- (2), **Am-**, **An-**, **Em-**, **En-**, **Il-**, **Im-**, **Ir-**; as in *in-clude*, *am-bush*, *an-oint*, *em-brace*, *en-close*, *il-lude*, *im-mure*, *ir-ritate*. L. *in*, in; cognate with Gk. *ἐν*, E. *in*. See **En-** (2). Hence, L. *il-*, *im-*, *ir-*; F. *em-* (E. *am-*), F. *en-* (E. *en-*, *an-*).

In- (3), **En-**, **I-**, **Il-**, **Im-**, **Ir-**; as in *in-firm*, *en-emy*, *i-gnoble*, *il-legal*, *im-mortal*, *ir-regular*. L. *in-*, *i-*, *il-*, *im-*, *ir-*, negative prefix, cognate with Gk. *ἀν-*, E. *un-*; see **An-** (2). Hence F. *en-*, as in O. F. *en-emi*, enemy.

Ind-; as in *ind-igent*. O. Lat. *end-o*, within; cognate with Gk. *ἐνδον*.

Inter-, **Enter-**, **Entr-**, **Intel-**; as in *inter-vene*, *enter-tain*, *entr-ails*, *intel-lect*. L. *inter*, among, between; allied to *interior*, *inter-nus*. Hence L. *intel-*, F. *entre-* (E. *enter-*).

Intra-, **Intro-**, within. L. *intra*, *intro*, within; allied to *inter* (above).

Ir- (1); see **In-** (2). **Ir-** (2); see **In-** (3). **Iss-**; see **Ex-** (1).

Juxta, near. L. *iuxta*, near.

L-, as in *l-ouver*. F. *l'*, for *le*, the; L. *ille*, he, that.

L-, as in *l-ute*. For Arab. *el*, def. art., the. See **Al-** (3).

Male-, **Mali-**, **Mal-**, **Mau-**, badly; as in *male-factor*, *mali-gn*, *mal-treat*, *mau-gre*. L. *male*, badly, ill; O. F. *mal*, F. *mal*, *mau*.

Me-; as in *me-grim*. For *hemi-grim*; see **Hemi-**.

Meta-, **Meth-**, **Met-**, among, with, after; also used to denote change; as in *meta-morphose*, *meth-od*, *met-eor*. Gk. *μετά*, among, with, after; cognate with A. S. *mid*, with, as in *mid-wife*.

Min-; as in *min-ster*; see **Mono-**.

Mis-, badly, ill. O. F. *mes-*, from L. *minus*, less; used in a depreciatory sense. It occurs in *mis-adventure*, *mis-alliance*, *mis-chance*, *mis-chief*; and is quite distinct from the E. prefix *mis-* in *misdeed*.

Mono-, **Mon-**, **Min-**, as in *mono-chord*, *mon-arch*, *min-ster*. Gk. *μόνος*, single, sole, alone.

Multi-, Mult-, many; as in *multi-ply*, *mult-angular*. L. *multi-*, for *multo-*, stem of *multus*, much, many.

Ne-, N-, Neg-; as in *ne-farious*, *ne-uter*, *n-ull*, *neg-ation*, *neg-lect* *neg-otiate*. L. *ne*, not; whence *n-ullus*, for *ne ullus*; also *nec*, not, becoming *neg-*, and short for *ne-que* and not.

Non-, Um-, not; as in *non-age*. L. *non*, not; short for *ne unum*, not one. Hence *um-* in *um-pire*, put for *num-pire*.

Ob-, O-, Oc- Of-, Op-; as in *ob-long*, *o-mit*, *oc-cur*, *of-fer*, *op-press*. L. *ob*, near; allied to Gk. *ἐνί*, on, near, Skt. *api*, moreover; see **Epi-**. The force of *ob-* is variable. There is also a form *os-*, probably for *obs-*; which occurs in *os-tensible*.

Os-; as in *os-tensible*; see above.

Outr-; as in *outr-age*. F. *outré*, beyond, from L. *ultra*; see **Ultra**.

Pa-; as in *pa-lsy*; short for *para-*; see **Para-**.

Palin-, Palim-; as in *palin-ode*, *palim-psest*. Gk. *πάλιν*, again.

Pan-, Panto-, all. Gk. *πᾶν*, neut. of *pās*, all; *παντο-*, crude form of the same, as in *panto-mime*.

Par- (1); as in *par-son*. For *per-*; see **Per-**.

Para-, Par- (2), Pa-; as in *para-bola*, *par-ody*, *pa-lsy*. Gk. *παρά*, beside. Allied to E. *for*, Lat. *per*; and also to Gk. *περί*. (Distinct from *para-* in *para-chute*, *para-pet*, *para-sol*, from F. *parer*.)

Para- (2); in *para-dise*. Zend *pairi*, cognate with Gk. *περί*; see **Peri-**.

Pen-; in *pen-insula*. L. *paen-e*, almost.

Per-, Par-, Pel-, Pil-; as in *per-fect*, *par-son*, *par-don*, *pel-lucid*, *pil-grim*. L. *per*, through; whence L. *pel-*, F. *per-*, *par-*, Ital. and M. E. *pel-*, E. *pil-*.

Peri-, around, round. Gk. *περί*, around; cf. Skt. *pari*, Zend *pairi*, round about. See **Para- (2)**.

Poly-, many. L. *poly-*, for Gk. *πολύ-*, crude form of *πολύς*, much.

Por- (1), **Po-**, **Pol-**, **Pos-**; as in *por-lend*, *po-sition*, *pol-lute*, *pos-sess*. L. *por-*, of doubtful origin; some connect it with O. L. *port*, prep. forth, towards, cognate with Gk. *πρός*, towards, Skt. *prati*, towards, and E. *forth*.

Por- (2); as in *por-trait*; see **Pro-** (1).

Post-, after. L. *post*, after. Hence F. *puis*, appearing as *pu* in *pu-ny*.

Pre-, **Præ-**, **Pr-** (1), **Pro-** (3); as in *pre-fix*, *præ-tor*, *pr-ison*, *pro-vost*. L. *præ*, *pre-*, before; put for **prai*, an old locative case, allied to **Pro-** (1).

Preter-, beyond. L. *præter*, beyond; compar. from *præ*, before.

Pri-, as in *pri-or*, *pri-me*, *pri-vate*. Lat. *pri-*, *pri-*, before, allied to **Pro-**, **Præ-**.

Pro- (1), **Por-** (2), **Pour-**, **Pr-** (2), **Prof-**, **Pur-**; as in *pro-found*, *por-trait*, *pour-tray*, *pr-udent*, *prof-fer*, *pur-vey*. L. *prō*, before, in front; also *prō*, put for *prod*, abl. case used as a preposition, which occurs in *prod-igal*. Allied to Gk. *προ-*, before, Skt. *pra*, before, away, and E. *for*; see **Pro-** (2). Hence F. *por-*, *pour-*, E. *pur-*, and *prof-* (for *pro-*) in *prof-fer*.

Pro- (2), before. Gk. *πρό*, before; cognate with **Pro-** (1).

Prod-, **Prof-**; as in *prod-igal*, *prof-fer*; see **Pro-** (1).

Pros-, in addition to, towards. Gk. *πρός*, towards.

Proto-, **Prot-**, first; as in *proto-type*, *prot-oxide*. Gk. *πρώτος*, first; superl. form of **Pro-** (2).

Pu-; as in *pu-ny*; see **Post-**. **Pur-**; see **Pro-** (1).

Re-, **Red-**, **R-**, **Ra-**, **Ren-**, again. L. *red-*, *re-*, again; whence F. *re-*, *r-*, *ra-*, *ren-*. *Red-* occurs in *red-eem*, *red-ound*, *red-undant*, *red-dition*; and is changed to *ren-* in *ren-der*, *ren-t*. *Re-* can be prefixed to E. and Scand. words, as in *re-new*, *re-call*. It appears as *r-* in *r-ally*, and as *ra-* in *ra-gout*.

Re- can be prefixed to other prefixes, which sometimes coalesce with it; cf. *ra-bbet* = *re-abut*; *ram-part* = *re-em-part*. Also in *re-ad-apt*, *re-col-lect*, *re-con-cile*, *re-sur-rection*, &c.

Retro-, Rere-, Rear-, backwards, behind. L. *retro*-, backwards, back again; a compar. form from *re*-, back; see **Re-**. Hence O. F. *a-rere* (L. *ad-retro*), whence E. *rear-guard*, *rere-ward*.

S- (1); as in *s-ure*; see **Se-**.

S- (2); as in *s-pend*, for *dis-pend*; see **Dis-**.

S- (3); as in *s-ample*; F. *s-*, for L. *ex*; see **Ex-** (1).

S- (4); as in *s-ombre*; from L. *sub*; see **Sub-**.

Sans-, without. F. *sans*; from L. *sine*, without; see **Sine-**.

Se-, Sed-, S- (1), apart. L. *sē*-, apart; O. L. *sed*, apart, as in *sed-ition*; lit. 'by oneself.' Hence *s-* in *s-ober*, *s-ure*.

Semi-, half. L. *semi*-, half; cognate with Gk. ἡμί; see **Hemi-**.

Sine-, without. L. *sine*, without. Hence F. *sans*, without.

So- (1), as in *so-journ*; see **Sub-**.

So- (2), as in *so-ber*. L. *sō*-, by-form of *sē*-, apart; L. *sōbrius*, free from drunkenness; cf. *ē-brius*, very drunk.

Sopr-, Sover-; see **Super**.

Stra-; as in *stra-nge*; see **Extra**.

Sub-, S- (4), **So-, Su-, Suc-, Suf-, Sug-, Sum-, Sup-, Sur-** (1); as in *sub-mit*, *s-ombre*, *so-journ*, *su-spect*, *suc-ceed*, *suf-fuse*, *sug-gest*, *sum-mon*, *sup-press*, *sur-rogate*. L. *sub*, under, beneath; (also) up; appearing as *sup-* in L. *sup-inus*, whence E. *sup-ine*. Allied to **Hypo-**, and to E. *up*. Hence L. *su-*, *suc-*, *suf-*, *sug-*, *sum-*, *sup-*, *sur-*; F. *s-*, *so-*. See **Sus-**.

Subter-, beneath. L. *subter*, beneath; compar. form from *sub*, under; see **Sub-**.

Super-, above; **Supra-**, beyond; **Sover-, Sopr-, Sur-** (2). L. *super*, above; compar. of *sub*, under, up. Hence *suprā*, above, orig. abl. feminine. Also found as *sover-* in *sover-eign*, from the French; and as *sopr-* in *sopr-ano*, from the Italian. Also as F. *sur-* (= L. *super*); thus *sur-face* is a doublet of *super-ficies*.

Sur- (1), in *sur-rogate*; see **Sub-**. **Sur-** (2); see **Super-**.

Sus-, as in *sus-pend*. L. *sus*, up; perhaps for **subs*, extended form of *sub*, under; see **Sub-**.

Syn-, **Sy-**, **Syl-**, **Sym-**; as in *syn-onym*, *sy-stem*, *syl-logism*, *sym-metry*. Gk. σύν, with; also found as συ-, συλ-, συμ-. Allied to L. *cum*; see **Com-**.

T-. In *t-awdry*, put for *Sain-t Awdry*. In *t-auto-logy*, *t-* represents Gk. τό, neut. of the def. article.

Trans-, **Tra-**, **Tran-**, **Tres-**, **Tre-** (1), beyond; as in *trans-late*, *tra-duce*, *tra-verse*, *tran-scend*, *tres-pass*, *tre-ason*. L. *trans*, *trā-*, *tran-*, beyond; whence F. *tres-* *tra-* (E. *tre-*).

Tri- (1), **Tre-** (2), thrice; as in *tri-ple*, *tre-ble*. L. *tri-* (F. *tre-*); allied to *tres*, three.

Tri- (2), thrice. Gk. τρι-, thrice; allied to *τρί-a*, neut. of *τρεῖς*, three. Hence *tri-gonometry*, &c.

Ultra-, **Outr-**, beyond. L. *ultra*, beyond; whence F. *outr-*, beyond, E. *outr-* in *outr-age*. It is corrupted to *utter-* in the phrase 'to the *utterance*,' from F. à l'*outrance*.

Um-; as in *um-pire*; see **Non-**.

Uni-, **Un-**; as in *uni-vocal*, *un-animous*; L. *un-us* (stem *uno->uni-*), one. Cognate with E. *one*.

Utter-, as in *utter-ance*; see **Ultra**.

V-; as in *v-an*. For F. (a)*v-*, from L. *ab*; see **Ab-** (1).

Ve-, apart from. L. *ue-*, apart from; only in *ve-stibule*, and (probably) in *ve-stige*.

Vice-, **Vis-**, in place of. L. *uice*, in place of; whence A. F. *vis-*, as in *vis-count*.

LATIN AND GREEK SUFFIXES.

§ 268. **Suffixes.** I do not propose to give here a complete list of suffixes of Latin and Greek origin, on account of the great variety of their forms, especially in words derived from Latin through the French. The reader may consult the account of them in Morris's *Historical Outlines of English Accidence*; and in Koch's *Historische Grammatik*, vol. iii,

pt. 1, pp. 29-76. A general account of the Aryan Suffixes is given in Schleicher's *Compendium*, &c., pp. 365-477; but the forms there given require certain alterations, and Schleicher's work is practically superseded by the later and more minute account given in the second volume of Brugmann's *Grundriss der Vergleichenden Grammatik der indogermanischen Sprachen*, which I now take as my guide. I have already enumerated several of the Aryan suffixes in vol. i. p. 225, on account of their frequent occurrence in Teutonic languages.

As the Latin suffixes are far more important than the Greek, for the special purposes of English etymology, I shall first give a brief account of the principal of these; adding some account of the corresponding Greek suffixes at the end of the chapter.

We constantly find two or three suffixes used in combination; and, in addition to the suffixes in which the consonantal element is fairly well marked, we frequently find vowels, especially long vowels, introduced in connection with them, the presence of which cannot always be easily accounted for. For example, between the root *AN*, to breathe, and the suffix *-mo*, we find are inserted *ε* in Greek, and *ī* in Latin, as in *ἄν-ε-μος*, L. *an-i-mus*. In this case, the introduction of a short vowel assists the pronunciation. Again, between the base *ac-t-* (composed of the root *AG*, to drive, and the suffix *-to*) and the suffix *-wo*, we find L. *ī*, as in *act-ī-uus*, active; what, in this case, is the precise reason for the occurrence of long *-ī-*, I am not able to say. And I have equal difficulty in accounting for the occurrence of other vowels, such as *-ā-*, *-ē-*, &c., in a great many instances.

Not unfrequently, it is clear that a suffix is added, not to the mere *base*¹ of a substantive exclusive of its distinguishing

¹ In the Gk. sb. *θυ-μ-ο-ς*, I here define *θυμ-* as the *base*, and *θυμο-* as the *stem*. Moreover, *θυ-* is the *root*, *-μο-* is the *suffix*, and *-ς* is the *case-ending*.

final vowel, but to the *stem* or *crude form* of the substantive as occurring in actual declension, or to a modification of it. That is to say, L. *ciuicus* is obtained by adding *-cus* (representing the suffix *-ko*) to the crude form *ciui-* of *ciui-s*, not to the mere base *ciu-*, in which the final *-i* is not considered. So also L. *bellicus* has taken the place of **bello-cus* (as if from *bello-*, crude form of *bellum*), either because it seemed to be more convenient, or because it was formed by analogy with such words as *ciuicus*. It is frequently difficult to divide words rightly, and I do not know that I have always done so.

§ 269. It is necessary to know precisely what is meant by a given suffix, such as the Aryan *-mo*. Of course, derived words were at first due to mere composition, i. e. to combination of words already existing; but, at a later time, new compounds were often formed on the analogy of compounds already in use. It is only for the purpose of analysis that we, *conventionally*, suppose a suffix to be added to a root, or to a crude form, already containing a suffix, so as to produce a new crude form to which the various case-endings are to be appended. In masculine sbs., the usual nom. suffix is *-s*, and the crude form is obtained by comparing the nominative with other cases. Thus, by adding *-mo* to the root *dhv*, we obtain Gk. *θυ-μός*, L. *fu-mu-s*. In this case the L. *fumus* stands for an earlier form **fumos*, as we know from the fact that examples of similar early Latin forms actually occur; such as *equos*, a horse, *mortuos*, dead, *donom*, a gift, *colomna*, a column, &c.; see Roby, *Lat. Gr.* i. 63. But the substitution of *u* for *o* in classical Latin is so universal, that the fact must be continually borne in mind. The suffix *-mo* is used also for neuter sbs., the only difference being that the nom. case-ending is changed from *-s* to *-m*; as in L. *po-mu-m*, for **po-mo-m*, an apple. Corresponding to this masc. and neut. suffix in *-mo*, there is a fem. suffix in *-mā*, with long *ā*, as in Gk. *φῆ-μη*, Doric *φά-μᾱ*, L. *fā-mā-* (as in gen. pl. *famārum*); but it is characteristic

of Latin that the final *-ā* is always shortened to *-ă* in the nom. singular, though it was originally *long*. It must, then, be carefully borne in mind that the employment of the Aryan suffix *-mo* (fem. *-mâ*) necessarily relates to Latin masculines in *-mus* (= **-mo-s*), neuters in *-mum* (= **-mo-m*) and feminines in *-mă* (shortened from *-mā*). The same is true of *all* Aryan suffixes ending in *-o*, such as *-wo*, *-ro*, *-lo*, *-ko*, etc., including even the simple *-o* itself. The Gk. nom. case-endings corresponding to Aryan *-mo* are, in like manner, *-μoς* for the masculine gender, *-μoν* for the neuter, and *-μῃ* for the feminine; and so in other cases. I shall assume that this is now understood, as it will save a great deal of needless detail in dealing with this rather complex subject.

§ 270. The above remarks apply to Latin sbs. of the second and first declensions. The fifth declension, in *-ē-s*, much resembles the first, with *-ē* or *-iē* in place of *-ā*. In the second declension we also find stems in *-ro*, as in acc. *agrum*, for **ag-ro-m*, a field, with a nom. in *-er*, as *ag-er*; and stems in *-ĕ-ro*, as in acc. *pu-eru-m*, for **pu-ero-m*, a boy, with a nom. in *-er*, as *pu-er*; in addition to the stems with a nom. in *-us* or *-um*. In the fourth declension, the stems really end in *-u* (not *-o*), as is seen by the persistence of that vowel throughout the declension; as in *gradu-s*, a step, dat. *gradu-i*, gen. pl. *gradu-um* (base *grad-*, stem *grad-u*). In the third declension, we have two kinds of stems: (1) in *-i*, and (2) consonantal. Thus we have *nub-es*, a cloud, gen. *nubi-s*, gen. pl. *nubi-um*, stem *nubi-*; *imber*, a shower, gen. pl. *imbri-um*, stem *imbr-*; *lex*, law, contracted from **leg-s*, gen. *leg-is*, with a consonantal stem *leg-*; *uox*, voice, written for **uoc-s*, gen. *uoc-is*, gen. pl. *uoc-um* (not *uoci-um*), with a consonantal stem *uoc-*; *miles* (for **milit-s*), soldier, stem *milit-*; *margo*, margin, stem *margin-*¹; *pater*, father, stem *pater-*, *patr-*; *corpus*, body,

¹ The stem is really *margen-*, varying to *margon*; the latter appears in the nom. *margo*, short for *margon*. See Brugmann, *Grundriss*, ii. 331.

stem *corpos-*, whence gen. *corpor-is*, for **corpos-is*; *op-us*, work, gen. *oper-is*, with a variable stem *opes-*, *opos-*; &c.

In compounds formed from verbs, the stem employed is frequently that seen in the past participle, as in *amare*, to love, pp. *amā-tus*, whence *amā-bilis*; *monere*, to advise, pp. *monī-tus*, whence *monī-mentum* (also *monū-mentum*), a memorial. And the pp. suffix itself is often involved in the compound; as in *uidere*, to see, pp. *uī-su-s*; whence *ui-si-bili-s*, visible, where *uīsi-* stands for **uīsō-*, stem of *uisus*.

§ 271. I now give a list of the principal suffixes that occur in Latin, reserving illustrations from Greek for a later section. For the sake of clearness, I give only *one* or *two* examples in each case; more can easily be found.

* * I give the Aryan form of the suffix in capital letters, as -MO. In the instances from Latin, I give the *true stem* instead of the nom. case, which often shows a contracted and misleading form. Thus I write *primo* for *primus*, first, *lapid* for *lapis* (gen. *lapid-is*), a stone; and so on throughout. *The attention of the student is particularly directed to this arrangement*, as it saves much space and explanation. For the same reason, I omit the meanings of the Latin words; they can always be easily discovered.

Further, I ask particularly that it may be understood, once for all, that compound suffixes are analysed below *as if* they had been formed *regularly* from the stems actually given; although in several cases corrections may have to be applied. Thus the word *æqu-a-lis* was not really formed by adding *-lis* to the stem *æqu-a-*, but was, more probably, formed by analogy with *ta-lis*, *qua-lis*, and forms (such as *normā-lis*) in which the final *ā* is original; so that the *-a* does not always necessarily represent the feminine form of Suffix 1, as it appears to do. I have no space to analyse every word in the strictest way.

§ 272. LIST OF LATIN SUFFIXES (numbered, for reference). Observe that, in many instances, the suffix is combined with

others, and may appear near the middle of a word. Thus the suffix *-i* not only appears in *ædi*, stem of *ædes*, but in the middle of *æd-i-ficare*, to build, from the same. Moreover, in the middle of a word, we usually find *-i-* for *-o-*, *-mi-* for *-mo-*, *-ri-* for *-ro-*, &c.

1. -O (*-o*, *-ĭ-*); *son-o*, *popul-o*, *bell-i-(co)*. Fem. -Â (*-a*, *-ā-*); *arc-a*, *arc-ā-(no)*.

2. -I (*-i*, *-ĭ-*); *æd-i*, *æd-i-(ficare)*, *mar-i-(timo)*, *turp-i-(tudin)*, *uulp-i-(cida)*.

3. -U (*-u*, *-u-*); *arc-u*, Low L. *gen-u-(flexiōn)*, *ten-u-(i)*, *suā-u-(i)*.

4. -YO (*-iō*, *-iē-*); *soc-iō*, *med-iō*, *med-iē-(tat)*. Fem. -YÂ (*-ia*); *fur-ia*, *uictor-ia*. A closely allied fem. form occurs in *-iē*; *pauper-iē*, *ac-iē*, *fac-iē*. Cf. *al-iē-(no)*.

Hence, perhaps, the vowel *-ī-* in some fem. sbs., as in *matr-ī-(c)*, from *matr-iō*. A curious compound occurs in *-eo*, put for **-i-yo*, for *-O-YO*; as in *aur-eo*, for **aur-i-yo* (*aur-o-yo*). Hence also *-neo* is put for *-ni-yo* (*-NO-YO*), as in *extrā-neo*. So also *-l-eo*, *-c-eo*; see 16, 38.

5. -WO (*-uo*, *-u-*); *eq-uo*, *eq-u-(īno)*, *sal-uo*, *ann-uo*. Fem. -WÂ (*-ua*, *-uā-*); *stat-ua*, *ual-ua*, *sil-uā-(tico)*.

6. -MO (*-mo*, *-mi-*, *-m-*); *pri-mo*, *an-i-mo*, *infr-mi-(tat)*, *ulti-m-(ato)*. Fem. -MÂ (*-mā*, *-mā-*); *fa-mā*, *nor-mā-(li)*.

7. -MI (*-mī*); *uer-mi*.

8. -MEN, -MON (*-men*, *-min-*, *-mn-*, *-mōn-*); *fla-men*, *no-min-(ali)*, *ger-min-(are)*, *calu-mn-(ia)*, *acri-mōn-(ia)*. See 24.

9. -MENO (*-mino*, *-mno*); *ter-mīno*, *da-mno*. See 8 and 1. Fem. -MENÂ (*-mīna*); *fē-mīna*.

10. -NO (*-no*, *-nĭ-*); *dig-no*, *dig-ni-(tāt)*. Fem. -NÂ (*-na*); *ul-na*. Here belongs *-neo* or *n-eo*; see 4.

11. -TNO (*-tīno*, *-ndo*, for **-tno*)¹; *pris-tīno*, *cras-tīno*, *ama-ndo*, *fle-ndo*.

12. -NI (*-ni*); *ig-ni*, *iuue-ni*.

¹ For the change from *tn* to *nd*, compare *pando*, for **pat-no*, from *pat-ere*; *tendo* for **te-tn-o*, from *ten-ere*.

13. -NU (-nu, -nu-, nī-); *ma-nu*, *ma-nu-(alī)*, *ma-nī-(festo)*.

14. -EN, -ON (-en, -īn-, -n-, -o, -ōn); nom. *pect-en*, gen. *pect-īn-is*; nom. *car-o* (for **car-on*), gen. *car-n-is*; *car-n-(alī)*; nom. *hom-o* (for **hom-on*), gen. *hom-in-is*; *nebul-ōn*. Cf. no. 35.

15. -ENT, -ONT, -NT (-ent-, -unt-, -nt-); *ag-ent-i*, *abs-ent-i*, *e-unt-i*, *uol-un-(iāt)* (for **uol-unt-iāt*), *ama-nt-i*, *fle-nt-i*.

16. -LO (-lo, -ī-li, for **-i-lo*, -ū-lo); *sti-lo*, *fac-ili*, *trem-ulo*. Fem. -LĀ (-la, -ē-la); *uio-la*, *cand-ē-la* (from *cand-ē-re*). Here belongs the suffix -s-lo, usually contracted, with loss of s; as in *uē-lo*, for **ueh-s-lo*, from *ueh-ere*; *ā-la*, for **ag-s-lā*, from *ag-ere*; *pā-lo*, for **pac-s-lo*, from the base seen in *pac-is-ci*.

Also -l-eo, as in *acu-leo*; see 4.

17. -LI (-li, -l); *ta-li*, *æqua-li*. The i is dropped in *anima-l*, *tribuna-l*; cf. *sal*, *sol*.

N.B. The -li becomes -ri; this arose, in the first instance, from dissimilation, i. e. to avoid a repetition of l, and is chiefly found when an l occurs in the former part of the word; as *palma-ri*, *milita-ri*. Hence also -ri-o, -ā-ri-o, as in *contrā-ri-o*.

18. -RO (-ro, -ero, -rī-); *pu-ro*, *ag-ro* (nom. *ager*); *pu-ero* (nom. *pu-er*); *ca-ri-(iāt)*, *in-leg-ri-(iāt)*. Fem. -RĀ (-ra, -era, -erā-); *cap-ra*, *cam-era*, *hed-erā-(ceo)*.

19. Closely related to the preceding is the Gk. comparative suffix -τερο, to which answers L. -ter, -tero, -tro, -trā, -trō, as well as -is-tro, -is-ter (cf. -is in *mag-is*); as in *dex-tro*, *dex-tero*, nom. *dex-ter*, *in-ter-(ior)*, *con-trā*, *in-trā*, *in-trō*; *mag-is-tro*, nom. *mag-is-ter*; *min-is-tro*, nom. *min-is-ter*. This seems to be not the same suffix as the agential suffix -tro which appears in *ara-tro*, a plough, an implement wherewith to plough; see 32 (p. 389).

20. -RI (-rī, -erī); *ac-ri*, nom. *ac-er*; *put-rī*; *cel-erī*.

21. -RU (-ru-, -rī-); *dac-ru-(ma)*, *lac-ru-(ma)*, *lac-rī-(ma)*, a tear; cf. Gk. δάκ-ρυ.

22. -ER, -OR (-er, -or, -ōr-); *ans-er*, *sor-or*, gen. *sor-ōr-is*. Closely allied to the suffix -TER, -TOR. See 31.

23. -ES, -OS (-es-, -is-, -er; -os-, -us-, -us-, -or-, -ōr-); *mod-es-(to)*, *mai-es-(tāt)*, *dig-n-is-(simo)*, *nequ-is-(simo)*; *op-er-is*, gen. case of *op-us*; *dec-ōr-is*, gen. of *dec-us*; *hon-ōr-is*, gen. of *hon-os*, *hon-or*; *aur-or-(a)*; *temp-us*, whence *temp-es-(tāt)*, *temp-er-(are)*, *temp-or-ali*; *min-us-(culo)*. Note the frequent change of *s* to *r* between two vowels.

Lat. -is (-is, -er-). Closely allied to the above. As in *cin-is*, gen. *cin-er-is*; *mag-is-(ter)*; *cin-er-(ārio)*.

Lat. -s (-s, -r-). Also closely related to the above; as in *flo-s*, gen. *flo-r-is*; *spe-s*, *spe-r-are*, *mon-s-(tro)*. Also in suffix -s-lo; see 16.

24. -TO (-to, -so, -ti-, -si-); *ac-to*, *mis-so*, *ac-ti-(ōn)*, *mis-si-(ōn)*. Fem. -TĀ (-tā, -sā, -tā-, -sā); *sec-ta* (from *sequ-i*), *noxa*, for **noc-sa* (from *noc-ere*), *repul-sa*, *ui-tā-(li)*, *men-sā-(li)*.

-MENTO. Hence the common compound suffix -MEN-TO (-men-to), as in *aug-mento*. See 8.

Lat. -ō-so (-ō-si-). The curious L. suffix -ōso is known to stand for -onso, as *formonsus* occurs for *formosus* in old inscriptions. Osthoff (see Brugmann, I. § 238) explains it as shortened from *-o-wns-so, for *-o-wnt-to, with vocalic *n*; that is, it arose from a conjunction of -o-, or a stem vowel, with the suffixes -wnt- and -to. The suffix -wnt- is the weakened form of the suffix -went (-wont); cf. Skt. *pultra-vant*, having sons, Gk. ἀμπελό-φειρ- (nom. ἀμπελόεις), abounding in vines. See 5 and 15.

25. -TI (-ti, -si); *cu-ti*; *mes-si*; *axi*, for **ag-si*; *agres-ti*, *domes-ti-(co)*.

26. -TI, reduced to -T (-t, -et, -it, -ut, -ōt, -ūt); *par-t* (nom. *pars* (= **part-s*), gen. *par-ti-s*); *seg-et* (nom. *seg-es*, gen. *seg-eti-s*); *com-it* (nom. *com-es*, gen. *com-iti-s*); *cap-ut* (gen. *cap-iti-s*); *nep-ōt* (nom. *nep-os*, gen. *nep-ōti-s*); *sal-ūt* (nom. *sal-us*, gen. *sal-ūti-s*). Here perhaps belongs *qui-ēt* (nom. *qui-es*, gen. *qui-ēti-s*).

27. -TI-ON (-*ti-ōn*, -*si-ōn*), *ac-ti-ōn* (nom. *ac-ti-o*), *mis-si-ōn* (nom. *mis-si-o*). See 25 and 14.

28. -TÂ-TI (-*tā-t*); *dei-tāt*, (nom. *dei-tas*, gen. *dei-tāti-s*). See 24 and 25.

29. -TU (-*tu*, -*tu*-, -*ti*-, -*su*-, -*su*-); *ar-tu*, *ri-tu*-(*ali*), *ar-ti*-(*culo*); *cā-su* (for **cad-su*), *sexu* (for **sec-su*), *u-su*-(*ali*).

30. -TU-TI (-*tūt*); *uir-tut* (nom. *uir-tus*, gen. *uir-tuti-s*). See 29 and 25.

31. -TER, -TOR, -TR (-*ter*, -*tōr*, -*tr*-, -*sōr*); *pa-tr* (nom. *pa-ter*); *da-tōr* (nom. *da-tor*, gen. *da-tōr-is*); *confes-sōr*; *nu-tr*-(*i-c*) (nom. *nu-tr-i-x*, gen. *nu-tr-i-c-is*). See 4.

32. -TR-O (-*tr-o*, -*cl-o*, -*cul-o*, -*cr-o*); *ar-a-tr-o*; *spec-tr-o*, *mons-tr-o*, *per-i-cl-o*, *per-i-cul-o*, *lu-cr-o*. See 31 and 1.

The sound of -*tro* was easily changed to -*cro*, and thence to -*clo*. Fem. -TRÂ; *mulc-tra*.

33. -TUR-O (-*tūr-o*, -*sūr-o*); *fu-tūr-o*, *mis-sūr-o*. Fem. -TUR-Â (-*tūr-a*, -*sūr-a*); *crea-tur-a*, *ton-sūr-a*. Closely allied to 31, followed by 1.

34. -ID, -D (-*id*, -*ud*, -*d*-); *lap-id* (nom. *lap-is*, gen. *lap-id-is*); *pec-ud* (nom. *pec-us*, gen. *pec-ud-is*); *haer-ē-d* (nom. *haer-e-s*, gen. *haer-ēd-is*).

35. -D-EN, -D-ON (-*d-in*); *or-d-in*, nom. *or-d-o*, for **or-d-on*; cf. *or-iri*, *or-d-iri*; *car-d-in*. Cf. 14.

36. -TU-D-EN (-*tu-d-in*); *alti-tu-d-in*, nom. *alti-tu-do*, for **alti-tu-d-on*. See 29 and 35.

37. -DO (-*do*, -*di*-); *luc-i-do*, *pu-tri-do*. All adjectives; here the suffix -*do* is probably derived from *dā-re*; thus *luc-i-do* is 'light-giving.' In composition -*di*-, as in *timi-di*-(*tat*).

38. -QO, -KO (-*quo*, -*co*-, -*qui*-, -*ci*-, -*cu*-, -*c*-); *ant-i-quo*, *ciui-co*, *sola-ci*-(*o*), *mus-cu*-(*lo*), *fe-c*-(*undo*). Hence *anti-qui*-(*tat*), *pau-ci*-(*tat*). Fem. -QÂ, -KÂ (-*ca*); *rub-r-i-ca*. Here belongs -*ā-ce-o*, as in *herb-ā-ce-o*; see 4.

39. -K (*ic*, -*ā-c*, -*ē-c*, *i-c*, *ō-c*); *ap-ec* (nom. *ap-ex*, gen. *ap-ic-is*); *append-ic*, *forn-ā-c*, *ueru-ē-c*, *rad-i-c*, *fer-ō-c*; with noms. in -*x*, and stems taking -*i* in all oblique cases.

40. -SQO, fem. -SQÂ (-sco, -sca); *e-sca*, for **ed-sca*, from *ed-ere*; *mollu-sca*, from *molli-s*.

41. -BHO (-bo); *mor-bo*, from *mor-i*. We probably have a derivative of $\sqrt{\text{BHU}}$, to be, in *ama-bo*, future tense of *amare*, and in the suffix -bu, as seen in *uaga-bu-ndo*. [Some refer hither the -bi- in *amā-bi-li*]

42. Lat. -bro, -bri, -ber; as in *candela-bro*, *fune-bri*, *Novem-ber*. Also found as -bulo, for *-blo; fem. -bula, for *-blā; as in *sta-bulo*, *fa-bula*. Here perhaps belongs the adj. suffix -bili, as in *sta-bili*.

43. Lat. -g-. The Lat. -g- in *miti-g-are*, *pur-g-are* is not an Aryan suffix, but a suffix due to the Lat. *ag-ere*, to drive; so also, perhaps, in *im-ā-g-in*, *uir-g-in*.

§ 273. It will be seen that the forms within parenthesis, such as (-u, -u-) after the Aryan suffix -U in § 272, no. 3, are forms which actually occur, and have been exemplified. Also, that the symbol -u (with *one* hyphen) denotes that the suffix (not counting case-endings) is final, as in *arc-u* (nom. *arc-u-s*), a bow; and -u- (with *two* hyphens), that it is medial, as in *ten-u-i-s*. I shall now collect these within the smallest possible space, omitting all the hyphens, but marking off, as is very necessary, such substitutions as only occur *medially*. The latter are marked 'med.'

1. o, a; med. ĭ, ā. 2. ĭ. 3. u. 4. iō, iā, iē, eo, ea; med. iē, ī. 5. uo, ua (vo, va); med. u, uā (v, vā). 6. mo, mā; med. m, mi, mā. 7. mi. 8. men; med. min, mn, mōn. 9. mino, mina, mno. 10. no, na; med. nĭ, n. 11. tino, ndo. 12. ni. 13. nu; med. nĭ. 14. en, ō(n), o; med. in, n. 15. ent, unt, nt. 16. lo, ili, ulo, la, ēla, (s)lo; med. l. 17. li, l, ri, rio. 18. ro, ero, ra, era; med. rĭ, rā. 19. ter, tero, trō, trā, trō, ister, istrō. 20. ri, eri. 21. ru; med. rĭ. 22. er, ōr; med. ōr. 23. os, us, s; ěr(i), ōr(i), ōr(i), r(i); med. es, is. Also is (eri); med. er. 24. to, so, ta, sa; oso; med. ti, si, osi. Also men-to. 25. ti, si. 26. t, et, it, ūt, ōt, ūt. 27. tiōn, siōn. 28. tāt(i). 29. tu, su; med. ti. 30. tūf(i).

31. *ter*, *tr(i)*, *fōr(i)*, *sōr(i)*. 32. *tro*, *clo*, *culo*, *cro*, *tra*.
 33. *turo*, *suro*, *tura*, *sura*. 34. *id*, *ud*, (*ē*)*d*. 35. *din(i)*.
 36. *tudin(i)*. 37. *do*; med. *di*. 38. *quo*, *co*, *ca*; med. *qui*,
ci, *cu*, *c*. 39. *ic(i)*, *āc(i)*, *ēc(i)*, *īc(i)*, *ōc(i)*. 40. *sco*, *sca*.
 41. *bo*; med. *bu*; *bi* (?). 42. *bro*, *bri*, *ber*; *bulo*, *bula*; *bili* (?)
 43. med. *g*.

N. B. The suffix (*i*) in 23, 28, &c., shows that such words belong invariably to the 3rd or *i*-declension. The suffix *ni* in 12 is distinguished from *ni* in 10 and 13 by the fact that the latter can *only* occur medially; in 10 and 13, the question whether *ni* stands for *no* or *nu* is generally easily settled. Almost the only doubtful suffix is *-tro*, in 19 and 32; but the latter is an *agential* suffix, which usually marks it off.

§ 274. Out of the above suffixes, in a great variety of combinations, almost all Latin suffixes, however long or complex, are formed, and can usually be traced without much trouble. The chief difficulty, sometimes almost insuperable, is to detect the values of connecting vowels, such as *-ā-*, *-ī-*, which may result from contraction. I now give a large number of common suffixes, in *alphabetical order*, all of which occur *finally*. It is needless to give examples, as they can easily be recognised, and it saves space to omit them. I also usually omit *feminine* suffixes; for which see § 272, at the beginning, especially nos. 1, 4, 5, 6, 16, 18, &c. The annexed numbers refer to the numbers in sections 272 and 273, and practically explain all that is necessary, except that I do not always account for connecting vowels.

§ 275. LIST OF COMMON SUFFIXES.

A. *a*, 1. *ā-bili*, *ā-bundo*, *ā-c(i)*, *ā-ceo*, *ā-citāt*, *ā-clo*, *ā-co*,
ā-culo, *ā-gin*, *ā-li*, *ā-limen*, *ā-liitāt*, *ā-men*, *ā-neo*, *ā-no*, *ā-nt(i)*,
ā-nthia, *ā-ri*, *ā-rio*, *a-ri-tat*, *ā-ro*, *ā-siōn*, *ā-tico*, *ā-tili*, *ā-tiōn*,
ā-to, *ā-tro*, *ā-tu*. See further under *bili*, *bundo*, &c., without
-ā-.

B. *bili*, 42. *bilitāt(i)*, 42, 28. *bo*, 41. *bro*, 42. *bulo*,
 42. *bu-ndo*, 41, 11.

C. *c*, 38, 39. *ca*, 38. *c-eo*, 38, 4. *ci*, 39. *ci-o*, 38, 1. *ci-ōn*, 38, 14. *ci-tat(i)*, as in *ā-cilat*, *ī-cilat*, *ō-cilat*, 39, 28. *clo*, 32. *co*, 38. *c-oso*, 38, 24. *c-ri*, 38, 20. *cro*, 32. *culo*, 32; also *cu-lo*, 38, 16. *cu-ndo*, 38, 11.

D. *d*, 34. *d-in(i)*, 35. *do*, 37.

E. *ē-bili*; see *bili*. *ec*, 39. *ē-c(i)*, 39. *ē-d*, 34. *ē-din(i)*; see *din(i)*. *ē-la*, 16. *ē-li*, 17. *el-lo*, dimin. suffix¹. *el-lu-lo* (= *el-lo-lo*), double dimin. suffix. *en*, 14. *e-ndo*, 11. *en-si*, perhaps for **ent-si*, 15, 25; cf. 14. *ent*, *ent(i)*, 15. *ent-ia*, 15, 4. *eo*, 4. *er*, 22; cf. 18. *er*, *er(i)*, 23. *er-ā-bili*, 18 (or 23), 42. *er-ā-li*, 23, 17. *er-ā-to*, 18 (or 23), 24. *eri*, 20; cf. 23. *ero*, 18. *er-oso*, 18 (or 23), 24. *es-tāt(i)*, 23, 23. *es-to*, 23, 24. *es-ti*, 23, 25. *es-ti-co*, 23, 24, 38. *es-tri*, 23, 31. *et*, 26. *ē-tiōn*, 27. *ē-tū-din(i)*, 36, 35.

G. *-g-*, 43. *-g-o*, *-g-in*, 43, 14.

I. *-i*, 2, 1. *ia*, 4. *i-bili*; see *bili*. *i-bundo*; see *bundo*. *ic*, 39. *i-cio*; see *cio*. *i-clo*, 32. *i-co*, 38. *i-culo*, 32; *i-culo*, 38, 16. *id*, 34. *i-din*, 35. *i-di-tat*, 37, 28. *iē*, 4. *i-e-ndo*, 11. *iē-no*, 4, 10. *i-ensi*; see *ensi*. *i-ent(i)*, 15. *i-ent-ia*, 15, 4. *ie-tat*, 4, 28. *i-e-tat*, 28. *i-li*, 16, 17. *ī-li*, 17. *i-lī-tat*, 16 (or 17), 28. *i-lo*, 16. *i-men*, 8. *i-mo*, 6. *in-er*, 14, 23. *i-no*, 10. *in-quo*, 14, 38. *io*, 4. *i-ōn*, 14. *i-or*, 23. *i-oso*, 24. *ī-quo*, 38. *-is (-eri)*, 23. *-i-sion*, 27. *is-ter*, *is-tro*, 23, 19. *is-to*, 23, 24. *iī*, 26. *i-tat(i)*, 28. *i-tiōn*, 27. *i-to*, 24. *i-tu-din(i)*, 35, 36. *i-uo (i-vo)*, 5.

L. *l*, 16, 17. *l-ent(i)*, 16, 15. *l-eo*, 16, 4. *li*, 17. *l-ia*, 16, 4. *li-co*, 16 (or 17), 38. *li-men*, 17, 8. *li-mo*, 16 (or 17), 6. *l-ī-no*, 16, 4, 10. *l-io*, 16 (or 17), 4. *li-tat*, 17, 28. *lo*, 16. *l-oso*, 16 (or 17), 24.

M. *m*, 6. *men*, *min*, 8. *men-to*, 8, 24. *m-et*, *m-it*, 6, 26. *mi*, 7, 6. *min*, 8. *mino*, 9. *m-it*, 6, 26. *mn*, 8. *mno*, 9. *mo*, 6. *mōn-io*, 8, 4.

N. *n*, 10, 14. *ndo*, 11. *n-eo*, 10, 4. *ni*, 10, 12, 13. *n-io*,

¹ Probably due to contraction with bases ending in a liquid. Cf. *bel-lo*, adj., for *ben-lo*, *bene-lo*.

IO, 4. *ni-lat(i)*, IO, 28. *ni-tu-din(i)*, IO, 36, 35. *no*, IO. *nt*, 15. *nt-ia*, 15, 4. *nu*, 13. *n-us* (*n-ōri*), IO, 23.

O. o, I, 14. *o-ci*, 39. *o-ci-lat(i)*, 39, 28. *ōn*, 14. *ōn-eo*, *ōn-io*, 14, 4. *o-no*, IO. *or-ā-li*, 23, 17. *ōr*, *ōr*, 22. *or(i)*, *ōr(i)*, 23. *ōr-i-oso*, 23, 4, 24. *ōr-oso*, 23, 24. *os*, 23. *osi-lat(i)*, 24, 28. *oso*, 24. *ōt*, 26. *ō-ti*, 25. *ō-to*, 24.

Q. *qui-lat*, 38. *quo*, 38.

R. *r(i)*, 23. *ri*, 18, 20, 21. *ri* (for *li*), 17. *ri-mo*, 18 (*or* 20), 6. *rio* (as in *ā-rio*), 17. *ri-lat*, 18, 28. *ro*, 18. *ru*, 21.

S. *s* (> *ri*), 23. *si*, 24, 25. *si-bili*, 24 (25), 42. *si-li*, 24 (25), 17. *siōn*, 27. *s-ī-uo* (*sivo*), 24, 5. (*s*)-*lo*, 16. *so*, 24. *sōr(i)*, 31. *sōri-o*, 31, 1. *sti*; see *es-ti*. *ster*, *stro*; see *is-ter*, *is-tro*. *su*, 29. *suro*, 33.

T. *t*, 26. *tā-n-eo*, 24, IO, 4. *lat(i)*, 28. *lati-co*, 28, 38. *t-eo*, 24, 4. *ter*, 19, 31. *tero*, 19. *ti*, 24, 25, 29. *ti-co*, 24, 38. *ti-li*, 24, 17. *ti-mo*, 24, 6. *fino*, 11. *ti-no*, 24 (25)?, IO. *t-io*, 24?, 4. *tīōn*, 27. *t-ī-uo* (*tivo*), 24, 5. *to*, 24. *tor*, 31. *tor-io*, 31, 4. *tr(i)*, 31. *trā*, 19. *tr-ī-c*, 31, 4, 38. *tr-ī-no*, 31, IO. *tro*, 19, 32. *tru* (in *toni-tru*); cf. 31. *tu*, 29. *tudin(i)*, 36. *tu-mo* (for *ti-mo*), 24, 6. *turo*, 33. *tut(i)*, 30.

U (vowel). *u*, 3. *u-ceo*; see *ceo*. *u-co*; see *co*. *ud*, 34. *ui-lat*, 5, 28. *u-l-ento*, 16, 15. *u-li*, 17. *u-lo*, 16. *ul-tu*, 16, 29. *u-men*, 8. *u-ndo*, 11. *u-no*, IO. *untat*, 15, 28. *uo*, 5. *u-oso*, 5, 24. *ūr* (for *ūs*, in *fulg-ur*), 23. *uro*; see *turo*, *suro*. *us*, 23. *us-cu-lo*, 23, 38, 16. *us-to*, 23, 24. *ut*, 26. *u-to*. 24. *u-tion*, 27.

W (*u* as a consonant). *uo*, by-form *ui* (*vo*, *vi*), 5.

X. See *c*.

Perhaps I may conveniently repeat here, that from the above stems the nom. cases may usually be found without much trouble. The most common variations are these, Change final *o* to *us* or *um*; final *t* to *s*; final *in* or *in(i)* to *o*; final *ōn* to *o*; final *c* to *x*; and add *s* to stems ending in *ē* or *u* (not neuter). But it is best to consult

a good grammar, which necessarily gives the declensional forms in full.

SOME GREEK SUFFIXES.

§ 276. Most of the above suffixes occur in Greek also, in similar and sometimes in almost identical forms. I here make a note of some that occur in words which have been borrowed by English; with the same numbering as in §§ 272 and 273.

1. -O (-ο); τόμ-ο-s, E. *tome*; κῶλ-ο-ν, a member, limb, clause, E. *colon*, *semicolon*. Fem.-ᾶ (ἡ); πληγ-ή, a stroke, L. *plag-a*, E. *plague*. So also ἔξοδ-ο-s, E. *exodus*, Gk. acc. γύψ-ον (of Pers. origin), L. *gypsum*. The nom. suffix is kept in *chor-us*, *exod-us*, *phosphor-us*, *sarcophag-us*, *typh-us*; *col-on*, *semicol-on*; *asyl-um*, *gyps-um*. The suffix itself appears only as mute final *e* in *pore* (of the skin), *scope*, *spore*, *tome*, *tone*, *trope*, *tune*, *type*; and as *-ue* in *dialogue*, *eclogue*, *exergue*. It has disappeared in *atom*, *bishop*, *cenotaph*, *choir*, *devil*. It appears in its true form in the middle of *anthrop-o-logy*, *entom-o-logy*, *mon-o-logue*. The fem. suffix appears in *diatrib-e*, *diastol-e*, *epitom-e*, *hyperbol-e*, *stroph-e*, *systol-e*; it is mute in *lyre*, *ode*, *pyre*, *stole*.

2. -I (-ι); nom. -is; *acropol-is*, *metropol-is*; cf. *polit-i-c*. So also *prax-is*; but *-is* is dropped in *syntax*.

3. -U (-υ); Eng. *y*; *bar-y-tone*, *ox-y-gen*, *pach-y-derm*.

4. -YO (-ιο); ἅγ-ιο-s, holy. Fem. -YĀ (-ια). But, in Gk., this suffix often causes an alteration in a word's form, arising from contraction. Thus Gk. *άλ-γος (L. *al-ius*) was contracted to ἄλλος, whence *allo-pathy*; Gk. *μέθ-γος (Skt. *madh-yas*, L. *med-ius*) became μέσος, μέσος; whence *mes-entery*. So also γλῶσσα, tongue, for *γλώχ-γα; cf. γλῶχ-ις, the end of a strap; hence *gloss*, *bu-gloss*. And σφαῖρα, E. *sphere*, is for σφάρα-γα.

5. -WO (-ο). The *w* (f) disappears in Greek; but Gk. ὀρθός is seen to stand for *ὀρθ-φός, by comparison with

Skt. *ûrdh-vas*, erect, L. *ard-uus*. So Gk. κενός, empty, is for *κεν-*fos*, as shown by Lesbian κενός, Ionic κεινός, and by the comparative κενό-τερος instead of κενώ-τερος. Consequently, the Aryan -WO is represented by -o- in *orth-o-dox*, *cen-o-laph*.

6. -MO (-μο); fem.-MÂ (-μη). Gk. χυ-μό-*s*, juice, θερ-μό-*s*, warm; ἀκ-μή, point; πυγ-μή, fist. Hence E. *chy-me*, *ther-mometer*, *ac-me*, *pig-m-y*. Added to other suffixes in *ari-th-metic*, *rhy-th-m*; *enthusia-s-m*, *spa-s-m*; also in words in -*is-m*, as *archa-is-m*, *barbar-is-m*, *hero-is-m*, *organ-is-m*, *parallel-is-m*, *syllog-is-m*. But words derived from Gk. neuter sbs., as *schis-m*, *sche-me*, do not belong here; see nos. 8, 24 below.

7. -MI (-μι). Gk. θέ-μι-*s*, justice; hence *The-mi-stocles*.

8. -MEN, -MON, -MN (-μα). The form -*mn* (with vocalic *n*) is reduced to -*μα* in Greek, while Latin has -*men*. Cf. Gk. τέρ-μα, L. *ter-men*, a boundary. Examples occur in *sche-me*, *the-me*; *apophtheg-m*, *axio-m*, *diaphrag-m*, *paradig-m*, *poe-m*, *stratage-m*, *theore-m*; *chas-m*, *cataplas-m*; *baptis-m*, *chris-m*, *schis-m*, *sophis-m*. All words formed from γράμ-μα (for *γράφ-μα) drop the suffix in E.; as *diagram*, *epigram*, *monogram*, *telegram*, &c.; a needless exception is *program-me*, which keeps the F. form. See further under no. 24.

9. -MENO (-μενο). The suffix of the Gk. present participle, in the middle and passive voices; as φερό-μενος from φέρ-ειν. Ex. *pheno-menon*.

10. -NO (-νο); fem.-NÂ (-νη). As in Gk. στυγ-νός, hateful, from στυγ-εῖν, to hate; σκη-νή, shelter, E. *sce-ne*. So also E. *tech-ni-cal*, *cli-ni-cal*, from τέχ-νη, art, κλί-νη, bed. Here also belongs the suffix -ονο-, as in θρ-όνο-*s*, seat, E. *thr-one*, from √*DH*ER, to support; χρ-όνο-*s*, space of time, whence E. *chr-oni-cle*, allied to χερ-, to comprehend (cf. χερ-οῖν, dat. pl. of χεῖρ, hand), Skt. *hr*, to take.

Suffix no. 11 is peculiar to Latin, and nos. 12 and 13 are rare in Greek.

14. -EN, -ON (-εν-, -ον-, -ν-; -ην-, -ων). The nom. has -ην or -ων; as in ἀρσ-ην, male, gen. ἀρσ-εν-ος; κύ-ων, dog, gen.

κυ-ν-ός; here belongs ἀγ-ών, contest, gen. ἀγ-ών-ος. Exx. *ars-en-ic*, *cy-n-ic*, *ag-on-y*.

15. -ENT, -ONT (-εντ-, -οντ-). The Gk. nom. case has -ων; as in φέρ-ων. Exx. *arch-on*, *horiz-on*; also *drag-on*, a F. form, from Gk. δράκ-ων. Also *phaet-on*, for *phaeth-on*. To show that the *o* is long in Gk., *e* is added in *cylc-one* (κυκλ-ῶν), *oz-one* (ὄζ-ων). The characteristic -οντ- occurs in *horiz-ont-al*, *Anacre-ont-ic*.

16. -LO (-λο-); fem. -LÂ (-λη). This appears in ἄθ-λο-s, contest, ἄθ-λο-ν, prize, whence E. *ath-l-ete*; also, with a prefixed short vowel, in πέτ-αλο-ν, E. *pet-al*.

18. -RO (-ρο-); fem. -RÂ (-ρα). Gk. νεκ-ρό-s, dead (cf. *né-ks*, corpse); hence *nec-ro-mancy*; ᾠ-ρα, E. *hou-r*. So also *ac-ro-bat*, *cop-ro-lite*, *hie-ro-phant*, *pte-ro-dactyl*. Fem. *hyd-ra*; also *cathed-r-al*, *chai-r*, from ἔδ-ρα, a seat.

19. -TER, -TERO (-τερ-, -τερο-). Common in comparatives, as πρό-τερο-s, former; πρεσβύ-τερος, elder, E. *presby-ter*. So also ἐν-τερο-ν, entrails; μεσεν-τέρ-ιον, E. *mesen-ter-y*.

20. -RI (-ρι-); as in ἴδ-ρι-s, knowing, skilful.

21. -RU (-ρυ-); as in δάκ-ρυ, a tear.

22. -R (-αρ-); as in οὐθ-αρ, L. *ub-er*, udder.

23. -ES, -OS (-εσ-, -ος). Here belong sbs. having -os in the nom. case, and -εσ- (originally) in other cases; as, nom. πάθ-ος, E. *path-os*, gen. *πάθ-εσ-ος, later πάθ-ε-ος, πάθους (with loss of σ), dat. *πάθ-εσ-ι, later πάθ-ει. So also βάθ-ος, E. *bath-os*.

24. -TO (-το-); fem. -TÂ (-τη). Gk. σπη-τό-s, decayed; whence *anti-sep-ti-c*; στρα-τό-s, a camp, στρα-τ-ηγός, a leader, στρα-τ-ήγημα, E. *stra-t-agem*. The fem. suffix occurs in γεν-ε-τή, birth, whence was formed a new masc. sb. γενέ-τη-s, father; and, with the like suffix -της, we have κρι-τή-s, judge, ποιη-τή-s, poet, προφη-τή-s, prophet; whence E. *cri-ti-c*, *poe-t*, *prophe-t*. So also the suffix -τα in διαί-τα, mode of life, E. *die-t*; κίσ-τη, chest, whence L. *cist-a*, E. *cis-t*, and A. S. *cis-t*, *ces-t*, E. *ches-t*.

MN-TO (-μα-το); with vocalic *n*; see no. 8. The suffix -το

is added to oblique cases of sbs. ending in *-μα*, as in *χείμα-το-s*, gen. of *χείμα*, winter. This suffix *-ματο-* answers to L. *-mentum*. Examples occur in *cli-mate*, *chro-mati-c*, *dog-mati-c*, *dra-mati-c*, *emblem-mati-c*, *pris-mati-c*, &c.

IS-TO (*-ίστο*); common in superlatives, as *τάχ-ιστο-s*, quickest; cf. E. *-est*. N.B. *σοφ-ισ-τή-s*, a sophist, does not belong here; see nos. 34, 24.

25. -TI, -SI (*-τι, -σι*). Gk. *φά-τι-s*, a report, also *φά-σι-s*, a saying. Also in Gk. *φά-σι-s*, an appearance, allied to *φά-ος*, light; the latter *φάσις* is E. *pha-se*, and occurs again in *empha-si-s*. So also *βά-σις*, E. *ba-se*; *ὄψις* (= *ὄπ-σις*), sight, whence E. *aut-op-s-y*; *φθί-σις*, consumption, *φθί-σι-s*; *μάν-τι-s*, a prophet, whence E. *necro-man-cy*; *θέ-σις*, E. *the-sis*; *ἐκ-στα-σις*, displacement, trance, E. *ec-sta-sy*, *exta-sy*.

26. -T (*-τ*); as in *νυκ-τ-ός*, gen. of *νύξ*, night.

28. -TÂ-T (*-τητ*); as in *ὀρθό-τητ-ος*, gen. of *ὀρθότης*, uprightness, from *ὀρθός*, upright.

29. -TU (*-τυ*); as in *βοη-τύ-s*, outcry, Odys. i. 369. Here belongs the *-ty* in *e-ty-mology*.

31. -TER, -TOR, -TÊR, -TÔR (*-τερ, -τορ, -τηρ, -τωρ*); as in *πα-τήρ*, father, acc. *πα-τέρ-α*; *δω-τήρ*, *δώ-τωρ*, giver. So *ἴσ-τωρ*, one who knows, whence *his-tor-y*, *s-tor-y*; *κρά-τήρ*, bowl, E. *cra-ter*; *φυλακ-τήρ*, guard, whence E. *phylac-ter-y*. Add *ar-ter-y*, *cau-ter-y*, *ceme-ter-y*, *charac-ter*, *mys-ter-y*, *psal-ter-y*. Gk. *κυβερνη-τήρ*, steersman, Latinised as *guberna-tor*, whence A. F. *governour*, E. *govern-or*.

32. -TRO (*-τρο*). Gk. *λέκ-τρο-ν*, a couch, a rest, whence E. *lec-ter-n*, confused (in popular etymology) with L. *leg-ere*, to read; *φιλ-τρον*, a love-charm, E. *phil-tre*.

34. -D (*-αδ, -ιδ*). Gk. *μαινάς*, gen. *μαιν-άδ-ος*, raving, E. *Mæn-ad*; *γυμνάς*, gen. *γυμν-άδ-ος*, stripped for contest; whence the verb *γυμνάζειν* (= *γυμν-άδ-γειν*), to train, *γυμν-ασ-τής*, a trainer, E. *gymn-as-t*, with *s* for *d* before *t*; *αἰγ-ίς*, gen. *αἰγ-ίδ-ος*, E. *Ægis*. So also, from *ἐρις*, strife, gen. *ἐρ-ιδ-ος*, was formed *ἐρ-ίζειν* (= *ἐρ-ιδ-γειν*), to strive; and here belong the

numerous verbs in *-αζειν*, *-ιζειν*, and their derivatives. The Gk. *-ιζειν* became Low Lat. *-izare*, F. *-iser*, M. E. *-isen*, E. *-ise* (historically, in many cases), *-ize* (phonetically). Other examples of *-ad* occur in *dec-ade*, *dry-ad*, *Ili-ad*, *mon-ad*, *nom-ad*, *myri-ad*, *plei-ad*, *spor-ad-ic*, *encomi-as-t*, *enthusi-as-t*, *scholi-as-t*; and of *-id*, in *hybr-id*, *Nere-id*, *Agon-is-tes*, *bapt-is-t*, *dogmat-is-t*, *dramat-is-t*, *panegyri-is-t*. The suffix *-ist* is now in general use, even with Latin bases; as in *dent-ist*.

38. *-QO*, *-KO* (*-κο*); fem. *-QÂ*, *-KÂ* (*-κη*). Gk. *κριτ-ι-κός*, *criti-c*, from *κρι-τός*, adj. choice; so also many words in *-ti-c*, as *hereti-c*, *phlegmati-c*, and in *-i-c*, as *electri-c*, *gastri-c*, *lyri-c*, &c. Add *demon-ia-c*, *man-ia-c*, *zod-ia-c*; *phar-ma-c-y*.

39. *-Q*, *-K* (*-κ*). Sometimes the preceding suffix is reduced to *-κ*; as in *κλι-μαξ*, for **κλι-μα-κ-s*, gen. *κλι-μα-κ-os*; E. *climax*; compare Gk. *κλι-μα*, E. *clime*. So also *calyx*, *helix*, *thorax*.

40. *-SKO* (*-σκο*). Gk. *δί-σκο-s*, a quoit, put 'for **δίκ-σκος*, from *δικ-εῖν*, to cast; E. *disc*, *dish*. So also *asteri-sk*, *basili-sk*, *obeli-sk*.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE SLAVONIC ELEMENT.

§ 277. THE Slavonic element in English is a very small one, and can hardly amount to more than about two dozen words in all, unless we include some that are not at all in general use.

A sufficient general account of the languages of the Slavonic family will be found in the first chapter of Morfill's *Slavonic Literature* (London, 1883). The chief classes of these languages are the Russian, the Bulgarian, the Serbo-Croatian, the Slovenish, Polish, Bohemian, and Lusatian Wendish. The oldest and most important specimens of Slavonic belong to the Old Bulgarian, also sometimes called Church Slavonic, being the language into which Cyrillus and Methodius translated the Bible, in the middle of the ninth century. See vol. i. § 84; p. 102. All the Slavonic languages belong to the Aryan family of languages, and are therefore cognate with the Teutonic and Celtic languages on the one hand, and with the Sanskrit, Greek, and Latin on the other.

The Slavonic languages have occasionally borrowed words from other Aryan languages, and conversely. Thus, the words *plough* and *saddle* are probably of Slavonic origin; and *silk* has taken a Slavonic form, though borrowed from the Latin *sericum*. On the other hand, *czar* is of Latin origin, from *Cæsar*; *hetman* may possibly be of German

origin, from *Hauptmann*, captain, but this has been vigorously denied (see *The Academy*, Aug. and Sept., 1890); *knout* is of Swedish origin; and *vampire* may possibly be Turkish.

§ 278. Many of the roots of words found in Old Bulgarian are sufficiently close to those found in other Aryan languages to be easily intelligible. Thus we find Russ. *pit(e)*, to drink, from √PI, Skt. *pi*, to drink; Russ. *kovat(e)*, to hammer, L. *cu-dere*, E. *hew*; Russ. *tu-k(e)*, s., fat, Lat. *tu-mere*, to swell, from √TEU, to swell; Russ. *die-vat(e)*, to place, put, Gk. *τι-θη-μι*, from √DHÊ, to place; Russ. *slui-shat(e)*, to hear, Gk. *αλν-ειν*, from √KLEU, to hear; &c. The relationship is more striking in common words, such as Russ. *mat(e)*, mother, *brat(e)*, brother, *sestra*, sister, *suin'*, son, *doch(e)'*, daughter, *dom'*, house (Lat. *dom-us*), *more*, sea (Lat. *mare*), &c.; *dva*, two; *tri*, three; *chetuire*, four: *piat(e)*, *névre*, five; *shest(e)*, six; *sem(e)*, seven; &c. Of course, in comparing words, the peculiar habits of Slavonic must be accounted for, as shown in the Table of Regular Substitution of Consonants, in vol. i. § 107. Of these the most striking are the substitution of *s* and *z* for the Aryan *k* and *g*; as in Russ. *sto*, L. *centum*, a hundred, Russ. *znat(e)*, L. (*g*)*nosc-ere*, to know. The Slavonic forms frequently help to throw some additional light on E. words where Latin and Greek fail to do so, as in the case of E. *chew*, A. S. *céow-an*, G. *kau-en*, which answers to Russ. *jev-at(e)* or *žev-at(e)*, with the same sense; E. *tree*, A. S. *tréow*, Russ. *derevo*; E. *apple*, A. S. *æppel*, Russ. *iablo-ko*; &c. In the above words I use the method of transliteration explained in the Preface to my Dictionary, but I have here distinguished the mute final *e* by using the symbol (*e*) within marks of parenthesis.

§ 279. It is worth notice here that the infinitives of all Russian 'regular' verbs end in *-t(e)*, preceded by a vowel or diphthong; this suffix answers to the *-tum* of the Latin supine. The endings are *-at(e)*, *-iat(e)*, *-iel(e)*, *-et(e)*, *-il(e)*, *-uil(e)*, *-ot(e)*, *-ul(e)*. The 'irregular' verbs end in *-ch(e)*, or *-ti*. Exx.

sp-at(e), to sleep, *sto-iat(e)*, to stand, *sid-iet(e)*, to sit, *liub-it(e)*, to love, *b-uit(e)*, to be, *mo-ch(e)*, to be able, *it-ti*, to go.

The best book for explaining Slavonic etymologies is the *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der slavischen Sprachen*, by F. Miklosich; Wien, 1886. It is especially easy to consult, as being wholly printed in Roman type. The primitive forms are given in Fick's *Wörterbuch*, though the vowels there used require occasional modification, by comparison with Brugmann's *Grundriss*.

§ 280. As to the time of introduction of Slavonic words, it is remarkable that *one* Russian word is met with at a very early date, viz. *sable*, which is used by Chaucer, and is common in heraldry; indeed, the adjectival form *sabel-ine* (Russ. *sobol-ini-i*, with suffix=L. *-inus* as in *can-inus*) occurs in the Moral Ode, a poem of the 12th century. All other words of Slavonic origin belong to the modern period, after 1500 (unless we include the very old words *plough*, *saddle*, and *silk*). *Argosy* occurs in Shakespeare, and perhaps *steppe*, though there is a doubt about the reading (M.N.D. ii. 1. 69). *Verst* is in Hackluyt's *Voyages* (1598); *slave* occurs somewhat earlier, in Gascoigne; *morse*, in Sir T. Browne; and *calash* first appears in 1666. The rest, as far as I know, are quite modern in English.

281. Word-list. The following is the word-list. *Argosy* (from Ragusa, in Dalmatia, see New E. Dict.); *calash* (F., from Bohemian or Polish); *copeck* (Russ.); *cravat* (Croatian); *czar* (from Latin); *drosky* (Russian); *eland* (Dutch, from Polish); *hetman* (from German?); *howitzer* (German, from Bohemian); *knout* (Russ., from Swedish); *mammoth* (Siberian, said to be of Tatar origin); *mazurka* (Masovian); *morse* (Russ.); *polka* (Polish); *plough* (perhaps Old Slavonic); *rouble* (Russ.); *sable* (Russ.); *saddle* (perhaps O. Slavonic); *silk* (O. Slav., from Latin); *slave* (Slavonic); *steppe* (Russ.); *ukase* (Russ.); *vampire* (Servian, perhaps of Turk. origin); *verst* (Russian). We may also note the

word *Polack*, a Pole, Russ. *Poliak(e)*, spelt *Polacke* in Hackluyt's *Voyages*, i. 221; introduced into most modern editions of Shakespeare, in *Hamlet*, i. 1. 63. Some connect our *cassock* with the word *cossack*; but it is doubtful; see the New E. Dict.

§ 282. I append a few notes upon some of the above words.

Argosy is not really of Slavonic origin. Mr. Morfill kindly tells me that the Slavonic name of *Ragusa* is *Dubrovnik*, i. e. forest-town (cf. Russ. *dubrava*, a forest); the name *Ragusa* is Italian, and is said to be derived from *Lausa*, the name of a rock close by (Pîpin and Spasovich, Hist. of Slavonic Literature, p. 168). *Copeck* is from Russ. *kopieika*, the rooth part of a rouble. *Eland* is illustrated by the following entry in Hexham's Du. Dict.; '*Eelant*, a wilde deere called an *Alce* [elk], bigger then a Buck, with more [bigger] hornes.' The name was at first applied to the elk, and was borrowed by Dutch from Slavonic, prob. from the Polish *jeleń*, a stag; cf. Servian *jelen*, Bohem. *jelen*, Russ. *olen(e)*, Lithuan. *elnis*, stag. *Mazurka* and *polka* meant, at first, 'a Masovian woman' and 'a Polish woman' respectively; cf. F. *Polonaise*, *Cracovienne*; *Cracoviak* or *Krakoviak* means 'a man of Cracow,' also the name of a dance. The word *plough*, Russ. *plug(e)*, occurs in all the Slavonic languages, as well as in Lithuanian and Old Prussian, and the Teutonic races must have borrowed it; the true A.S. word for 'plough' is *sulh*. Miklosich gives *plugü* as the general Slavonic form. As to *silk*, a Slavonic form of L. *Sericum*, see the note in the Supplement to my Dictionary. As to *vampire*, Miklosich gives a Slav. form *vampirŭ*, found in the Bulgarian *vampir*, *vapir*, *vepir*; Servian *vampir*; Polish *upior*; Little-Russian *vampyr*, *vepyr*, *vopyr*, *opyr*, *vpyr*, *opir*, *uper*; White-Russian *upir*, Russ. *upir(e)*, *upyr(e)*, *obyr(e)*, also *vampir(e)*. Miklosich adds that, in Servian and Russian, the werwolf (*vukodlak*) and the vampire are confused together. He suggests that

the word is probably Turkish, and compares the North-Turk. *uber*, a witch. But I cannot see how *u* can pass into *va*, whereas the contrary change is easy; cf. Zend *vap*, to weave, pp. *ubda* (for **vaptā*), woven. As to *verst*, the orig. sense may have been 'turn,' hence, a distance, a space; the Russ. *versta* means 'age' as well as 'verst,' and stands for **vert-ta*, regularly derived from the Slav. root *vert*, to turn, cognate with L. *uert-ere* (whence *uers-us*, for **uert-tus*); cf. Russ. *vert-iel(e)*, to turn, twirl, bore, turn back, return.

§ 283. **Lithuanian.** I have, in my Dictionary, set down the verb to *talk*, and the M. E. *tulk*, a man, as being Lithuanian. The word is certainly Scandian; and at the same time the Scandian word was borrowed from some other language, which Mr. Vigfusson says was Lithuanian, as may have been the case. But the word is equally common in Slavonic, and may even have been taken from a Slavonic source. Owing to the close connection between Lithuanian and Slavonic, it makes very little difference. It is interesting, however, to add the Slavonic forms. Amongst these, as given by Miklosich under *tǔlkŭ*, I find the Servian *tolkovati*, Russ. *tolkovat(e)*, to interpret, explain, also (simply) to talk, to speak of; Russ. *tolk'*, sense, meaning, doctrine; Lithuanian *tulkas*, Lettish *tulks*, an interpreter; Lith. *tulkoti*, *tulkanti*, Lettish *tulkōt*, to interpret. Besides which, there are the Icel. *tálkr*, Swed. *tolk*, Finnish *tulkki*, an interpreter; and Icel. *tálka*, Swed. *tolka*, to interpret. The wide spread of the word is easily explained from its peculiar meaning; an interpreter being a man who necessarily brings languages into contact with one another.

CHAPTER XX.

THE PERSIAN AND SANSKRIT ELEMENT.

§ 284. Having considered the Teutonic, Romance, and Slavonic sources, it is best to consider next the other languages of the Aryan family, such as the Persian and Sanskrit.

Persian. Persian is properly an Aryan language, though this fact is, in the modern stage, much obscured by the very large number of Arabic words which it has borrowed; and also, to a great extent, by the very degraded forms which it now exhibits. For example, the word for 'hundred' is *sad*, which does not, at first, resemble Lat. *centum* or A. S. *hund* or Gk. *ἑκατόν*; but it is at once explained by comparing it with the Skt. *śata*, where the Skt. *ś* denotes an original *k* which has come to be pronounced like *s*; a phenomenon precisely paralleled by the sound of the F. *cent*, where *c* denotes the very same thing.

§ 285. As I do not remember to have met with a good list of Persian words cognate with English, I have collected some, as given below, in illustration of the Aryan character of Persian. I shall use for this purpose the same system of transliteration as that given in Palmer's Persian Dictionary, with the sole exception of using *q* for *k*, which seems simpler.

According to this system, the complete alphabet is as follows : *a* (*ā*, *i*, &c.), *b*, *p*, *t*, *ś*, *j*, *ch*, *h*, *kh*, *d*, *z*, *r*, *z*, *zh*, *s*, *sh*, *g*,

z, t, ṣ, 'gh, f, q, k, g, l, m, n, w [*u*], *h, y* [*ī*]. The order of the letters is somewhat troublesome, but some help to the memory may be given by observing that it begins with *a, b* (and its attendant *p*), and that it ends with the gutturals *q, k, g*, the liquids *l, m, n*, and the letters composing the word *why*. Again, by observing the forms of the written letters, we may notice that, excluding *a* (*ā*, &c.) and the final liquids (*l, m, n*) and *w, h, y*, the rest of the letters fall into classes, thus: *b, p, t, ṣ*;—*j, ch, ḥ, kh*;—*d, ḏ*;—*r, z, zh*;—*s, sh*;—*g, z*;—*t, ṭ*;—*'gh*;—*f, q*;—*k, g*. Thus the leading letters of this portion of the alphabet are *b, j, d, r, s, g, t, 'f, k*. The use of diacritical marks to distinguish some of the letters does not cause much trouble, because very few of the dotted letters occur in such words as have been imported into English.

Among the most helpful books are: Palmer's *Hindustāni, Persian, and Arabic Grammar*; Palmer's *Pers. Dict.*; and Richardson's *Arabic and Pers. Dict.* (ed. Johnson). The student may further be referred to the article on phonetic laws in Persian, by Prof. Rieu (*Phil. Soc. Trans.*, 1880, p. 1); Schleicher's *Indogermanische Chrestomathie*, which contains specimens of Old Bactrian and of the Old Persian cuneiform inscriptions; and the handbook of Zend (*Handbuch der Zendsprache*) by F. Justi. There is an etymological *Pers. Dict.* by Vüllers.

As to the older forms of the Iranian languages, we have specimens of Old Bactrian or Zend, being the language of the old Persian sacred writings; of Old Persian, the language of the cuneiform inscriptions; and of Pehlevi, a later form than either of the above. Pehlevi, by the way, is a later form of *pārthava*, meaning 'Parthian.' The modern Iranian dialects comprise Persian, Afghan, Kurdish, and others.

§ 286. Many of the phonetic changes in Persian are not a little extraordinary, but can all be explained; most of them, indeed, are very well shown by Prof. Rieu in the article above referred to. I give the following examples of correspondence

between words of native English origin and words of Persian origin, in order to show how the known laws of language often enable us to connect words which do not at first sight resemble each other, with a few notes in the more difficult cases. To find the common Aryan form in each case would furnish a lesson in comparative philology for a student who desires a little practice. It is, usually, not a very difficult matter to do so.

COGNATE WORDS IN ENGLISH AND PERSIAN. E. *am*—P. *am*. E. *barm*, bosom—P. *bar*, bosom; both from √*BHER*, to bear. E. *be*, Skt. *bhū*, to be—P. *bū-dan*, to be: -*dan* is the infin. suffix. E. *bear*, v.—P. *bur-dan*. E. *bind*, v.—P. *bandan* (for **band-dan*). E. *bore*, v., to perforate—P. *bur-īdan*, to cut, cleave (Zend *bar*). E. *bough*, arm (of a tree)—P. *bāzū*, arm (cf. Skt. *bāhu*, Gk. *πῆχυς*). E. *bottom* (of a thing)—P. *bun* (Skt. *budhna*, root). E. *brother*—P. *birādar*. E. *brow*—P. *a-brū* (Gk. *ὀφρύς*). E. *buck*—P. *buz*, a goat; Zend *būza* (Skt. *bukka*, a goat). E. *come*, v.—P. *gām*, s., a step, i. e. a coming. E. *cow*—P. *gāu*. E. *choose*, A. S. *céosan* (cf. Goth. *kius-an*, L. *gus-tare*)—P. *dūst*, a friend, i. e. a chosen one (O. Pers. *daustar*, friend; cf. Skt. *jush-ta*, beloved, from *jush*, for **gus*, to like. The change from *j* (for *g*), to *d* is curious; cf. E. *dew* with *Jew*, as to sound). E. *daughter*—P. *dukhtar*. E. *doo-m*, a judgement; from √*dhē*, to place, set—P. *dā-d*, justice; from the same. E. *eight*—P. *hasht*, Zend *ast-an*; cf. Gk. *ὀκτώ*. E. *father*—P. *pidar*. E. *fern*—P. *par*, a feather; Zend *parena*. E. *five*—P. *panj*. E. *foot*—P. *pāi*; Zend *pādha*; Skt. *pāda*. E. *four*—P. *chahār*; Zend *chathware*; L. *quatuor*; Goth. *fidwor*. E. *full*—P. *pur*; Zend *perena*; L. *plenus*. E. *gall*—P. *zahra*, the gall-bladder; allied to Zend *zar-ema*, greenness, yellowness; Russ. *jelch(e)*, gall, where *j*=(zh); Gk. *χολή*. E. *gold*—P. *zar*, gold; Zend *zar-anya*; Russ. *zoloto*; O. Slav. *zlato*; Goth. *gulth*. E. *hone*—P. *sān*, a whetstone; Skt. *çāna*; A. S. *hān*. E. *hund-red*, A. S. *hund*—P. *sad*; Skt. *çata*. E. *is*—P. *ast*;

L. *es-t*. E. *knee*—P. *zānū*; Zend *zhnu*; L. *genu*. E. *light*—P. *rūz*, day; L. *lux*; cf. Zend *ruch*, to shine, L. *luc-ere*. E. *mother*—P. *mādar*. E. *meed*, A. S. *meord*; Goth. *mizdo*—P. *mazd*, wages; Zend *mīzhda*. E. *much*, *mick-le*—P. *mih*, great. E. *middle*—P. *miyān*, the middle, s.; Zend *maidhy-āna*, s.; from *maidhya*, adj.=L. *medius*. E. *mouse*—P. *mūsh*. E. *moo-n*—P. *mā-h*, O. Pers. *māha*, Zend *mā-oṇh*. E. *mead* (a drink)—P. *mai*, wine; Zend *madhu*. E. *nail* (on the hand); A. S. *næg-el*.—P. *nākh-un*; Skt. *nakh-a*, Russ. *nog-ot(e)*. E. *navel*—P. *nāf*. E. *new*—P. *nau*; Zend *nava*. E. *nine*—P. *nuh*; Zend *navan*. E. *no*—P. *na*. E. *quick* (alive)—P. *zī*, life; Zend *jī-ti*, life; L. *ui-ta*, life; *uiu-us*, living. E. *queen*—P. *zan*; Zend *ghena*, a woman. E. *same*—P. *ham-ān*, that same; Zend *hama*; Skt. *sama*. E. *seven*—P. *haft*; Zend *haptan*; Skt. *saptan*. E. *sister*—P. *kh(w)āhar*, *kh'āher*; Zend *qanhar*; Skt. *svasr*. E. *sit*—P. *ni-shash-tan*, to sit down (for **ni-sad-tan*); Zend *had*, to sit (for **sad*); Skt. *sad*, to sit. E. *six*—P. *shash*. E. *sooth*, adj. true; s. truth.—P. *hast-ū*, truth, allied to *hast-ī*, existent, being; Zend *hañt*, being, existent, actual, pres. part. of *ah*, to be (=Skt. *as*, to be). E. *sow*, A. S. *sugu*—P. *khūk*; Skt. *sūkara*, a hog. E. *stand*—P. *i-stā-dan*; L. *stā-re*. E. *star*—P. *i-stār-a*. E. *sweat*, s.—P. *khwai*; Skt. *sveda*; cf. W. *chwys*¹, sweat. E. *tear*, v.—P. *dar-īdan*; Gk. *δέπ-ειν*. E. *ten*—P. *dah*. E. *tooth*—P. *dandān*. E. *two*—P. *dū*. E. *thirs-ty*—P. *tish-na*, thirsty; Zend *tarsh-na*, thirst; Skt. *tarsha*, thirst. E. *three*—P. *sih*; Pehlvi *si*, *çi*; Zend *thri*. E. *thunder*—P. *tundar*. E. *warm*—P. *garm*. E. *weave*—P. *baf-t*, woven, *bāf-tan*, to weave, *baf*, a weaving instrument; Zend *vap*, to weave; *ub-da* (for **vap-ta*), woven. E. *wind*—P. *bād*; Zend *vāta*. E. *worth*, to become; A. S. *weorth-an*.—P. *gurd-īdan*, to become; Pehlvi *vart-ītan*; Zend *varet*. E. *wolf*—P. *gurg*; Zend *vehrka*; Russ. *volk(e)*. E. *work*.—P. *varz-īdan*, *warz-*

¹ 'Sw is the regular antecedent of South-walian *hw*, the North-walian *chw* of book-Welsh.'—Rhys, *Lect. on Welsh Philology*, 2nd ed. p. 266.

īdan, to practise, exercise; Zend *vares*, to work. E. *wheel* (cognate with Gk. κύκλος)—P. *charkh*, a wheel; Zend *chakhra*; Russ. *kol-eso*. E. *white*—P. *sapeid*; Zend *ṣpaṣṭa*, white, Skt. *ṣveta*. E. *yoke*—P. *yūgh*. E. *young*—P. *jawān*, *javān*; Zend *yuvan*, a young man.

§ 287. I shall now attempt to give a list of words derived from the Persian. An excellent account of Eastern words occurring in French is that by Devic, as printed in the supplement to Littré's French Dictionary. See also the Glossary of Anglo-Indian Words, by Colonel Yule.

As to the period of introduction of the following words, most of them are not found till the modern period, i. e. till after 1500. But there are some interesting exceptions. Thus *azure* occurs in Chaucer, and even earlier, and is well known as an heraldic term. *Caper* (the plant) is spelt *caperis* in Wyclif, Eccl. xii. 5; he also has *cynoper*, cinnabar; Jer. xxii. 14. *Carcase*¹ is in Hampole's Prick of Conscience. *Check*, *chess*, *exchequer*, are all in early use. *Hazard* is in Havelok, 2326; and so is *tabour*, 2329. *Lemon*, *orange*, and *peach* are all mentioned together in Lydgate (Minor Poems, p. 15). *Magic*, *parvis*, *taffala*, *tiger*, all occur in Chaucer; as well as *celewale*, the M. E. spelling of *zedoary*. Our earliest Pers. word is *paradise*, in Layamon, 24122. *Rook*, as a term in chess, occurs in the Promptorium Parvulorum, but must have been known earlier. *Satrap* is spelt *satrapar* and *satraper* in the Wars of Alexander; Wyclif has the very form *satrap*, Eng. Works, ed. Matthew, pp. 7, 491. *Scarlet* occurs in P. Plowman, B. ii. 15.

Many of the words did not reach us directly, but came through various channels, including Greek, Arabic and Turkish; and especially through Latin and the Romance

¹ *Carcase* is not wholly Persian. It seems to have been from some other source, confused with derivatives of Pers. *tarkash*, a quiver. See the New E. Dictionary.

languages. These are indicated in the Dictionary, 2nd ed., pp. 759, 835.

§ 288. **Word-list.** Anil (with Arab. article), *whence* anil-ine; asparagus¹; avadavat (from *Ahmed-abad*, where *Ahmed* is Arabic, and *abad* is Persian); azure. Bakhshish, balas (ruby), bang (Indian hemp, Pers. *bang*, Urdu *bhāng*), bashaw, bazaar, bezique (F. *besigue*, *besy*, Pers. *bāzīchi*, *bāzī*, a game), bezoar, borax, bulbul. Calabash, calender (a kind of wandering monk), caravan, caravanserai, carboy, carcase², check, chequer, chess, chicanery (?), cinnabar (cinoper). Demijohn, dervish, divan, durbar. Exchequer, firman, ghoul³. gypsum, hazard, houri. Jackal, jargonelle, jasmine, jujube, julep. Khan (an inn, P. *khāna*, house; also, lord⁴, P. *khān*, lord); khedive, kiosk (Turk., from P.), lascar, laudanum (?), lemon, lilac, lime (the fruit). Magic, mate (at chess), mummy, myrtle. Narghileh (a pipe, *see* Devic), nilghau. Orange, ounce (the quadruped; of doubtful origin). Paradise (*or* parvis), parasang⁵, Parsee, pasha, peach, peri⁶, pistachio. Rice, rook (at chess). Sandal (?), saraband, sash, satrap, scarlet, scimeter, sepoy, serai, shah⁷, shawl, spinach, tabour (*or* tambour), taffeta, tambourine, tiara,

¹ Doubtful; Justi gives Zend *çparegha*, the barb of an arrow, lit. a sprout, from the verb *çpareg*, to sprout, and compares it with Gk. *ἀσπράγος*. Cf. Pers. *ispargham*, the name of an odoriferous herb (Richardson).

² See note on previous page.

³ An Arabic word; but Devic says the Arab. word is of Pers. origin.

⁴ But *khān*, in the sense of 'lord,' is of Tatar origin.

⁵ Mod. Pers. *farsang*; Justi, s. v. *açan*, says that Zend *açan*, a stone, is the P. *sang*, a stone; and that *parasang* means 'from the milestones,' i. e. from mark to mark; the prep. being, apparently, Zend *pairi*, sometimes used in the sense of 'from.'

⁶ Zend *pairika*, the name of a race of evil female spirits, who deceived men by their beauty; afterwards, in the later mythology, a race of beautiful fairies. From the root *par*, in the sense 'to overpower.'

⁷ Shortened from O. Pers. *khsāyathiya*, king, ruler; from *khsi*, to rule (Skt. *kshi*).

tiger¹, tulip, turban, turquoise. Van (*short for caravan*), zamindar, zanana, zedoary, Zend.

§ 289. I have not included *giaour*, with its variant *gueber*, fire-worshipper, as it seems to be of Arabic origin (§ 305).

The list might be considerably extended by adding less usual words, such as: *mohur*, a gold coin, P. *muhr*, *muhur*; *pillau*, from P. *pilav*, *pilāv*, a dish of rice and meat; *shekarry*, from P. *shikāri*, a hunter, sportsman; *sirdar*, the head of a set of palanquin-bearers, from P. *sardār*, chief; *softa*, *softah*, a student (Turkish, from Persian); *sophy* (see Yule); &c.

§ 290. TABLE OF SUBSTITUTION OF CONSONANTS.*

I append a table of the more usual substitution of consonants; to be compared with that in vol. i. p. 125.

<i>Aryan.</i>	<i>Skt.</i>	<i>Zend.</i>	<i>Persian.</i>	<i>Teutonic.</i>
G K GH	j ç, sh h	z, zh ç, s z	z s z	K (KH)H G
Gw Q GHw	g, j k, ch gh, h	g(gh), j k, ch, s g, j, zh	g, z ch, z g	Q, K (KHw)Hw (Gw)G
D T DH	d t dh	d t d	d t, d d	T TH D
B P BH	b p bh	b p b	b p b	P (PH)F B

¹ Zend *tighri*, an arrow (from its swiftness); the orig. sense is 'pointed,' from *tij* (= Skt. *tig*), to be sharp, for **stig*; co-radicate with E. *stick*, *sting*.

In the P. *sih*, for 'three,' the Aryan T (here Zend *th*) is changed to *s*. We should also observe the frequent change of Aryan S to P. *h*, as in P. *haptan*, seven; and its occasional change to *sh*, as in *mūsh*, a mouse. The former change is common in Zend, as in the root *ah* (for *as*), to be. Very curious is the change of Aryan SW to Zend *q*, P. *kh*, as in Skt. *svasr* (sister), Zend *qan̄har*, P. *kh'āher*. Also, of Aryan KW to Zend *çp*, as in Skt. *çveta*, Zend *çpaēta*, P. *sapeid*, E. *white*; Skt. *açva*, Zend *açpa*, P. *asp*, L. *equus*. We may also note the occurrence of Zend *v*, P. *b* or *g*, for W; as in Zend. *vāta*, P. *bād*, E. *wind*; P. *gurg*, E. *wolf*. So also *rose* is derived (through French, Latin, and Greek) from Armenian (and Arab.) *ward*, which in P. becomes *gul*.

§ 291. **Sanskrit.** It might be supposed that all words borrowed from Sanskrit must have been borrowed since 1757, the date of the battle of Plassey, and the beginning of our dominion in India. But languages of Sanskrit origin have existed there all the while, and several Sanskrit words found their way to England during the middle ages, more or less disguised in a Latin or French dress. Thus the alliterative romance of Alexander and Dindimus, translated from the Latin in the middle of the 14th century, tells us about "the Bragmanus pore," i.e. the poor Brahmins, where the Latin original has *Bragmani*. Indeed, the name Dindimus, who was a supposed king of the Brahmins, is of Sanskrit origin; the Latin text has *Dandamis*, which is just the Skt. *dandin*, one who bears a mace, from *danda*, a mace, sceptre, staff of justice, from the root *dand*, to chastise; it was also used to signify an ascetic, or religious devotee, one in the fourth (and highest) stage of Brahminical life. See Manu, vi. 52. The words *hemp* and *pepper*, both of Sanskrit origin, found their way into Greek and Latin, and thence into Anglo-Saxon. The words *beryl* and *nard* occur in the Vulgate version of the Bible, and in Wyclif's translation. *Ginger* is mentioned in the Ancren Riwe, p. 370. *Sandal*

(fine stuff), *sugar*, and *sulphur* occur in Chaucer. *Mace* (the spice) is mentioned in the Liber Albus, p. 230, and in Mandeville's Travels, c. 18.

§ 292. **Word-list.** The following is a list of the principal words from this source.

Algum, avatar, banyan, brahmin, beryl (*whence* brilliant), camphor, candy, carmine, champak, cheeta¹, chintz, cowry², crimson, ghee¹, ginger, hemp, indigo, jaggery¹, juggernaut¹, jungle, kermes, lac (shell-lac), lac (of rupees), lacquer (*or* lacker), lake (the colour), loot (Hind.), mace (the spice³), mandarin, musk, muscadel (*or* muscatel), mascadine, nard, nautch¹, paddy (Malay), palanquin, pawnee (Hindustani), pepper, punch (the liquor), pundit, punkah, rajah, rajpoot (Hindustani), rupee, saccharine, sandal (wood), Sanskrit, sendal (*or* cendal), sugar, sulphur, suttee, Veda.

§ 293. No doubt the list might be increased. The curious term *eagle-wood*, as another name for *aloes-wood* (*Aloexylon agallochum*) is due to a corruption of its Skt. name *aguru* (lit. 'not heavy'). The *Deccan* means 'the right hand,' hence 'the South,' with reference to a person who turns eastward. *Gunny*, a coarse kind of sacking, is from Hind. *gonī*, Skt. *gonī*, a sack. *Mahout*, an elephant-driver, is the Hind. *mahāwat*, Skt. *mahā-mātra*, lit. 'great in measure,' a high officer, so applied. *Nirvana*, is the Skt. *nir-vāna*, lit. 'being blown out' or 'being extinguished,' hence 'final beatitude'; from *nis*, out, and *vā*, to blow. *Sikh* is, literally, 'disciple'; cf. Skt. *śishya*, disciple; from *śās*, to teach.

§ 294. But the principal use of Skt. is in comparative

¹ See Yule's Anglo-Indian Glossary; also my Concise Etym. Dict. 3rd ed. 1887. Cf. § 296, p. 414.

² I have given *cowry* from Hind. *kaurī*, a small shell. This is right so far; but the Hind. word is from Skt. *kaparda*, with the same sense.

³ The real history of *mace* is unknown; it would seem that Skt. may have originated some terms that were confused with it. The true Arab. name is *basbāsah*.

philology. The extreme fullness and excellent preservation of its forms and inflexions are often of great assistance. It frequently preserves consonants that are lost in Greek; on the other hand, Greek has best preserved the Aryan vowels, whereas Sanskrit has reduced the five primary short vowels *ā, ē, ī, ō, ū* to only three primary short vowels, viz. *ă, ȳ, and ŷ*. The Skt. *ē* and *ō* are both long, and result from diphthongs or vowel-combinations. It must, however, be added that the original Aryan had original long vowels and original diphthongs as well as the five short vowels. It is, of course, impossible to enter further, in this place, into this extremely important subject. Some further information is given in vol. i, in Chapters VII and VIII.

§ 295. **Hindustani.** It is convenient to consider here the few English words of Hindustani origin.

Besides Sanskrit, which is strictly a literary language, various vernacular languages are spoken in India, which are of Aryan origin, and are allied to, rather than descended from, the classical Sanskrit. The chief of these are Hindi, Hindustani or Urdu, Bengali, Punjabi, Sindhi, Gujarathi, Mahrathi, and Uriya.

Hindi chiefly confines itself to terms of native or Sanskrit origin, avoiding much admixture of foreign terms, and it employs the Sanskrit character. Hindustani or Urdu (i.e. the 'camp' language, from the Tatar *ūrdū*, a camp, an army, E. *horde*) is of a very mixed character, being largely made up of Persian, Arabic, and Tatar words grafted upon the old Hindi stock¹. It employs the Persian alphabet, with the addition of the three cerebral letters, *ṭ, ḍ, and ṛ*, distinguished from *t, d, and r* by being marked with *four dots*. It is remarkable for being very widely diffused throughout India, and for being more generally understood than any other medium of communication. As, however, it contains a large non-Aryan element, it may well be the case that

¹ English Cyclopædia, Supp., art. *Hindustani*.

some of the words borrowed from it are not of Aryan origin. The present place is, nevertheless, the most convenient place for considering it.

§ 296. **Word-list.** The following words appear to be of Hindustani origin.

Anna (*or* ana), bandanna, bangle, chutny, dacoit, dawkh, gavial, ghaut, nullah, puggry (*or* puggery), shampoo, thug, toddy, topee (a hat, Hind. *topī*), wallah (in the hybrid term 'competition-wallah').

Also the following, borrowed from or due to Sanskrit:—cheeta, chintz, cowry, ghee, gunny, loot, mahout, nautch, pawnee, rajpoot. See §§ 292, 293.

For further information as to these words, see my Concise Etym. Dict., 3rd ed., and especially Yule's Glossary of Anglo-Indian Words.

§ 297. **Hindi, Bengali, and Marathi.** The word *rum*, adj., in the sense of 'queer,' is of Gypsy origin, answering to the Hindi *dom*, with initial cerebral *d*, Skt. *domba*, a man of low caste, who makes his living by singing and dancing (see Dict.). *Bungalow* and *dingy* are of Bengali origin; and so is *tom-tom*, according to H. H. Wilson; though, as the word is of imitative origin, it belongs, as Yule remarks, 'to no language in particular.' *Patchouli* answers to Bengali *pachā-pāt* (Yule); and, as it is also called *patch-leaf*, it is just possible that the final syllable *-li* is a corruption of the English *leaf*.

According to H. H. Wilson, *pice* is of Marathi origin; Yule gives it as Hindustani.

The word *jaggery* is a Canarese form, though it is not Dravidian, but Aryan; being a mere corruption of the Skt. *ṣaṅkarā*, whence also the E. form *sugar*.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE SEMITIC ELEMENT.

§ 298. It was once a fashion to derive native English words from Latin, native Latin words from Greek, and native Greek words from Hebrew, with the surprising result that native English words were derived from Hebrew by three removes, each of which required that any needful amount of violence might be done to the form of a word. This sort of thing is even yet not quite extinct. Thus, in Dr. Charnock's *Nuces Etymologicæ*, published in 1889, we are assured that *filbert* is derived from Lat. *nux Avellana*, which passed through the following imaginary changes; first of all English people said *Avel nut* (of which no instance is recorded), then *velnut* (equally unauthorised), then *felnut* (unrecorded), then *filnut* (unrecorded), then *filmud* (unrecorded), then *filbud* (unrecorded), then *filberd*, and finally *filbert*. Similarly, we learn from the same source that the E. *herring* is derived, through the Low Latin forms *harenga*, *harenge*, *harence*, *harece*, *harecis*, from the Lat. *halecis*, gen. case of *halex*, or *alex*, pickle, which is from the Gk. ἀλαξ, ἀλας, ἀλος, gen. of ἄλς, the sea. We have, accordingly, to suppose that a *herring* is a pickled fish derived from the *salt* sea.

The fact is, however, that, but for the influence of the Bible, and Eastern commerce, English, as being one of the Aryan languages, would have been almost wholly uninfluenced by languages of the Semitic family. The chief point of con-

tact between Aryan and Semitic is seen in Greek, which borrowed several words from the latter stock.

§ 299. The Semitic family of languages, so called from *Shem*, the son of Noah, may be divided into four principal classes, as follows. (1) The recently discovered Babylonian and Assyrian. (2) The Aramæan, including Syriac and the so-called Chaldee; with the allied Samaritan. (3) The Hebrew; to which are closely related the Moabite, the Phœnician, and the Punic. (4) The Arabic, the sacred language of the Moslems, existing both as a literary language and in a great variety of spoken dialects; and the Ethiopic.

It may be remarked here that many terms and phrases, familiar to us from their occurrence in the New Testament, belong rather to Aramaic or Syriac than to Hebrew. They are discussed in Kautzsch's *Grammatik des Biblisch-Aramäischen*, Leipzig, 1884, pp. 8-12, who calls the New Testament words Western Aramaic. Such are: *Abba*, father, (*abbā*)¹; *aceldama*, field of blood (*khagal*, field, *demā*, blood); *bar*, son (*bar*); *Beelzebub*, probably an altered form of *Beelzebub* (*beel zebûb*, lord of flies); *Bethesda* (*beith khešdā*, house of grace); *Boanerges*; *Cephas* (*keiphā*, rock), *Gabbatha* (*gabethā*, an elevated place, related to Heb. *gab*, something arched); *Golgotha* (*gulgaltā*, Syr. *gāgultā*, Heb. *gulgoleth*, a skull); *ephphatha* (*ethphatakh*, be thou opened; cf. Heb. *pāthakh*, to open); *mammon*, riches (*mamōnā*); *Martha*, lady (from *mar*, lord); *Messiah*, anointed (*meshikkhā*, Heb. *māshî(a)kh*); *pascha*, passover (Heb. *pešakh*); *Rabboni*, my master (cf. *rabbî*); *Raca*, foolish, lit. empty (cf. Heb. *reiq*); *Tabitha*, a gazelle (cf. Heb. *tsebi*). Also the phrases *Eloi, Eloi, lama sabach-thani*, an Aramaic rendering of the first verse of the twenty-second psalm; *talitha cumi*, damsel, arise; *Maranatha*, our Lord cometh (*māran*, our Lord, *athā*, cometh). See also Castle's Syriac Lexicon, ed. Michaelis, 2 vols. 4to; Göttingen, 1788.

¹ For the key to the transliteration here used, see § 300 below.

§ 300. The Hebrew words in English are almost wholly due to the Bible. The Authorised Version was made from the original texts, so that several words have thus been immediately introduced into English, or have been altered back again into a shape more closely resembling the Hebrew. But several of the words had long been current in English, having been borrowed from the Latin forms in the Vulgate Version, or even from Greek forms, or from the French. See Chapter X above. For example, the word *balsam* has come to us from Hebrew through Greek and Latin, and has also reached us in the contracted French form *balm*. The full account of the channels through which Hebrew words have thus reached us is given in my Dictionary; see particularly p. 760 of the second edition. I shall now give the word-list, marking the words that have reached us indirectly with the symbols 'Gk.', 'L.', or 'F.', as each case requires. The unmarked words seem to have been borrowed immediately. Many of the words are accounted for in Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*. The student may advantageously consult the *Thesaurus ling. Hebr. et Chald.* by Gesenius, and the 11th edition of his *Hebr. u. Chald. Handwörterbuch* (1890). In transcribing Hebrew words, I adopt the following alphabet: *a* [*e*, &c.], *b*, *g*, *d*, *h*, *v*, *z*, *kh*, *t*, *y*, *k*, *l*, *m*, *n*, *q*, *p*, *ts*, *q*, *r*, *sh* or *s*, *t*. When the letters *b*, *k*, *p*, *t*, are not dotted, I denote them by *v*, *kh*, *ph*, *th*. This gives two uses of *v* and *kh*, but does not cause much practical difficulty, as our Hebrew words are, after all, by no means numerous. I have often further got rid of *t* and *q* by mentioning that *teth* or *samech* is intended, in the few instances where one of them occurs.

§ 301. **Hebrew Word-list.** Alleluia, alphabet (L., Gk.), amen (Gk.), balm (F., L., Gk.), balsam (L., Gk.), bath (a measure), bedlam, behemoth,¹ cab (a measure), cabal (F.),

¹ Not a true Heb. word, but borrowed from Egyptian *p-che-mau*, water-ox, hippopotamus; see Gesenius, 9th ed., p. 94.

camel (F., L., Gk.), cassia (L., Gk.), cherub,¹ cider (F., L., Gk.), cinnamon, cummin (L., Gk.), delta (Gk.), ebony (F., L., Gk.),² elephant (F., L., Gk.), ephah (perhaps Egyptian), ephod, gauze,³ gopher, hallelujah, Hebrew, hin (perhaps Egyptian), homer, hosanna, hyssop (F., L., Gk.), iota, jack (F. *Jaques*), Jacob, jacobin, Jehovah, jenneting (from F. *Jeanneton*), jesuit (Sp.), Jesus, Jew, jockey (from *Jack*), jordan, jot (L., Gk.), jubilee (F., L.), jug (prob. from *Judith*), lazar (F., L., Gk.), leviathan (L.), Levite (L., Gk.), log (a liquid measure).

Manna (L., Gk.), maudlin (F., L., Gk.), mishna, Nazarite, Pharisee (L., Gk.), purim, rabbi, rabbin (L., Gk.), sabbath (L., Gk.), Sabaoth, Sadducee (L., Gk.), sapphire (F., L., Gk.), Satan, selah, seraph, shekel, Shekinah, shibboleth, shittah (*pl.* shittim, from Egyptian *schonte*, a thorn), simony (F., L., Gk.), sodomy (F., L., Gk.), sycamine (L., Gk.),⁴ teraphim, thummim, Tom, urim, zany (Ital., Gk.).

The Heb. pl. suffix *-im* is used in English in the words *cherub-im*, *pur-im* (i. e. lots), *seraph-im* (better than *seraph-in*), *teraph-im*, *thumm-im*, *ur-im*.

§ 302. **Aramaic.** A notice of some Aramaic words occurring in the New Testament is given in § 299, and includes a few words and phrases which can hardly be said to be English. The following is the list of words from this source.

Word-list. Abbess (F., L., Gk.), abbey (F., L., Gk.), abbot (L., Gk.), damask (L., Gk.), damson (F., L., Gk.), gehenna, mammon, maranatha, Messiah, muslin (F., Ital.),

¹ Perhaps not Hebrew; it has been connected with the Assyrian *Kirubu*, the steer-god, the winged guardian at the entrance of the Assyrian palaces. (See my Supplement.)

² Probably a non-Semitic word.

³ From Gaza, Heb. *'azzāh*, strong.

⁴ On the supposition that Gk. *συκάμινος* was formed from Heb. *shiqmīm*, pl. of *shiqmāh* (Aram. *shiqmā*), the name of the tree. Prob. confused with *συκόμοπος*, i. e. sycamore.

pasch, paschal, raca, talmud (Chaldee), targum (Chaldee). Here perhaps we may place *scallion* and *shallot*, both derivatives of the place-name *Ascalon*.

§ 303. The words of Arabic origin are, upon the whole, both more numerous and more important than those of Hebrew origin. The latter are mostly due to the Bible, but the former include the names of several substances obtained by importation, and even in quite common use, such as *amber*, *coffee*, *cotton*, *myrrh*, *naphtha*, *ream*, *senna*, *sherbet*, *sofa*, &c. It is curious to notice how many channels have been open for the contribution of Arabic words to English. Some words have reached us from the Levantine trade, through Greek or Italian; others by way of Spain, where the Moors had so long-lasting an influence; and others, more indirectly, by way of France. The close contact between Spanish and Arabic in Spain, and again between Greek and Arabic in the Levant or by means of literature, is worthy of especial notice. In modern times English has borrowed not a few words immediately from Arabic itself. It is also important to observe that several Arabic names of articles of commerce were imported at rather an early date, and it will be interesting to consider such as reached us before A. D. 1500. It is greatly to the credit of the Moors, in particular, that they produced many men learned in such sciences as astronomy and medicine, and well acquainted with the scientific writings of the Greeks. Hence we even find that some Arabic words are borrowed from Greek; as *albatross*, *alchemy*, *alembic* (*limbeck*), *carat*, *elixir*, *talisman*. Some also are of Persian origin; as *azure*, *borax*, *calabash*, *candy* (really Sanskrit), *hazard*, *tabour*, and perhaps *spinage*. Consequently, they are excluded from the list in § 305.

§ 304. **Early Borrowings.** The earliest words of Arab. origin are *admiral* and M. E. *maumet* (an idol, lit. Mahomet or Mohammed); both in Layamon's *Brut*. In Morris's Old

Eng. Homilies we find *myrrh* and *saffron* (ii. 45, 163). In the Ancren Riwe, p. 382, we have *mate*, adj., confounded; the same word as E. *mate* in chess. *Jasper* occurs in the Allit. Poems, i. 999; and *Saracen* in Rich. Cœur de Lion, 2436. *Rose* already occurs in A.S., but it is difficult to know whether the word is of Armenian or of Arabic origin. Chaucer has rather a large number of Arabic words, viz. *alkali*, *alkoran*, *azimuth*, *diaper*, *elixir* (Gk.), *jasper*, *mate* (in *check-mate*), *nadir*, *racket* (racket-bat), *realgar* (spelt *resalgar*), *rose* (?), *saffron*, *sultan* (M. E. *soudan*), *tartar* (acid salt), *zenith*. Mandeville has *cotoun*, i. e. cotton; and Trevisa has *ambra*, i. e. amber (see New E. Dict.). *Amulet* is spelt *amalet* in 1447 (Murray); *mattress* is spelt *matras* in 1424 (see my Supplement); and *sumach* is *symach* in the Liber Albus, p. 224. Note the frequent occurrence of the def. art. *al*, the.

§ 305. In tracing Arabic words, the most helpful book is the Dictionnaire Étymologique des Mots d'origine Orientale by Marcel Devic, in the Supplement to Littré's French Dictionary. Another valuable work is that by Engelmann and Dozy, entitled Glossaire des mots Espagnols et Portugais dérivés de l'Arabe. The most useful Dictionary is that by Richardson, as edited by Johnson in 1829.

Word-list. Admiral (F.), afreet,¹ alcaide (Sp.), alcohol (F.), alcove (Sp.), algebra, alguazil (Sp.), alkali, alkoran, Allah, amber (F., Sp.), ameer, amulet (?), arabesque (F., It.), arrack, arsenal (Sp.), artichoke (It., Sp.), assassin (F.), atabal (Sp.), attar, azimuth.

Baldachin (Ital.), basil (leather, F., Sp.), Bedouin (F.), benzoin (F., Sp.), bonito (Sp.), botargo (It.²), burnouse (F.), cadi, calif (F.), carafe (F., Sp.), caraway or carraway (Sp.), carob (tree), cid (Sp.), cipher (F.), civet (F.), coffee, cotton (F., Sp.), cubeb (F., Sp.), diaper (F., It., L., Gk.), drago-

¹ Arab. *'ifrit*, a demon.

² But probably the Arab. word is of Greek origin, with the Coptic article (Devic).

man (Sp., Gk.), emir, fanfare (F., Sp.), fakir *or* faquir (F.), fardle (F.), fellah, felucca, furl (F.).

Galingale (F., Sp.), garbage (F., Sp.), garble (F., Sp.), gazelle (F.), genet (F., Sp.), genie *or* jinn, giaour (Pers.), gueber (Pers.),¹ ghazel (a love-song),² hadji *or* hajji (a pilgrim), harem, hashish, hegira, hookah, howdah, imam *or* imaum, iradè (imperial decree in Turkey),³ jar, jasper (F., L., Gk.), jennet (gennet), jerboa, jereed, jinn (a demon), Koran.

Lacquey (F., Sp.), lute (F.), magazine, Mahometan, mame-luke (F.), marabout⁴ (F.), maravedi (Sp.), marcassite,⁵ mask (F., Sp.), masquerade (F., Sp.), mate (F., Pers., in *check-mate*), mattress (F.), minaret (Sp.), mohair *or* moire (F.), monsoon (It.), moonshee, moslem, mosque (F., Sp.), muezzin, mufti, mussulman (Pers.), myrrh (F., L., Gk.), nabob (Hind.), nadir, naker (kettle-drum), natron, nitre (F., L., Gk.), nizam (Pers.), ogee (F., Sp.), ogive (F., Sp.), omrah, otto, rack (spirit), racket (a bat, F., Sp.), Ramadan, rayah, realgar (F., Sp.), ream (F., Sp.), rebeck, rob (conserve of fruit), rose (?),⁶ ryot.

Saffron (F.), sahib (Hind.), saker (falcon), salaam, saracen, sarcenet (F., L.), senna (Ital.), sequin (F.), sheik, sherbet, shrub (in *rum-shrub*), sicca (in *sicca-rupee*), simoon, sirocco (Ital.), sofa, sultan (F.), sumach (F., Sp.), syrup (F., Sp.), tabby (F., Sp.), talc (F., Sp.), taraxacum, tare (in merchandise, F., Sp.), tariff (F., Sp.), tartar (acid salt, F., L.), tutty (oxide of zinc, see Devic), visier, wady (Ar. *wādī*, a valley), zariba (slight defence), zenith (F., Sp.), zero (F.)

¹ *Giaour* is from the Pers. *gāwūr*, an infidel, another form of *gueber* *or* *guebre*, Pers. *gebr*, *gabr*, an infidel, a fire-worshipper; but these are said to be from Arab. *kāfir*, an infidel.

² Arab. *ghazal*, a love-song, kind of sonnet.

³ Arab. *irādat*, *irāda*, will, wish.

⁴ F. *marabout*, Arab. *morābiṭ*, lit. quiet, still; hence a saint, among the Berbers.

⁵ Iron pyrites; Arab. *marqachītha* (Devic); cf. Pers. *marqashishā* (Richardson); whence Ital. *marcassita*, F. *marcassite*.

⁶ F. *rose*, L. *rosa*, from Gk. *ῥόδov*, Æol. *ῥpódov*; borrowed either from Arab. *or* Armenian *ward*, rose.

Here belong also the Moorish words *assagai* and *fez*; and the Algerian words *razzia* and *Zouave*.

The word *barberry* is found to be *not* of Arabic origin, as is usually said.

§ 306. The list might be increased. Thus the word *fives* in Shakespeare, used with reference to a disease in horses (Tam. Shrew, iii. 2. 54) is a corruption of *vives*, shortened from *avives*, which is the F. *avives*, from Span. *adivas*, 'squintance in a beast' (Minsheu); which, again, is from Arab. *ad-dhība*, the name of the same malady; as shown by Devic. See also *bougie* in Devic, and *bedeguar* in the New E. Diet.

We might also add a number of words formerly used in alchemy, as *aludel* and *athanor*, both in Ben Jonson's Alchemist, *azoth*, i. e. mercury, &c. Also a large number of names of stars, as *Aldebaran*, *Altair*, &c.; see the lists in Devic, under *Alchimie* and *Astronomie*.

It has been explained, in § 303, that some words have been omitted, which ultimately belong to some other language. In the same way, we cannot claim *tamarind* as pure Arabic, because the last syllable of the word is Persian. *Begum*, again, is also a hybrid word, being partly Turkish and partly Arabic; whilst *check-mate* and *seraskier* are partly Persian and partly Arabic. *Quintal* is mere Latin. There are a few other similar words which it is difficult to class.

§ 307. The student will be much assisted in verifying the above results by a knowledge of a few elementary points of grammar.

The Persian alphabet contains the same characters as the Arabic, but with some additions, and some modifications in the sounds which the characters denote. In § 285 I have given the Pers. alphabet in the form: *a* [*ā*, &c.], *b*, *p*, *t*, *š*, *j*, *ch*, *h*, *kh*, *d*, *z*, *r*, *z*, *zh*, *s*, *sh*, *g*, *z*, *t*, *ž*, *'*, *gh*, *f*, *q*, *k*, *g*, *l*, *m*, *n*, *w* [*u*], *h*, *y* [*ī*]. The additional letters are *p*, *ch*, *zh*, and *g*, making 32 instead of 28. Hindustani adds yet three more letters, viz. the cerebral *t*, *d*, and *r*. Again, Arabic

pronounces *ṣ* as E. *th* in *thin* (th), and *ẓ* as E. *th* in *this* (dh), so that the symbols *th* and *dh* may very well be employed instead of the awkward *ṣ* and *ẓ* in Arabic words. It also has peculiar pronunciations of *ẓ* and *ṣ*; so that the four letters which in Persian are all pronounced as E. *z* are distinguished in Arabic, where only *z* is pronounced as E. *z*, the others having different sounds.

§ 308. The Arabic root is totally different in conception from the Aryan root. The latter is a simple monosyllable, but the latter is said, in general, to be *triliteral*. That is, every word is generally referred to a root consisting of three radical letters, grouped together in an unpronounceable form. Thus the root *q, t, l* or *qtl* suggests the idea of 'killing,' but must be provided with vowels before it can be used, or even pronounced. The simplest form is made by supplying the vowel *a* thrice, thus producing the form *qatala*, with the sense 'he killed,' being the third person singular of the past tense. This convenient form may be taken as representing the root, and is usually given in Dictionaries; and other forms are obtained from it *by varying the vowels*. If the first *a* be lengthened, the second changed to *i*, and the third dropped, we shall get the *agential* form. Thus *qātil* is 'one killing'; and we should get a similar agential form from any other root in the same way. For example, the root *f, 'l*, to do, will yield the pt. t. *fa'ala*, he did, and the agential form *fā'il*, 'one doing.' If one of the letters of the root be *ā*, *u*, or *y*, the forms may be somewhat modified, but the principle is the same. Other forms, from the last root, are: the *agrist*,^{present} *yaf'ulu*; the imperative *uf'ul*; the noun of action, *fā'l*, 'a doing'; &c. But the most important for the English student are the passive participle, of the form *maf'ūl*, and the 'noun of place or time,' of the form *maf'al*; because this prefixing of the syllable *ma-* may make it necessary to drop the prefix before the root can be looked for in the Dictionary. Moreover, the prefix sometimes appears as *mo-* or *mu-*. We have

the following examples. *Magazine* is from Arab. *makhṣin*, pl. of *makhṣen*, a place where things are stored; and, this being a 'noun of place,' *ma-* is only a prefix, and the trilateral root is *kḥ, z, n*, as in *khazana*, he laid up in store. From the same root is *khizānat*, also used in the sense of magazine or storehouse. Again, *Mohametan* is an inferior spelling of *Mohammed-an*, formed from the name *Muhammad* or *Mohammad*, signifying 'the praised,' or 'the praiseworthy'; from the root *h, m, d*, appearing in *hamada*, he praised. *Mameluke* is a purchased slave, lit. 'possessed'; from *m, l, k*, as in *malaka*, he possessed. So again, *mattress* is from Arab. *maṭraḥ*, a place where a thing is thrown down; from *ṭaraḥa*, he threw down. *Minaret* is from *menāra(t)*, a light-house, place where there is a lamp; from *nār*, to shine, or a fire. *Monsoon*, from Arab. *mawsim*, a fixed season, is from the root *wasama*, he marked. Similarly, a *Moslem* or *Mussulman* is one who makes a profession of *Islam*, i.e. 'resignation to the will of God'; which (like *salaam* and *salem*, i.e. peace) is from the root *salama*, he saluted. *Mosque*, Arab. *mesjid*, a place to pray in, is from *sajada*, he prostrated himself. *Muezzin*, the crier of a mosque, is connected with *adhān*, the call to prayers, and *udhn*, the ear; all from *adhina*, he listened. (Here the *dh* is the Pers. *z*; see § 307 above). *Mufti*, from Arab. *muftī*, a magistrate, is allied to *fatwā*, a judgment. The careful observance of such derivations is important; because all words of this character are sure to be pure Arabic, and not borrowed from Persian. No Aryan sb. would be formed in such a manner.

CHAPTER XXII.

THE FINNO-TATARIC AND VARIOUS ASIATIC ELEMENTS.

§ 309. We find in Europe some languages of non-Aryan origin, from which English has borrowed just a few words. The only languages we need consider here are the Turkish, and the Hungarian or Magyar. These belong to what has been called the Finno-Tataric or Ural-Altaic family of languages, corresponding to what is described in Max Müller's Lectures on Language (Lect. 8) as constituting the 'Northern division of the Turanian languages.' It is, however, now proved that this 'Northern division' contains a complete family in itself, and is quite independent of the other languages of the 'Southern division' mentioned in the same chapter. Accordingly, it is now usual to drop the misleading name 'Turanian' altogether. See, on this point, *The Science of Language*, by A. Hovelacque, translated by A. H. Keane, London, 1877.

Turkish, or Osmanli, belongs to the Turkic group, which also includes the idioms of the Tatar tribes; whilst Hungarian belongs to the Finnic group of the above family. The Turkic tribes originally occupied a large portion of Central Asia, and their original point of departure is generally said to be Turkestan, in Tatary. The reader may consult Hovelacque, as above, or Lecture 8 in Max Müller's Lectures, where some of the characteristics of Turkish grammar are given. In tracing Turkish words, help is to be had from

the work by Marcel Devic, mentioned above, in § 305; and from the Dictionnaire Turc-Arabe-Persan by J. T. Zenker, published at Leipzig in 1866-76. Most Turkish words have been borrowed immediately; a few have reached us through French, &c., as marked below.

§ 310. **Turkish Word-list.** Agha or aga (chief officer), ata-ghan (*better spelt* yataghan), Bairam (a Mohammedan festival), bey, bosh (Turk. *bosh*, empty, worthless), caftan, caïque (*same as* ketch), caviare (F., Ital.), chagrin (*the same word as* shagreen), chibouk or chibouque, chouse (?),¹ dey, dolman (F., from Turk. *dolāmān*, a sort of robe), horde, janizary (F., Ital.), ketch, odalisque (F.), ottoman (F.), sanjak,² sha-green, uhlan (G., Polish), yataghan, xebec (Sp.).

We have also borrowed some words from Turkish that are not really original in that language. Thus the common word *effendi*, for 'sir' or 'mister,' Turk. *ēfendi*, is a mere adaptation of Gk. ἀφέντης, a modern form of Gk. αὐθέντης, originally a despotic ruler, or master. *Kiosk*, a small pavilion, F. *kiosque*, is from a Turkish pronunciation of Pers. *kūshk*, a villa. *Raki*, Turk. *rāqī*, arrack, is from the same Arabic word as E. *arrack*. *Coffee*, Turk. *qahveh*, is from Arab. *qahweh*. *Begum*, Pers. *begum*, is from a mixture of Turkish and Arabic; from Turk. *beg*, *bey*, a bey, governor, and Arab. *um*, *umm*, mother; lit. 'governor's mother'; a title of rank. *Seraskier* is a Turk. form of Pers. *ser'asker*, a general, or military chief; a hybrid formation from Pers. *ser* or *sar*, head, and Arab. *'asker* or *'askar*, an army. The Turks insert a very short *i* after *k*, both in this word and in *kiosk* above. The word *Turk* (whence *turkey*, *turquoise*) is really a Tatar word, from the Tatar *turk*, brave. In Turkish, a Turk is called 'osmān; and Turkey is 'osmānli vilaieti.

¹ Usually derived from Turk. *chā'ush*, a sergeant, which is identified with *chiaus* in Ben Jonson.

² A sub-division of a province, from Turk. *sanjāq*, a standard, originally the standard of the governor of such a district (Devic).

§ 311. The number of words borrowed from Hungarian is very small. The book of reference which I have consulted is Dankovsky's *Magyar Lexicon*, published at Presburg in 1833. I have only found the following.

Hungarian Word-list. Hussar, Tokay; sabre, sabretache (both, through French and German); shako (through French). Even of these, it is not certain that *sabre* is a true Magyar word; it does not seem to have been clearly traced to its origin.

§ 312. Passing over to Asia, we may first consider the languages of Tatary (usually misspelt Tartary, by a sorry misconception that connects it with *Tartarus*!) These also belong, as said above, to the Turkic group of the Finno-Tataric family, and the following words are derived from them.

Tatar Word-list. Cossack (through Russian); khan (a lord, whence Genghis Khan, lit. 'great lord,' a mere title rather than a name); mammoth (through Russian); mogul (i. e. Mongolian); tartar; turk; turquoise.

§ 313. We may next consider the so-called Dravidian languages of Southern India, which are entirely distinct from those of Sanskrit or Aryan origin. They are classed by Max Müller as belonging to the 'Southern division of Turanian languages,' but are really quite distinct from several of the languages there mentioned, as well as from those in the 'Northern division' of the same, as noted in § 309. The six chief languages of this group, as described by Caldwell, are: (1) Canarese, on the Western coast, to the South of Goa and extending over the plateau of Mysore; (2) Malayalam, on the same coast, still further South, in Travancore; (3) Telugu, on the Eastern coast, to the South of Cicacole; (4) Tamil, still further South, in the greater part of the Carnatic, including Madras; (5) and (6) Tulu and Kudagu, comparatively unimportant. The most helpful books are: the *Glossary of Indian Terms*, by H. H. Wilson,

London, 1855; the Glossary of Anglo-Indian Terms, by Yule and Burnell, London, 1886; and the Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian languages, by the Rev. R. Caldwell, London, 1856. As far as I can ascertain, the following are the words derived from Dravidian sources.

§ 314. **Dravidian Word-list.** *Western.* (1) *Canarese*: jaggery; but this is only borrowed from Skt. *çarkarā*. (2) *Malayālam*: areca (through Portuguese); betel (through Portuguese); teak.

Eastern. (3) *Telugu*: bandicoot, mongoose. (4) *Tamil*: catamaran (much used at Madras); curry (for meat, lit. 'sauce'); cheroot; cooly; godown (a warehouse, Malay *gadong*, from Tamil *kidāngu*, a place where goods lie, from *kidu*, to lie); mango; mulligatawny; pariah; tope (in the sense of mango-orchard, or orchard)¹. Also *pea*- in *pea-cock*, which attests the antiquity of Tamil, from which even Sanskrit itself has borrowed several words. On the other hand E. *cash*, i. e. a small Indian coin, Tamil *kāsu*, is from Skt. *karsha*.

§ 315. **Other Indian languages.** We have a few words from various languages of India, besides those of Aryan origin, and those mentioned just above. Thus *polo* (the game), is from the Balti name of the ball used in the game; this language is spoken in the high valley of the Indus (Yule). The words *anaconda* and *tourmaline* are Cingalese. The word *atoll*, as applied to coral reefs, is an expression obtained from the Maldivé Islands, where the language is allied to Cingalese.

§ 316. The most important, for English, of the Southern Asiatic languages, is Malay. This language, though belonging to the Malayo-Polynesian group, which is independent of all other linguistic systems, employs the Arabic alphabet. There is an excellent Malay-English Dictionary by Marsden, London, 1812; and a Malay-Dutch Dictionary by Pijnappel, Am-

¹ Distinct from *tope*, a dome, used in the N. W. Punjab; locally *tōp*, from Skt. *stūpa*, a heap, pile.

sterdam, 1875. Malay words are also to be found in Devic's Glossary, as printed in the Supplement to Littré's French Dictionary; and in Yule's Glossary of Anglo-Indian words.

§ 317. **Malay Word-list.** Amok (*or* a-muck), babiroussa,¹ bamboo, caddy, cajeput *or* cajuput (a tree yielding aromatic oil, from Malay *kāyu*, tree, wood, *pūh(h)*, white), cassowary, catechu (Malay *kāchu*), cockatoo, crease *or* creese (sword), dugong, gecko, gong, gutta-percha, junk (a kind of ship),² lory, mango, mangrove (*for* mang-grove?), muck (a-muck), orang-outang, paddy (Malay *pādī*, perhaps of Skt. origin), proa, ratafia (through French), rattan, sago, siamang (an ape found in Sumatra, Malay *siāmang*), tripang (the sea-slug, Malay *tripang*), upas.

The word *Papuan*, applied to an inhabitant of New Guinea (whence *Papua* as a name for the island itself), is from the Malay *papūah*, short form of *pūah-pūah*, with curly hair. Owing to the remarkable thickly curled hair of this people, a Papuan is called in Malay *orang papūah*, a curly-haired man (Devic).

Devic suggests that the difficult word *carrack* (O. F. *carraque*, Span. and Port. *carraca*) is a variant of Span. *caracoa*, 'a sort of large Indian boat' (Pineda), Port. *coracora* or *corocora* 'a long vessel with oars'; from Arab. *qorqūr* (pl. *qarāqir*), a large merchant vessel, not an original Arab. word, but borrowed from Malay *korakōra*, with a like sense; to which, indeed, the Port. *coracora* exactly and obviously corresponds. The Portuguese may have imported the word directly, and the Span. forms *caracoa*, *carraca* may have been taken from Portuguese, without bringing in the Arabic word at all. The E. word is in early use, as Chaucer employs the form *carrik*, Cant. Tales, D. 1628.

¹ A kind of wild hog; lit. 'deer-hog'; from Malay *bābi*, hog, *rūsa*, deer.

² Rather from Javanese *jong*, Malay *ājong*, than from Chinese; see Yule.

In my Dictionary, I have given *camphor* as being of Malay origin, through Arab. *kāfūr*; but both the Arab. *kāfūr* and the Malay *kāpūr* appear to be from Skt. *karpūra*, camphor. If so, it is from Sanskrit, through Arabic and French.

The Anglo-Indian *tael*, a sixteenth part of the weight called a *catty* (whence E. *caddy*), is from Malay *tail* or *tahil* (Yule); but the Malay word is from Skt. *tolaka*, a weight, from Skt. *tul*, to lift (cf. L. *tollere*). So too the Anglo-Indian *tombak*, a kind of brass, Port. *tambaca*, is from Malay *tambāga*, copper; but the Malay word is of Skt. origin; cf. Skt. *tāmraka*, copper, *tāmra*, copper-red, *tāmasa*, dark, allied to *tamas*, darkness (L. *tenebræ*, E. *dim*).

§ 318. **Java, Annam, Burmah.** From Java we have the word *bantam* (a place-name): from Cambodia, in Annam, the word *gamboge*. And perhaps we may consider *junk* as Javanese; see p. 429, n. 2. *Woon* is from Burmese *wun*, a governor or officer of administration (Yule). *Dacoit* is not Burmese, but Hindustani.

§ 319. **China, Japan, and Tibet.** From China we have the following words: china, Chinese, gobang (a game introduced from Japan, but from Chinese *k'i-p'an*, 'checker-board,' according to Yule), kowtow or kotow (salutation by prostration, from the Chinese *k'o-lou*, lit. 'knock-head,' because the forehead touches the ground, according to Yule), nankeen, tea.

Tea is from the Amoy *tē*, variant of the more usual *ch'a*, *ts'a*, whence E. *cha* (now obsolete). An excellent account of the various kinds of tea is given by Yule (s. v. *tea*). Among these we may notice *Bohea*, from the *Wu-i* (dialectally *Bū-i*) mountains in the N.W. of Fuh-kien, a province on the S.E. coast of China. *Congou tea*, from Amoy *kang-hu tē*, where *kang-hu* is for *kung-fu*, lit. 'work' or 'labour'; said to be so called from the labour bestowed upon it. *Hyson*, from *he* (or *het*)-*ch'un*, lit. 'bright spring.' *Oolong*, from *wu-lung*, lit. 'black dragon.' *Pekoe*, from Canton *pak-ho*, for *pōh-hao*,

lit. 'white down.' *Souchong*, from Canton *siu-chung*, for *siao-chung*, 'little sort.' *Twankay*, from the name of a place. The words *silk* and *serge* are certainly from Lat. *Seres*, the Chinese; a word probably of Chinese origin, notwithstanding the fact that the Chinese do not employ the letter *r*. It has also been supposed that *typhoon* is from Chin. *ta fang*, i. e. 'great wind'; but the account in Yule makes it more probable that, like *monsoon*, it was taken from Arabic, viz. from Arab. *ṭufān*, a word habitually used in India for a sudden and violent storm; whence the Port. *tufão*, the same. The Arab. word is not native, but an adaptation of the Gk. *τὸ φῶν*, to which the mod. E. spelling has been made to conform, though it was not, at the time of its first use, borrowed from Greek *directly*. Hackluyt has the spelling *touffon*; Purchas has *tuffon*; Hamilton has *tuffoon*; other spellings are *toofan*, *toufaun*, &c.; see the quotations in Yule. *Joss* is not Chinese, but Portuguese (Port. *Dios*, God); and *mandarin* is from Sanskrit.

From Japanese we have only *bonze* (through Portuguese), and the words *japan* and *soy*.

From Tibetan we have only the words *lama*, and *yak* (the name of a species of ox).

§ 320. **The Asiatic Islands.** We have just a few words from the islands of Southern Asia. It is sufficient to give the lists.

Australian. Boomerang, dingo (?), kangaroo (a name which seems to have originated in some mistake), paramatta, wombat.

Polynesian. Taboo (New Zealand *tapu*, Solomon Islands *tambu*). *New Zealand*: pah (a native fortified camp). *Tahitian*: tattoo.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE AFRICAN ELEMENT.

§ 321. The great continent of Africa has contributed very little to the vocabulary of English. In no case has so great an area given us so little help. More than half of the words come from the Northern coast, which lies upon the great Mediterranean Sea.

Egyptian. A few words have come down to us from the ancient language of Egypt, which can be traced back to a remote antiquity. Coptic may be considered as being descended from it, and is useful for comparison. The few words which have reached us have mostly come either (1) through Hebrew, or (2) through Greek. To the former set belong: behemoth, ephah, sack (L., Gk., Heb.), satchel (F., L., Gk., Heb.). To the latter set belong: gum (the substance), gypsy, ibis, oasis, paper, papyrus. *Fustian* has reached us through French and Italian.

North African. Barbary is represented by *barb* (a horse); Morocco, by *morocco*, and by *assagai*, which came to us through the Portuguese; *Fez*, by *fez*, a kind of cap. The word *Zouave* belongs to the Kabyles, and has been already given as belonging to a branch of Arabic (p. 422).

Zebra, a Portuguese form, is said to be of Ethiopian origin.

West Africa is represented by *baobab*, *canary*, *chimpanzee*, and *guinea*; as well as *gorilla*, said to belong to an extinct

language. An interesting passage in Hackluyt's *Voyages* (ii. 2. 129) shows that the long-sought word *yam* belongs to a language spoken in Benin. Mr. Jas. Welsh is there said to have reported, with respect to the people of Benin: 'their bread is a kind of roots; they call it *Inamia*; and when it is well sodden, I would leave our bread to eat of it; it is pleasant in eating, and light of digestion; the roote thereof is as bigge as a mans arme.' This is obviously the origin of the Portuguese *inhame*, which the English have turned into *yam*.

The words *gnu* and *quagga*, both names of animals, belong to Hottentot. The word *Hottentot* itself is mere Dutch, viz. *hot en tot*, hot and tot, where *hot*, *tot* are sounds intended to represent stuttering or stammering; so that the name is one of derision.

Quassia is from the negro name *Quassi*; but the particular negro who discovered its virtues lived in Surinam. Stedman, in his excellent book on Surinam, has told us all about him, and has even preserved for us his portrait.

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE AMERICAN ELEMENT.

§ 322. We have borrowed words from North America in two ways: (1) immediately, from the so-called 'Indians' of North America; and (2) indirectly, through Spanish or French, from Mexico and the West Indian islands.

Our borrowings from the nomad Indians began with the settlement of Virginia, on which subject we have the interesting Works of Capt. John Smith (1608-1631), who was President of Virginia, and Admiral of New England. These Works were conveniently reprinted by Prof. Arber in 1884, and are thus easily accessible.

In modern times, English has borrowed 'Indian' words of the same character either directly, or from books written by authors resident in the United States or Canada.

Algonquins or Algonkins is the name for a collection of tribes, speaking closely related languages, which formerly extended over the country between Maine and Chesapeake Bay, and from the Atlantic Ocean to Lake Superior; and it is from the various dialects of this scattered nation that our words were mostly taken. These tribes are now still more scattered over various tracts of country, to the north of Lakes Erie and Ontario. Amongst them are the Chippeways, the Delawares, and others whose names are less familiar. The language of the Crees is closely related to Algonkin. Probably the languages have changed considerably since the time

of the earliest settlements. Captain Smith gives some word-lists from the language spoken by the Indians of Virginia, and occasionally quotes Indian words. Thus, at p. 59, he mentions 'a beast they call *aroughcun*,' spelt *aroughcond* at p. 207; this is our *raccoon* or *raccoon*. At p. 59, he has *opassom*, i. e. *opossum*. At p. 207 is *moos*, i. e. *moose*. At p. 44, he has: '*Tomahacks*, axes,' whence *tomahawk*; also: '*Mockasins*, shoes.' At p. 355, he has *mussascus*¹, and at p. 207, *musquassus*; whence our *musquash*. There is an Algonquin Dictionary by J. A. Cuoq (Montreal, 1886), and a Cree Dictionary by A. Lacombe (Montreal, 1874); but they do not afford much assistance. In many cases, it is difficult to give the true forms. Cuoq has *wikiwam*, variant of *mikiwam*, a house, whence E. *wigwam*; *makisin*, a shoe, moccassin; *manito*, or *manitou*, a spirit, or god; and *mouz*, a moose. The Cree for 'moose' is *mouswa*, and in the same language *wiki* means 'his house.' The Cree *iskweu*, a woman, is related to *squaw*.

§ 323. The list of these terms would appear to be as follows.

North-American Indian Word-list. Caucus, hominy, manito, moccassin, moose, musquash, opossum, papoose (little child, babe), pemmican, raccoon, sachem (a chief), skunk, squaw, toboggan (Canadian), tomahawk, totem, wampum, wigwam.

§ 324. A few Mexican words have come to us, mostly through Spanish, owing to the Spanish conquest of that country. I have treated this subject more at length in my paper on the Language of Mexico, and Words of West-Indian Origin, in the Transactions of the Philological Society, 1888-90, pp. 137-149. The two best books on this subject are the Dictionnaire de la Langue Nahuatl ou Mexicaine, par Rémi Siméon, Paris, 1885; and the Grammaire de la Langue Nahuatl, written by Olmos in 1547, and edited by the same editor, Paris, 1875. Mexican was written down

¹ Perhaps a misprint for *mussascus*.

in the Spanish alphabet, so that the characters usually have the Spanish sounds. But it seems clear that in the 16th century, the Span. *ç* and *z* both had the sound of *z* in *zone*; that *c* and *qu* were both like E. *k* in *king*, except that, before *e* and *i*, *c* was pronounced as *s* in *sin*; that *ll* had the modern Italian, not the modern Spanish sound; and that *x* had the old sound of E. *x* in *mix*, though it probably soon passed into *sh*.

Mexican Word-list. Axolotl, cacao, chilli, chinampa, chocolate, copal, coyote, jalap, ocelot, tomato.

I may remark that *chocolate*, Mex. *chocolatl*, is not connected, etymologically, with *cacao*, Mex. *cacauatl*. The Span. *petate*, a mat, is from Mex. *petatl*, but is not used in English. The name *Popóca-tepéll* simply means 'smoking mountain' or volcano, from *popoca*, to smoke, and *tepéll*, mountain.

§ 325. In the same paper (see § 324), I have attempted to group together words borrowed from the West-Indian islands according to the languages or dialects to which they belong.

Helpful books, in English, are: The First Three English Books on America, by R. Eden, printed by Prof. Arber, Birmingham, 1885; Joyful Newes out of the newe founde Worlde, translated from the Spanish of Monardes by J. Frampton, London, 1577; and Pineda's Span.-Eng. Dictionary. There is also a glossarial Index to the Spanish edition of the Works of Oviedo, but it is not very accurate, and gives no references. Another helpful book is Acosta's Natural History of the Indies, originally in Spanish; of which a French translation was printed in Paris in 1600, and an English translation in London in 1604. This translation affords early quotations for many words, and I therefore append a few references to the books and chapters of Acosta's work.

Acosta mentions the following Mexican words; *cacao*, iv. 22; *chilli*, iv. 20; *chocolate*, iv. 22; *copal*, iv. 29; *tomate*, iv. 20. Also the following Peruvian words; *coca*, iii. 20, iv. 3;

condor, iv. 37; *cuschargui* (jerked beef), iv. 41; *guanaco*, iii. 20; *guano*, iv. 37; *ingua* (inca), i. 25, &c.; *lama*, iv. 41; *oca*, iv. 18; *paco* (alpaca), iii. 20, iv. 41; *quinna* (tree yielding quinine), iv. 6; *vicugne*, iv. 40. And the following words belonging to the West-Indian islands or to the neighbouring coast; *cacique*, v. 5; *caçavi* (cassava), iv. 17; *cayaman* or *cayman*, ii. 13, iii. 15; *cuye* (a kind of rabbit), iv. 38; *guayac*, iv. 29; *gucyavo* (guava), iv. 24; *yguana*, iv. 38; *maguey*, iv. 23; *mays* (maize), iv. 16; *manati*, iii. 15; *petum* (tobacco, whence E. *petun-ia*), iv. 29; *tobacco*, iv. 29; *yuca*, iv. 17.

Some of these words are derived from dialects now extinct, and we are therefore dependent upon Eden, Oviedo, and others, for the mention of the language to which they belong. The various accounts show that the Spaniards first became acquainted with the language of Hayti, and then with that of Cuba, which partly resembled it; so that many of the names which they picked up were of Haytian or Cuban origin; and these they transferred to other lands. It is clear that *maguey*, for example, does not belong to the language of Mexico, though the plant is abundant there; for Mexican has neither *g* nor *gu* in its alphabet, and in fact, the Mexican name of the plant is *mell*. The name *maguey* is said to be Cuban.

§ 326. After some search, I have made out the following list.

West-Indian Word-list. From the language of Hayti: barbecue, cacique, canoe, cassava, guiacum, guava (?), hammock (?), hurricane, iguana, maize, manati, potato, tobacco (?), yucca.

From Cuba: barbecue, maguey, manati.

From Jamaica: anatta, or annotto.

From Honduras: mahogany (?).

From Caribbean: cannibal, colibri, macaw, pirogue.

§ 327. Passing on to South America, we have first to observe that the language of the North coast seems to have

been mainly Caribbean, or closely allied to it. The following is the list.

North Coast of S. America. Agouti, caoutchouc (Quito), cayman (Caribbean), cuye (a kind of rabbit, Quito), sapajou (a monkey, Guiana), tolu (New Granada), wourali *or* curare (Guiana).

The rest of the South-American words are Peruvian or Brazilian; as described in my paper, published by the Philological Society in 1885, p. 7.

As to Brazilian words, Prof. Alexander, of Rio Janeiro, kindly sent me several notes, and I have also received from Mr. Amaro Cavalcanti a copy of his Brazilian Grammar, printed at Rio Janeiro, 1883. This describes the Tupi-Guarani language, or the language of the native Tupi and Guarani tribes.

Tupi-Guarani Word-list. Ipecacuanha (Port.), jaguar, tapioca, tapir, toucan (F.).

To these may be added *cashew-nut*, adapted from F. *acajou*, said to be taken from the native Brazilian *acajaba* or *acajaiba*; *buccaneer* (F., with F. suffix *-ier*), *capivara*, *copaiba* (a balsam), *couguar*, *manioc*, *petunia* (from Brazil. *petun*, tobacco).

I add a few notes on the above words. *Ipecacuanha* (with the characteristic Port. *nh*=Span. *ñ*) is a most interesting example of a word formed by the principle of agglutination, or by the combination of several words in one. It is less a word than a descriptive sentence. The resolution of it is as follows. The Guarani word is *ipé-kaa-kuaña* or *pe-kaá-guaña*. The initial *i* is euphonic, and may be omitted; *pé*=*peb*, flat, low; *kaá*, wood, leaves of a tree, herb; *guaña*, to vomit. It means, accordingly, the low (or creeping) plant that causes vomit. The accents should fall upon the *e* and the *an*; but we have never attempted to give the true sound.

In *jaguar*, the *j* has the sound of E. *y*; the E. *j* does not occur in Tupi-Guarani. The suffix *-ar* is agential, like (by

a curious coincidence) the E. -er. Properly, *yaguára* means 'dog,' and *yaguar-elé*, a 'jaguar.' The sense is supposed to be 'tearer of prey,' or 'barker.' It is so difficult to represent the native sounds that 'dog' is written *yaguára*, *yáuára*, and *íáuára*; which looks as if *gu* is a mere device for giving a sound like our *w*.

Tapioca is for *tipi-óca*; from *tipi*, residue, dregs, and *óca*, to squeeze out. It means 'a residual essence extracted by pressure.' *Tapir* is the same as *tapíra* or *tapýra*, a common name given to cattle; hence it simply means 'great beast.' An ox is called *tapýra-apégua*, lit. man-tapir, and a cow is *tapýra-kunhã*, lit. woman-tapir. The characters used for writing these words are Portuguese.

§ 328. For Peruvian words, we obtain some help from Acosta, as above (§ 325); also from Garcilasso de la Vega's History of Peru. I have also consulted a curious Peruvian-Spanish Dictionary, by D. González, printed (I believe) at Lima, in 1608.

Peruvian Word-list. Alpaca (Span.), coca, condor (Span.), guanaco (a kind of alpaca, Span.), guano (Span.), inca, jerked beef, llama, oca (an edible root), pampas, puma, quinine (F., Span.), vicuna.

I append a few notes. Peruvian is spelt after a Spanish fashion, and not always correctly. For example, the language contains no *g*, but the Spaniards have usually written *guanaco* and *guano* for *huanacu* and *huanu*. It also contains no *b*; yet the word *pampa* is sometimes turned into *bamba*. In *al-paca*, *al-* is merely a Span. prefix, in fact, the Arabic def. article; the animal is often called a *paco*, as by Acosta. *Coca* is the herb whence we have made *cocaïne*, ignorantly pronounced [*kokei'n*], as if the *ai* were the common diphthong in *bait*. *Condor* is Peruv. *cuntur*. *Guano*, Peruv. *huanu*, means excrement, viz. of birds. *Jerked beef* was formerly *jerkin beef*, as in Capt. Smith's Works, p. 63; it means 'dried,' from Peruv. *ccharquini*, to prepare dried beef. *Oca*

is Peruv. *occa*, the name of an edible root. *Pampas* is the Spanish pl. of *pampa*, a plain. *Quinine* is a French spelling, *-ine* being a suffix; it was prepared from the tree called *quina* [ki'na], where the Span. *qu* is sounded like *k*. The name *cinchona*, sometimes given to the Peruvian bark, is an error for *chinchona*, a name which it obtained from the Lady Ana de Osorio, Countess of Chinchon and vice-queen of Peru, who was cured by it in 1638. Chinchon is the name of a small town in New Castile.

The words *ananas* and *peccary* are also of S. American origin, but I find nothing that decisively localises either of these words. *Ananas* has been said to be the Guiana, the Peruvian, and the Brazilian name. *Peccary* is usually termed Brazilian.

CHAPTER XXV.

ON SOME FALSE ETYMOLOGIES.

§ 329. I have now briefly surveyed, in this second volume, the chief sources of the 'Foreign Element' in our language, whilst my former volume has dealt in some measure with the history of the 'Native Element.' I hope it will be understood that I have attempted no more than a mere outline, perhaps an imperfect one, of the history of English from an Etymological point of view; in order to supplement, and in some instances to correct, the etymologies given in my larger and concise Dictionaries. My chief endeavour has been to formulate some of the phonetic laws by which changes in the forms of words have taken place, so as to enable the student to trace for himself the history of a given word with some degree of accuracy. The indexes to the present and the former volume furnish ready reference to points connected with the history of a large number of words; sufficient, I hope, to show that regular laws govern the transformations of words, and to illustrate the worthlessness of the old system of giving credence to every idle guesser who fancied he perceived a resemblance between an English word and some other form in Anglo-Saxon, or indeed in any language, and straightway proclaimed the guess, and called it an 'etymology.'

§ 330. There is, in fact, no more shameful fact in the history of English education than is presented by the

humiliating absurdities and puerilities of some who, in former times, devoted themselves to the study of this subject. It is easy to understand how, in the absence of good editions of our older authors, the history of many words was practically inaccessible, and, consequently, there was frequently little left but to guess. But it is *not* easy to understand why the wildest guesses were usually received with an almost grovelling credulity, so that mere inability to repeat the guess was considered all one with being ill-informed. In the course of my investigations, I have come across a large number of lying stories, confidently put forward without a tittle of evidence, which one is, or used to be, expected to accept abjectly without question, merely because it was a fashion to do so. I will just give a few examples of what I mean by this.

§ 331. In vol. i. p. 5, I have exposed the miserable conceit which explained *sirloin* as the name of a joint 'which one of our kings knighted in a fit of good humour.' In my larger Dictionary, I have shown that the famous derivation of *beef-eater* (or eater of beef)¹ from a wholly imaginary Anglo-French *beaufetier*, a word falsely coined by Mr. Steevens for this very occasion, rests on no foundation whatever. Such a form, equally with its original *beaufet*, still remains to be found. To the phonetician, it is sufficient to remark that the triphthong *eau* does not belong to the early Anglo-French spelling; it would rather have been **beufet*, which would have produced *beufet* and *beufeler*; and from what form in Low Latin such an A. F. form could have been evolved, it is difficult to say. Perhaps it was, forsooth, **bellifactum*, as having been 'beautifully made.' And yet this crazy puerility has taken so tight a hold on the public fancy, that it is deemed almost an act of impiety to doubt it. For all that,

¹ 'Even to this day, we use the word *sheep-biter* as a term of reproach; as we do *beef-eater* in a respectful and honourable sense;' Tatler, no. 148, Mar. 21, 1710.

let some of us dare to use our common sense, and not give way to what is supposed, I know not on what grounds, to be 'good authority' for the statement. Let it be understood that a correct etymology no more needs an 'authority' than good wine needs a bush.

In like manner, I have shown that nothing can well be more hopeless, from an historical point of view, than the too common 'derivation' of *Whitsunday* from the German *Pfingsten*. Those who believe in this wholly impossible transformation seemed to hold it as a pure article of faith, a thing not to be inquired into, but to be thankful for. It is in vain to tell them that, even when we have swallowed it, we *still* have to account for the Icelandic forms. And even if we gulp down the derivation from *Pfingsten* of the Icelandic *Hvítasunnudagr* (Whitsunday)¹, we want some still longer form (shall we say the G. *Pfingstenwoche*?) to account for the Icel. *Hvítasunnadags-vika* (Whitsunday week). How are we to get these seven syllables out of four? And what is to be done with other Icel. names, such as *Hvítadagar* (White days, Whitsuntide), and *Hvítadagshelgi* (White-day's holiness, White-day-feast)? Etymologically, *Whitsunday* is simply *White-Sunday*², the *White* being shortened to *Whit* under the stress of the accent, precisely as in *Whitchurch* and *Whitclif*; see vol. i. p. 494. That there are some historical difficulties about the precise explanation of the origin of the name, is quite another matter; yet even so, I think Mr. Vigfusson's explanation is satisfactory, viz. that, in northern countries, the *Dominica in Albis* was shifted from the First Sunday after

¹ I may as well cite here a curious piece of evidence. In Westwood's *Palæographia Sacra Pictoria*, in the last plate but one, is an interesting facsimile of an Icelandic MS. of, apparently, the fifteenth century. The rubric there shown (which the editor has misread) is:—'A Huyta Sunnu Dag skal fyrst syngia Ueni sancte spiritus;' i. e. On White-Sun-Day shall (one) first sing *Veni creator spiritus*.

² Translated into Welsh as *Sulgwyn*, lit. 'white sun,' dropping the 'day.'

Easter to the more genial time of Pentecost. It is not at all stranger than the use of *noon* to mean 12 o'clock. Certainly, noon has no other meaning now, and it is equally certain that, being the 9th hour from 6 P.M., it once invariably meant 3 P.M. As to the precise hour signified by the Protean word *prime*, he would be a bold man who would positively say; for it is absolutely necessary to know, first of all, the century in which the word is used.

§ 332. I will just throw together a few of the 'etymologies' which have been quite seriously proposed, but which no sane man ought to be expected to accept. I leave the reader to correct them where he can, merely observing that, of *some* of these words, the etymology is probably unknown. And surely it is better not to know than to accept a manifest imposition.

Almanac. From A. S. *al-mon-agt*, i.e. all-moon-heed, as heeding all the moons; Verstegan, *Restitution of Decayed Intelligence*, ch. iii.; ed. 1673; p. 47. N. B. The A. S. for *all* is *eall*; for *moon* is *mōna*; and for heed (*rather*, deliberation) is *eaht*; and the phrase would be *ealra mōnena eaht*, meaning 'a council of all the moons.'

And. From A. S. *an-ād*, i.e. add a heap; so Horne Tooke, adopted in Richardson's Dictionary. The A. S. verb referred to is *unn*, i.e. grant, and *ād* really means a funeral pile; but these are details. Skinner says it is from Lat. *adde*, add, with inserted *n* (why not inserted *x*, while one is about it?). The choice is embarrassing.

Apple. 'A corruption of the Teutonic *ap-fel*, a fall from' (meaning the German *ab* and *Fall*); Gent. Mag. 1833, pt. i. p. 30.

Apple of the eye. From the Arab. *al*, the, and Coptic *bal*, the ball of the eye; *ibid.* I may note here that, in the earlier editions of Webster's Dictionary, before it was revised by Dr. Mahn, the Coptic and Ethiopic languages are constantly cited as affording likely origins for E. words.

Ask. Formed by prefixing *a* to the Lat. *scitor*, or *sciscitor*.—Guardian, Jan. 13, 1886; p. 67.

Bald. May not *bald* be connected with Lat. *calvus*? Ibid. May not it be from Lat. *albus*?—Guardian, Jan. 20, 1886; p. 111.

Caitiff. From the Syriac *khátuf*, a robber; N. and Q. 3 S. x. 491.

Cat-in-pan. From Gk. *karà nâv*, i. e. altogether; 'it is as clear as the day'; Gent. Mag. 1796, pt. ii. p. 1066.

From the F. *tourner côté en peine*, to turn sides in trouble; Dr. Brewer, *Dict. of Phrase and Fable*.

From the *Catipani* of Calabria, in the 8th century; 'Catanus (*sic*) autem à Lat. *Capitaneus* manifestè corruptum est.'—Skinner. (What a roundabout way of saying it is a corruption of *captain*!)

Caterwaul. 'Dr. Th. Hickes putat dictum quasi *Gutterwawl*, quia sc. catulientes Feles inter imbrices horrendum illum ejulatum edunt.'—Skinner, s. v. *Catterwawl*.

Cheat. From A. S. *ceatta*, circumventiones; Somner's A. S. Dict. (But, in fact, the sense given is false; it is founded on the gloss: '*Rerum*, ceatta,' in Wright's Gloss., ed. Wülker, 506. 28; so that *ceatta* is gen. pl. of *ceat* or *ceatte*, which merely means *res*, a thing.)¹

Clerk. From Gael. *clar*, a harp; *clarsair*, a harper, bard; so C. Mackay, in N. and Q. 5 S. x. 225. (Many thousand etymologies, of equal absurdity, may be found in Mackay's Dictionary of E. Etymology, which derives nearly all English from Gaelic.)

Cloak. From A. S. *lach*; Skinner. This curious word is given in Somner, without a reference. It was suggested by

¹ Possibly this word survived in provincial E., and is really the origin of the old slang word *chete*, a thing; thus *teeth* were called 'crashing chetes'; *ears* were 'hearing chetes'; a napkin, 'a muffling chete'; &c. See Awddeley's *Fraternity of Vacabondes*, ed. Furnivall, pp. 82, 83. See *Cheat*, sense 3, in the New E. Dict. But this is a guess.

the following gloss in Wright-Wülker's Vocab. 377. 22 :— 'Clamidem, hacelan, oððe lachen, oððe loðan.' Skinner rejects Minshew's derivation of *cloak* from the Gk. καλύπτειν, to cover.

Coarse. Skinner, who spells it with the old spelling *cours*, gives us a choice of five origins; viz. from F. *corps*, because allied in sense to corpulent; or, by metathesis, from E. *gross*; or contracted from *currish*, dog-like; or from Gk. χέρσος, dry, hard; or from Gk. κόρη, the hair on the temples.

Cold Harbour. From Lat. *coluber*, a snake. Apparently because they are always found at the 'windings' of a road; which may be doubted. N. and Q. 3 S. vii. 303, 344; cf. the same, viii. 71.

Craven. 'Quasi *Crave-hen*, Veneri sc. quàm Marti addictior.' So Hickes, qu. by Skinner. Skinner thinks it is from *crave* or *creep*.

Culvertail. This is a mere variation of *dovetail*, and has the same sense; for E. *culver* means a dove. Yet Skinner thinks it is from a F. *couple-orteil* or *couple-arteil*, representing a Lat. *copulare articulum*.

Curmudgeon. From F. *cœur méchant*, as suggested by an unknown correspondent; Johnson.

Reproduced in Ash's Dict. (1775) in the following form:— 'Curmudgeon (*s. from the French cœur, unknown, and méchant, a correspondent*), a miser, a churl, a griper.'

Deacon. It is remarkable that, whilst adducing the Lat. *diaconus*, Skinner prefers to derive it from Dan. *degn*, a clerk, or from A. S. *ðegen*, a thane, servant.

Dog. From δάκνειν, to bite; Minshew.

Fact. Richardson remarks, under *fact*, that 'the Lat. *fac-ere* (*c*, hard—*fag-ere*, *g*, hard) seems to be the A. S. *fegan*, itself formed of the A. S. *eacan*, to *eke*, and the prefix *be*, successively corrupted into *pe*, *p*, *ph* (*φ*), *f*—thus, *f-eacan*, *f-egan*.' With more of the same kind.

Faith. Richardson adopts Horne Tooke's theory, 'that it

is the A. S. *fægth*, that which one covenanteth or engageth, the third person singular of the indicative of *fægan*, which is also written *fegan* (see *FACT*), pangere, *pag-ere*, to engage, to covenant, to contract.'

Flesh. Wachter (as quoted in Richardson) derives it from the verb *to live*, whence E. *life*, and A. S. *lic*, a living body, agreeing with the Goth. *leik*; 'which afterwards with the Æolic digamma prefixed was written *flæc* [where?], and with the sibilant *s* inserted *flæsc* . . . After all, the obscurity remains undiminished.' It seems to have been once a common habit to insert letters at pleasure; and the process became quite a learned one when these letters were called 'digammas' or 'sibilants.' In plain English, all this merely means that the A. S. *flæsc* can be obtained from the A. S. *lic* by prefixing *f*, inserting *s*, and changing *i* into *æ*; which is obviously true. In the same way, we can obtain E. *flash* from the A. S. *līg*, a flame, a flash, by prefixing *f*, changing *g* into *sh*, and altering the vowel. But why we should be allowed to do all this, no one knows.

Girl. 'Minshew deducit à Lat. *garrula*, vel ab Ital. *Girella*, vexillum vento versatile, a *weathercock*, à *gyrando*;' Skinner. Skinner himself thinks it is from A. S. **ceorla*, an unknown [and impossible] feminine of A. S. *ceorl*, a churl.

Heart. 'Wachter remarks, that the Gk. *ἡρῶπ* and the A. S. *heorte* are, by metathesis, interchangeable'; Richardson. [How about the *h*?]

Mistletoe. From G. *meist Heil*, greatest heal; N. and Q. 3 S. vii. 363.

Monkey. From F. *manqué*, a creature who has 'fallen short' of being a human being; N. and Q. 4 S. iii. 127.

From L. *homunculus*; id. 301.

Piers the Plowman. It means 'sayings of the teacher'; from the Celtic *fear-sa-follamain*; N. and Q. 6 S. ii. 117.

Rabbit. From Gk. *δαρύνους* (stem *δαρύνοδ-*); N. and Q. 3 S. i. 403.

River. So called because it *rives* or splits asunder two countries; N. and Q. 4 S. xi. 22.

Sleeve. A favour, a love-token; something given *aus Liebe*, out of love or gallantry; Mackay, *Lost Beauties of the English Language*, p. 219.

Slog, to hit hard. From Ital. *dis-*, prefix, and *locare* (i.e. short for *dislocate*); N. and Q. 3 S. viii. 187.

And so on. I could easily give a hundred more, for I regret to say that I am profoundly versed in them; but these will suffice to show how entirely wild are the guesses made, and to what extent, in every case, all the hints which history and chronology will often abundantly furnish, are disregarded as being of no importance.

§ 333. The fact is, that there are whole books upon the subject of etymology by authors who are either entirely ignorant of the first principles of the science, or who ostentatiously disregard them. Sometimes it is a hobby which leads astray. Whilst, for example, the Dictionary by the Rev. G. W. Lemon (1783) is built upon the false assumption that nearly all English is derived from Greek, that by Charles Mackay assumes that our language is entirely of Celtic origin, and the author even goes so far as to take modern Gaelic as the representative of primitive Celtic, which is a very long way from the fact.

Those who are curious in these matters may find many examples in Dean Hoare's *English Roots*, 2nd ed., Dublin, 1856. He tells us, p. 13, that 'the English language was enriched by the introduction of *the Provençal* by Chaucer;' at p. 32, that our adj. *dear* is from the Erse *dear*, a daughter, and 'conveys a very pleasing idea'; at p. 49, that *aloof* was probably *all off*; at p. 51, that *hope* is from the verb to *open*, 'as describing a person looking out, with *open* and longing eyes,' as if the normal condition of eyes is to be shut; at p. 57, that '*kine* is a contraction from *cowen*, the pl. of *cow*,' but the reference for the form *cowen* is jauntily omitted; at

p. 62, that the *bones*, without which the body could not subsist, are 'from the verb *beon*, to be'; and that the *breath* is 'from *be* (prep.) and *oreth*, the spirit'; at p. 66, that the *drake* 'derives his name from the mud in which he takes delight, from the German *dreck*, whence *dregs*, signifying mud'; &c. &c. The fact is, that many of the remarkable statements in this book and in Richardson's Dictionary are copied from Horne Tooke's *Diversions of Purley*, which is full of similar curiosities, mostly due to imperfect information and to an utter absence of any knowledge of A. S. pronunciation and of its phonetic habits. Nevertheless, I desire to speak of this work of Horne Tooke's with much respect, as I owe to it my emancipation from the trammels of blind belief in 'authority.' Even now, a thoughtful person may learn something from it, despite the wrongness of nearly all the author's results. For, to his great credit, he laid hold of and enunciated some great principles, especially when he insists on the necessity for independent and new research, and acknowledges the value of Anglo-Saxon and Gothic as helps to the understanding of the native element in English. He fully recognised the value of the historical method, and frequently adduces excellent quotations to show the old use of words. In this way, he showed that our *unless* was formerly spelt *onlesse*; though he failed to resolve this into *on less*, short for *on less that*. It is to be regretted that his acute intellect had no better materials to work with, and that he was thus led to formulate theories that have turned out to be quite impossible. Two of these are of some importance, as they were long in vogue. The first of these is, that all conjunctions are formed from the imperative mood of the verb; and, to this day, we are informed, periodically, that the conjunction *gif* was, originally, the imperative singular of *gifan*, to give; the fact being that the resemblance between the words is purely accidental. This is the only one of his derivations, in this class, that is ever seriously quoted, as none of the rest have retained credit; but

it is worth notice that the defenders of this etymology are compelled to reason in a circle. They first tell us that *gif* is from *gifan*, by the theory; and then appeal to this example, the only one that has even the appearance of being right, in order to prove the theory. The second of his famous theories is, that the suffix *-th* in abstract substantives, such as *tru-th*, is due to the suffix *-eth* of the third person singular of the present tense of verbs, such as (*he*) *trou-eth*. I have already discussed this in vol. i. p. 240.

§ 334. It is not only English etymology that has suffered by empirical and ignorant treatment. Still more notable things have been said concerning Latin and Greek. Take, for example, the work by the Rev. F. E. J. Valpy, entitled 'Virgilian Hours,' published by Messrs. Longman not many years ago, though it is not dated. The result of his study of Vergil was such as to enable him to enunciate this grand result, that 'out of the whole *Æneid* there is scarcely one word . . . which we may not reasonably trace to the Greek. This I consider a great conquest, a great trophy of learning and ingenuity.' Truly so; but the author somewhat spoils the effect by frequently offering two or three wholly incompatible solutions, instead of one; it seems to have been once held that to give a *choice* of etymologies showed the more learning, whereas it merely evinces helplessness.

Mr. Valpy's vagaries are almost past belief. At p. 11, he derives *homo* either (1) 'from *χομός*, *Æolic* of *χαμός* whence *χαμόθεν*' [so that *homo* is sprung from the ground]; or else (2) 'ab *όμοῦ*, man being a social being'; as if it made no sort of difference. At p. 5, he derives *L. sanguis* either (1) from *αἶμα*, i. e. *αἶμα*; or (2) from *αἶμα*; or (3) from *αἶμαρδεν*; of which it may suffice to explain the second. Thus '*sanguis* is soft for *sanquis*, *samquis*; and as *salis* from *αἶμα*, so *samquis* from *αἶμα*, an *Æolic* corruption from *αἶμαρος*, i. e. *αἶμαρος*.' Which shows that *sanguis* was, originally, a genitive.

It would be quite easy to multiply such examples a

hundredfold. There seem to be many minds that are absolutely incapable of understanding, that written words are merely conventional expressions of sounds, and that sound-changes, which are the changes to be studied, depend upon nice and exact laws. Hence this sort of playing with words still goes on, in spite of all the teachers of phonetics; and it is difficult to see how it can ever cease in England, where the 'motley' of recklessness is 'the only wear.'

§ 335. Perhaps the above remarks may be considered as being somewhat out of place in a work that has for its object a serious treatment of the subject. But it is, unfortunately, only too true that we are still but just emerging from the empirical stage, and it is as well that we should understand quite clearly what we have to avoid. I can speak feelingly, because I commenced my studies with the careful perusal of Horne Tooke, and have had a great deal to unlearn; and to this may, I think, be fairly attributed the rather too numerous mistakes in my Dictionary, especially in the first edition of it. The admirable work displayed in the New English Dictionary is an excellent model for imitation; and I hope that the next generation may know but little of the extraordinary fictions which even now disfigure but too many of the books which supply 'etymology' to the public, and which, in my younger days, I was expected to believe on pain of being deemed ignorant. Having thus briefly shown what we should avoid, I propose to give a brief summary of what seem to be the chief canons that may be accepted for our guidance.

CHAPTER XXVI.

CANONS FOR ETYMOLOGY.

§ 336. In the Preface to my Dictionary, I ventured to lay down a few canons for a student's guidance. I repeat them here for convenience, with some additions, merely observing that they only express well-known and generally accepted principles.

1. Before attempting to discover an etymology, ascertain the earliest form and use of the word ; observing its history and chronology.

2. Consider the history of the language treated of ; and remember that one language can only borrow from another when there has been absolute contact between the two languages.

3. Strictly observe phonetic laws, i. e. the laws which are found to regulate the mutual relation of consonants and vowels in the Aryan (Indo-European) languages. Foremost among these laws are : (1) Grimm's Law (vol. i. capp. 6, 7) ; Verner's Law (vol. i. c. 9, reading 'otherwise' instead of 'but if it precedes the position of the accent,' at p. 148) ; Grassmann's Law (above, p. 271) ; the laws of vowel-gradation (vol. i. c. 10) and of vowel-mutation (vol. i. c. 11).

4. In comparing two words, A and B, belonging to the same language, of which A contains the lesser number of syllables, A must be taken to be the more original word, unless we have clear evidence of some contraction or corruption.

5. In comparing two words, A and B, belonging to the

same language and consisting of the same number of syllables, the older form can be distinguished by observing the sound of the principal vowel. (This applies to cases of vowel-mutation. Of course the word containing an 'original' vowel must be older than a corresponding one which contains a 'mutated' vowel.)

6. Strong verbs, in the Teutonic languages, and the so-called 'irregular' verbs in Latin, are commonly to be considered as primary, other related forms being derived from them.

7. The whole of a word, and not a portion of it only, must be reasonably accounted for; and, in tracing changes of form, any infringement of phonetic laws must be regarded with suspicion, and should be specially accounted for. Most exceptions are due to the operation of analogy (§ 144, p. 195, above), or to a peculiarity of accentuation.

8. Mere resemblances of form and apparent connections in sense, between languages that have different phonetic habits or no necessary connection, are commonly delusive, and should not be regarded.

9. When word-forms in two different languages are more nearly alike than the ordinary phonetic laws (such as Grimm's Law) would allow, there is a strong probability (if the connection is a *real* one) that one language has *borrowed* the word from the other. Truly cognate words must not be *too much* alike.

10. It is useless to offer an explanation of a 'native' English word which will not at the same time explain all the related words in other cognate languages.

§ 337. I give some examples of instances in which the above laws have been disregarded, with sad results.

1. The derivation of *almanac* from Anglo-Saxon (above, § 332) contradicts history. The word first appears in Chaucer, who obviously borrowed it from the French. *Faith* cannot be from Anglo-Saxon (above, § 332), because it is

of French origin. On the other hand, *sleeve* is not from German, because it occurs in Anglo-Saxon. Most false accounts of a word sin against this first canon.

2. We may put aside all special crazes such as these, viz. that the native element of English is (as Mr. Lemon says) of Greek origin; or (as Mr. Mackay says) of Gaelic origin; or that Latin is mainly borrowed from Greek, a theory formerly common; or that Latin and Greek are derived from Hebrew. The silliest belief of all, and usually the most pernicious, is that English is 'derived' from German. It is useless, again, to compare English with Ethiopic or Coptic or Finnish, because there never was any conceivable point of contact between the languages. All E. words that are really borrowed from Hebrew are necessarily biblical, as that is the only way in which contact has taken place. An exception to this is seen in M. E. *gnoff*, Mod. E. *gonoph*, a slang term for a thief, also a lout, which was picked up from the Jews in the streets of London; from the Heb. *ganāv*, a thief. And here, the character of the word is exceptional.

3. Grimm's Law is constantly disregarded by the uninitiated. The Old Dictionaries by Minshew, Skinner, &c. are particularly unfortunate in this respect. Even now, people associate the Scandian word *call* with the Gk. *καλέειν*, and the native E. *care* with the Lat. *cura*, both of which associations are purely delusive, seeing that an E. initial *k* answers to Gk. and L. initial *g* (vol. i. p. 110). Wedgwood's Dictionary often mystifies the reader by a similar carelessness; thus, under *dare*, we have a discussion of the Lat. *durus*, which is necessarily from a different root; and, under *day*, the first form cited is that of the unrelated Lat. *dies*. *Day* is from the root *dhegh*, to burn; see Brugmann's *Grundriss*, § 77; whereas L. *dies* is allied to the Skt. *div-ā*, by day; id. § 361. Webster's Dict. tells us that *deem* (A. S. *dēman*) is 'perhaps allied to Lat. *damnare*'; which is impossible. A very little care will prevent such confusion.

4. This rule is very obvious in the case of suffixes; the L. word *car-us*, dear, necessarily preceded its derivative *car-i-tas*, which is longer by a syllable. Similarly, when, in Richardson's Dict., s. v. *Chine*, he derives the F. *echine* [properly *échine*, O.F. *eschine*] from the F. verb *echiner*, to break the back of, he is reversing the order of things, and deriving the simpler form from the more complex. There are a large number of 'denominative' verbs in French and Latin, derived from substantives; we must never derive the substantive from the verb in such a case.

5. In Anglo-Saxon, denominative verbs are also common, but they are often marked by mutation or vowel-change; thus A. S. *tell-an*, E. *tell*, is from the sb. *tal-u*, a tale, with the mutation *a > e*. To derive *tale* from *tell* is a plain mark of ignorance; but it is not uncommon. Similarly, *deem*, A. S. *dēm-an*, is derived from A. S. *dōm*, doom; and *feed*, A. S. *fēd-an*, from A. S. *fōd-a*, food; yet Webster's Dict. says that A. S. *foda* (sic) is derived from *fedan* (sic).

6. See vol. i. c. 10 for examples of the numerous derivatives, especially with vowel-gradation, from various A. S. strong verbs. By way of illustration, I may remark that the singular remarks upon the word *faith*, in § 332 above, include the absurdity of deriving the Lat. primary verb *facere* from the weak and secondary A. S. verb *fēgan*.

7. The failure to account for the *whole* of a word is a very common mark of false etymology. Thus the curious notion of deriving *cloak* from A. S. *lach* (§ 332) fails to account (1) for the initial *c*, (2) for the spelling with *oa*, and (3) for the occurrence of *k*; and the three things taken together show a very complete failure. The derivation of *Whitsunday* from G. *Pfingsten* fails to account (1) for the *Wh*, (2) for the loss of *ng*, (3) for the unexampled substitution of *ts* for *st*, (4) for the *u*, and (5) for the addition of *day*. The derivation of E. *bald* from L. *caluus* fails to account (1) for the initial *b*, and (2) for the final *d*. And so on. A mere notion of sorr

sort of general resemblance between two words is absolutely worthless and misleading.

On the other hand, there is no *a priori* reason against a close relationship between words that have no obvious resemblance, if the apparent difference in form can be accounted for. A large number of examples will be found under my List of Aryan Roots, in my larger Dictionary, 2nd ed., p. 730. No scholar who understands the phonetics of the Indo-European languages doubts the close relationship between the words *listen*, *loud*, *client*, *glory*, and *slave*; see vol. i. pp. 283-6. On the other hand, we frequently find homonyms, or words alike in form, that are wholly unrelated as to origin; such are E. *sound*, adj., healthful, E. *sound*, a strait of the sea, and E. *sound*, a noise; see vol. i. p. 410. We cannot, in fact, form any judgment as to whether words are related or not, by mere inspection, or even by pronouncing them; we must first of all know their whole history. As soon as we find out that the adj. *sound*, healthful, was spelt *sund* in A. S., whilst the sb. *sound*, noise, arose from F. *son*, due to Lat. *sonus*, the apparent resemblance between the words disappears. Both have an *s* and an *n* in them, and that is all; the same is true of *sin*, *son*, *sun*, *sine*, and *soon*.

The commonest error of our early etymologists was to neglect the vowel as unimportant, whereas it is just the most vital and important part of the word. It is just because *sin*, *son*, *sine*, and *soon* all have different vowels, that they are independent words. Oddly enough, *son* and *sun* had once the *same* vowel, as they represent, respectively, the A. S. *sunu* and the A. S. *sunne*.

8. It is a common error to associate words because they have a similar meaning, and some slight external resemblance. I have already noted the frequent association of E. *call* with Gk. *καλεῖν*, of E. *care* with L. *cura*, and of E. *day* with L. *dies*. In none of these cases is there any etymological

connection whatever. A word cognate with E. *call* would begin, in Greek, with γ. A word cognate with E. *care* would begin, in Latin, with g. And a word cognate with E. *day* would begin, in Latin, with f. No exception is known to these fundamental laws, which depend upon the phonetic habits of the languages in question; and no student will make any real progress in the study till he recognises that so it must be.

9. The borrowed words in A. S. are easily detected by their close resemblance to Latin. Thus the A. S. *deofol* resembles the Lat. *diabolus* only because it is the Lat. word in A. S. spelling; they cannot possibly be merely cognate forms. Similarly, the L. *puleus*, when borrowed, necessarily becomes the A. S. *pyt*; and similar remarks apply to all the A. S. borrowed words discussed in vol. i. c. 21. The E. *deck* resembles Du. *decken* only because it is actually borrowed from it; the true A. S. form of the verb is *theccan*. *Drill* is actually borrowed from Du. *drillen*; the A. S. form is *thirlan*, whence E. *thrill*. In every case, we must go to work with due care.

10. The curious proposal (see § 332) to regard the A. S. *heorte* as resulting, by metathesis, from the Gk. ἥρῳπ, must, if true at all, be equally true for the cognate forms seen in G. *Herz*, L. *cor*, and Gk. καρδία. But surely, it cannot be supposed that, in Gk., ἥρῳπ and καρδία are mere variants of the same word. When Richardson, in his Dictionary, proposes to derive the E. *foot* 'from *fethian*, to carry,' he forgets that this involves the derivation of G. *Fuss*, L. *pes*, Gk. πούς, from the same source. When, on the other hand, Verstegan (as above, § 332) attempts to treat *almanac* as if it were native English, he leaves out of sight the F. *almanac*, the Span. *almanaque*, and the Ital. *almanacco*.

§ 338. Simple as the above canons may appear, they are sadly neglected every day, though the observance of them would check elementary blunders, and prevent much ba-

work from being put forward. The student will do well to master them, and to bear them in mind; although, even then, there will still be much to learn before accuracy can be secured. All experience shows that, short of absolute accuracy, there are no results worth having, of any abiding value. Much as guesswork has been deferred to hitherto, there is no reason why it should be honoured in the future. I hope the time is at hand when feeble and haphazard conclusions will no longer be regarded as proofs of intelligence and 'ingenuity,' but, in their right light, as proofs of incompetence, ignorance, or negligence; just as would be the case in any other scientific study. Why it is, that blind yet blatant blundering should be praised in etymology, whilst it would be scouted in the study of botany or of chemistry, is one of the things that still remain unexplained.

§ 339. The actual exceptions to the perfect and regular operation of phonetic laws are, in almost all cases, due to the modifying influence of what has been called 'analogy'; see p. 195 above. As this principle is one of great importance, a few more examples of its operation may be useful.

Analogy is really an exercise of popular logic, which arrives at a wrong, yet very natural, conclusion by not clearly understanding all the facts. If, for example, it is known that the past tense of *bear* is *bore*, it seems safe to assume that the past tense of *wear* should be *wore*; and *wore* it now is, accordingly. Yet history tells us that the A. S. *beran* made the pt. t. *bær*, and the mod. E. *bore* is really borrowed from the pp. *boren*. On the other hand, the A. S. *werian* was a weak verb, with a pt. t. *werede*; and even in Chaucer the past tense is still *wered* (C. T. Prol. 75). But popular logic proved stronger than ancient habit, and at the present time the analogic form *wore* is alone permissible. The pt. t. *wearied* would be condemned as a solecism, though it is historically correct. Many of the results due to this process can be expressed in

the form of a proportion or 'analogy'; thus *bear : bore :: wear : wore*. Here the fourth term is really a new product.

In many cases the popular taste has reduced the *three* stems of our strong verbs to *two*; so that *break*, pt. t. *brake*, pp. *broken*, has been reduced to *break*, pt. t. *broke*, pp. *broken*. This was clearly suggested by the fact that there were but two different stems in all verbs conjugated like *fall* (pt. t. *fell*, pp. *fall-en*) and *shake* (pt. t. *shook*, pp. *shak-en*). The arrangement was, indeed, different, but it was readily argued that, if two stems were enough in these conjugations, two stems could be made to serve the turn in, at least, several other cases. And there was already a precedent for making the vowel of the pt. t. like that of the pp., inasmuch as the pt. t. pl. of *sing-en*, to sing, was *sung-on* in A. S., whilst the pp. was *sung-en*. It is by such precedents that new analogies are suggested.

The A. S. strong conjugations had, in fact, *four* principal stems in five conjugations out of seven, but one of these has utterly disappeared, viz. the *third* stem, or that of the past tense plural. This is the perfectly logical result of taking the verbs *fall* and *shake* as models. The plural of *I fell* being *we fell*, and the plural of *I shook* being *we shook*, it was natural enough to turn the plural of *I drove* into *we drove* (instead of *we driv*, from A. S. *wé drif-on*), and the plural of *I sang* into *we sang* (instead of *we sung*, from the A. S. *wé sung-on*). In the latter case, the verb *to sing* thus acquired the three stems seen in the pres. *sing*, the pt. t. *sang*, and the pp. *sung*. Then the tendency to reduce the number of stems to two, caused the not unfrequent use of *sung* for *sang*, and has thus introduced an uncertainty as to the correct usage. The whole system of our modern E. strong verbs has become disorganised by the repeated operation of analogy, due to the influence of one conjugation upon another, and to the wish to reduce the number of stems. In most cases it is absolutely necessary to observe the A. S. and M. E. forms of a given

strong verb before we can understand what has happened. In a considerable number of cases, the past tense is formed 'on the analogy' of the past participle. It seems a safe prediction that the pt. t. *I spake* will disappear, and will be supplanted by *I spoke*, through the influence of the pp. *spoken*.

§ 340. Another easy example of the operation of analogy is in the use of *-s* (or *-es*) to form the plurals of substantives. A Latin scholar may know that the plural of *præmium* is *præmia*, but the Englishman is quite clear that the plural of *premium* should be *premiums*. It is needless to multiply instances.

In the same way, it is understood that every newly adopted verb is weak; and, the moment that we hear of the introduction of a new verb *to boycott*, we naturally conclude that its past tense and past participle must needs be *boycotted*. Many strong verbs have been reduced to weak ones by mere analogy with the latter. I have enumerated them in vol. i. pp. 161-7. Several, indeed, are strong in one respect, and weak in another. Thus *mow* is weak in the pt. t. *mow-ed*, but its strong pp. *mown* remains. From which it will be seen that analogy often does its work imperfectly and partially, and is capricious in its action. Such capriciousness is precisely what we should expect.

§ 341. The above examples of the influence of 'analogy' are all grammatical, but have been chosen to exemplify the principle. Sometimes it is called 'false analogy'; and, indeed, it is usually due to some mistake, or to a false reasoning. But we see examples of it in other cases also; and some of the results are curious. We have, for example, the adj. *sound*, and the sb. *sound*, in the sense of 'a strait of the sea'; and *-ound* is quite a common ending. Hence it is, that the M. E. *soun*, a noise, was turned into *sound*; and there is a strong tendency, among the lower orders, to turn *gown* into *gound*. Some writers call this particular kind of reasoning by analogy by the very expressive name of 'form-association.'

That is to say, the association of M. E. *soun* with the forms *sound* which so nearly resembled it, caused it to be merged with the rest in a common form. See the remarks on 'confluence of forms' in vol. i. p. 409. A good example of a word which has suffered a considerable alteration in its vowel-sound is the M. E. *feid*, enmity; it has been turned into *feud* by form-association with *feud* in the sense of 'fief.' The words have no connection whatever, yet one has influenced the other all the same; probably owing to some confusion as to the exact meaning of the terms. Whenever any violent alteration occurs in a word's form, we may generally conclude that form-association has been at work.

§ 342. From the preceding observations, it will appear that the chief principles of etymology are practically reducible to *two*, viz. the regular operation of phonetic laws, and the subsequent alteration of forms by some false analogy suggested by form-association. The former of these is of physiological or *natural* origin, and is perfectly and inflexibly regular throughout the same period of the same language; and even though different languages show different phonetic habits and predilections, there is a strong general resemblance between the changes induced in one language and in another; many of the particular laws are true for many languages. The other principle is psychical or mental or *artificial*, introducing various more or less capricious changes that are supposed to be emendations; and its operation is, to some extent, uncertain and fitful. It is thus that we account for *artificial* exceptions to the immutable laws that control *natural* phonetic change. Sometimes the second principle causes downright corruptions, as in the well-known instance in which our sailors substituted *Billy Ruffian* for the unfamiliar *Bellerophon*; but it is found by experience that corruptions of this nature are not particularly common. They have been made much of by the etymologists of the old school, who saw 'corruption' everywhere, and allowed it uncontrolled licence; but the lazy

method of considering all sound-changes as capricious and unaccountable, is being fast discredited, and scientific method is, happily, at last coming into vogue. There is a reason for everything, and we must not rest satisfied till we find it. Whenever we fail to trace the whole of a word's history, it is only decent to acknowledge that its etymology is 'unknown.' I am conscious of having sometimes transgressed by giving unsatisfactory and uncertain explanations, but I now recognise clearly that such a proceeding is indefensible; and, what is even worse, it is immoral, as every perversion of the whole truth must necessarily be.

§ 343. We can sum up the whole matter by saying that our pursuit is ETYMOLOGY, by which we seek to give an account of the TRUE origin of a word. In such a pursuit, all falsehood and (what is even worse) all *suggestions* of falsehood are out of place, and can only obscure our sight and lead us astray from the real object of our search. Hence my parting word to all who may come across these volumes is this; you can only assist etymological research by carefully refraining from all suggestions of what is false. 'Brilliant invention' is to be carefully eschewed; it is only another name for lying. But patient investigation, with a resolve to come at the truth, is a training that at once instructs and ennobles; and is in absolute harmony with the highest aim even of religion itself, which can offer mankind no greater reward than to guide us all, in due time, to a perfect knowledge of the whole, the living, and the eternal TRUTH.

APPENDIX.

ON THE GRADATION OF ANGLO-SAXON STRONG VERBS.

In vol. i. § 134, p. 156, it is remarked that Greek and other Aryan languages, as well as Teutonic, exhibit gradation in the conjugations of verbs, and in verbal derivatives. Brugmann has thrown much light upon this in his *Grundriss*, vol. i. § 307, &c. I here attempt a sketch of his method, adapting it, as well as I can, to a simple and popular form of explanation, and omitting some of the details.

The most important series of graded vowels is the *e*-series. Brugmann's full scheme is :—

WEAK GRADE.		STRONG GRADE.			
<i>a.</i> (unaccented).	<i>b.</i> (secondary accented).	1.	2.	3.	4.
0	(e)	e	o	ē	ō

He further notes that the *e*, in the strong-grade number 1, received the principal accent.

Let us suppose, for the present, that the weak grade may be denoted by 0 (zero), and may be called the *zero-grade*; and that this may be taken to mean a grade in which, owing to loss of accent, a vowel appears in some weakened form or is lost, or a diphthong is reduced to a simple vowel. For greater convenience, I shall call the 'strong-grade 1' by the name of 'prime grade,' and the 'strong-grade 2' by the name of 'middle grade' simply; omitting, for the present, the strong-grades 3 and 4. This gives a simpler (but less complete) scheme, as follows :—

Prime grade.	Middle grade.	Zero-grade.
<i>e</i>	o	0

The mark over the *e* here denotes accent, not vowel-length. And it must be noted, that the use of the words 'prime' and 'middle' in this scheme is only assumed for the sake of greater definiteness. It is not ascertained that the 'prime grade' is

any 'stronger' than the 'middle grade.' As examples, take the following :—

PRIME: *πέ-ομαι*, 'I fly'; Lat. *ped-em*, acc., 'foot.'

MIDDLE: *ποτ-ή*, 'flight'; *πόδ-α*, acc., 'foot.'

ZERO: *ἐ-πτ-όμην*, 'I flew'; Zend *fra-bd-a* (for **fra-pd-a*), 'the fore-part of the foot, the instep.'

Before we can apply this to Teutonic, we have to remember that the Gk. *o* always corresponds to a Teut. *a*, as in Gk. *ὀκτώ*, Goth. *ahtau*, 'eight'; see Sievers, O. E. Gr. § 45. Hence, the (simplified) Teut. scheme is *é* (prime); *a* (middle); 0 (zero); where *é* means accented *e*, not long *e*.

THE VERB 'TO GIVE.'

Closely corresponding to the above scheme is the gradation of the verb 'give'; see vol. i. p. 168. The Teutonic forms of the four principal stems are :

1. (infm.) *gēb-an*; 2. (past sing.) *gab*; 3. (past plur.) *gēb-um*;
4. (pp.) *geb-āno*.

To understand this fully, note that *é* means short *e* (accented), and *ē* means long *e*. Also, that the accent on the pp. of strong verbs fell originally on the suffix, and not on the root-syllable; this is proved by Verner's Law (vol. i. § 130). Consequently, the pp. was *gēbāno* (or *gābāno*), with unaccented short *e*. The *third* of the above stems, with the vowel *ē*, corresponds to Brugmann's 'strong-grade 3,' and only appears in *two* of the Teut. strong conjugations, viz. in verbs like *give* and *bear*. This is why I have said above, that it need not always be considered.

Perhaps this will appear more clearly if I repeat it in another form. Stem 1 represents the 'prime' grade; stem 2, the 'middle' grade; and stem 4, the 'zero' grade. Stem 3, however, corresponds to Brugmann's 'strong grade, no. 3.'

We can now understand the A. S. gradation in this conjugation, which is, in fact, quite regular, any slight variations being due to the habits of A. S. pronunciation. I first give four examples, and then explain them. For more short, see Sweet's A. S. Reader. (Here, again, I use *é* for 'short accented *e*,' and denote real vowel-length by a horizontal mark or 'macron.')

<i>cwēþ-an</i>	(to say)	<i>cwǣþ</i>	<i>cwǣd-ón</i>	<i>cwēd-én</i>
<i>mēt-an</i>	(to mete)	<i>mǣt</i>	<i>mǣt-ón</i>	<i>met-én</i>
<i>giēf-an</i>	(to give)	<i>geǣf</i>	<i>geǣf-ón</i>	<i>gief-én, gif-én</i>
<i>on-giēt-an</i>	(to perceive)	<i>on-geát</i>	<i>on-gēat-ón</i>	<i>on-giet-én, on-git-én.</i>

In the forms *giefan*, *on-giet-an*, the *gi* is merely a way of expressing the sound of *y*, which was the initial sound of these words. The root-vowel was really *e*, as in the G. *geb-en*, to give.

The unaccented *gief-* (*yěv*) in the pp. easily became *gif-* (*yīv*), which is a more usual form; and the infinitive also frequently appears as *gif-an*, probably by 'form-association' with the pp. In M. E. we find *yeu-en*, *yiū-en* (with *u = v*), pt. t. *yaf*, pp. *yiū-en* (= *yiv-en*). The mod. E. *give*, with hard *g*, must be due to a Northern or East-Anglian dialect, perhaps influenced by Norse; cf. Icel. *gef-a*, pt. t. *gaf*, pt. t. pl. *gāf-u*, pp. *gef-inn*. So also, in the A. S. form *geaf*, the *ge* merely means *y*; so that *geaf = yaf*.

In the pt. t. *cwæþ*, we have the characteristic use of A. S. *æ* for Teut. *a*, of which there are numerous examples; cf. *dæg*, day, pl. *dag-as*. The Teut. *ē* in the pt. t. pl. regularly corresponds to A. S. *ē*; cf. Goth. *dēds*, A. S. *dēd*, a deed. This accounts for *cwēd-on*, *māet-on*. That the accent was originally on the second syllable appears by the substitution of *d* for *þ* in *cwēd-on* (by Verner's Law). The same is true for the pp. *cwēd-en*. The only remaining difficulty is the use of *ēa* in *gēaf-on*¹ instead of the regular *ē*. This is due to the palatal influence of the *g* (= *y*), as explained in Sievers, O. E. Gr. § 75.

In the earliest A. S., the accent was already shifted on to the root-syllable throughout the verb, as in Modern English. But it is only by considering the *original* position of the accent (on the suffix), that we can explain the forms of the pt. t. pl. and pp.

In verbs like *give*, the *e* is followed by a single consonant which is never a nasal or a liquid. The cognate forms in other Teut. languages can be explained by the habits of pronunciation of those languages.

THE VERB 'TO BEAR.'

The Teut. formula is as follows (vol. i. p. 168):—

1. (inf.). *bēr-an*; 2. (pt. s.) *bār*; 3. (pt. pl.) *bēr-ūm*; 4. (pp.) *bor-āno*.

The A. S. formula is: 1. *bēr-an*; 2. *bār*; 3. *bār-ōn*; 4. *bōr-ēn*.

The first three stems are just the same as in the case of 'to give,' and require no further explanation.

The last stem has, *apparently*, the vowel *o*, but this is not the right way to explain its form. The presence of this vowel is solely due to the following *r*; and the fact is, simply, that *or* (for

¹ Not *gēaf-on*, as in Sweet's Reader, 4th ed., 1884.

vocalic *r*) is the regular 'zero-grade' of *er*, which is here to be taken as the form of the prime grade. We thus get, by the substitution of Teut. *a* for Gk. *o*, the following scheme.

Prime grade.	Middle grade.	Zero-grade.
<i>ér</i>	<i>ar</i>	<i>r</i>

The *r* in the last of these can easily be sounded as *vocalic*; and we can consider the A. S. *or* as being a way of writing this vocalic *r*. With this understanding, the scheme for the verb *to bear* is the same as that for *to give*; and requires no further explanation. Observe that the Gk. vocalic *r* is written *ῥ* or *ῑ*; cf. Gk. *δέρκομαι*, pt. t. *δέ-δορκ-α*, 2 aor. *ἔ-δρακ-ον*.

Again, vocalic *l* is similarly denoted by *ol* in A. S.; so that the pp. of *stel-an* is *stol-én*. So also *hel-an*, to hide; *cwel-an*, to die. Cf. Gk. *στῆλ-λω*; *στολ-ή*; *ἐ-στάλ-ην* (= *ἐ-στλ-ην*).

The pp. *broc-en*, from *brec-an*, was suggested by form-association with verbs of this class; the *re* being treated similarly to *er*.

In most verbs of this class, the *e* is followed by a *nasal* or a *liquid*.

THE VERB 'TO DRINK.'

If to the original prime grade *e*, we subjoin *n* (or *m*), we obtain the following Teutonic formula:—

Prime grade.	Middle grade.	Zero-grade.
<i>én</i> (<i>ém</i>)	<i>an</i> (<i>am</i>)	<i>n</i> (<i>m</i>)
So also <i>ér</i> (<i>él</i>)	<i>ar</i> (<i>al</i>)	<i>r</i> (<i>l</i>)

Nearly all the Teutonic languages (except Icelandic in some cases) turn *en* or *em* into *in* or *im*; the same change is common in modern English, as compared with Older English; see vol. i. § 377, p. 402. Hence the infin. forms *bind-an*, *drinc-an*, *gelimp-an*, &c., for **bend-an*, **drenc-an*, **ge-lemp-an*, &c. Cf. Icel. *drekk-a*, for **drenk-a*. But the *e* remains before *l* in *belg-an*, *delf-an*, &c., and even before *rs* in *berst-an*, *persc-an*; though it is usually 'broken' to *eo* before *r* (not followed by *s*), as in *beorn-an*, *ceorf-an*, &c. The last treatment is quite usual; cf. A. S. *eorðe* with G. *Erde*, earth. Hence the varieties of the vowel in the first stem are merely what we should expect.

The second stem is equally regular; we find *band*, *gelamp*, &c.; also 'breaking' of *a* to *ea* before *l*, as in *dealf*; and the same before *r* (except before *rs*), as in *cearf*; whilst **barst* became *bærst*. Here again, the varieties are all such as we should expect.

In the fourth stem, or zero-grade, the sounds of *n*, *m*, *r*, *l* are reduced to the vocalic forms; and these are written *un*, *um*, *or*, *ol* respectively in A. S. This accounts for *bunden*, *gelumpen*, *borsten*, *bolgen*.

In the third stem we find a similar reduction, except that we here find *ur*, *ul* preserved without alteration. This accounts for *bundon*, *gelumpon*, *burston*, *bulgon*.

The verbs *frignan*, *bregdan*, *stregdan*, belong here. The former has infin. *frignan* (with the same vowel as if it had been **fringan*) and a pt. t. *fragn* (with the same vowel as if it had been **færgn*). *Bregdan* is treated like *berstan* (with *re*, &c. for *er*, &c.). In all other verbs of this class (except *feohtan*) the *e* is followed by *two* consonants, the former of which is a *nasal* or a *liquid*.

For Gk. parallels, cf. *τεν-ω* (fut. of *τείνω*, for *τέν-γω*), *τόν-ος*, *τέ-τᾱ-μαι* (with *a* for vocalic *ν*). Also *δέμ-ειν*, to build; *δόμ-ος*, house; *δάμ-απ* (stem *δᾱμ-apr-*), managing a house, hence, 'spouse'; Brugmann, i. § 236.

It is clear from the foregoing remarks that the three above conjugations all resulted from *one*, which split into *three*, owing to the vowels being affected differently by the different consonants that succeeded them. Moreover, *drink* did not employ the strong grade with *ē*.

THE VERB 'TO DRIVE.'

If to the original gradation of the *e*-series we subjoin the semi-vowel *y*, which easily passes into *i*, we get the Teutonic gradation which follows —

Prime, *eī*; middle, *ai*; zero, *i*.

For when the *e* is subtracted from the *eī*, the *i* still remains in the zero-grade.

For *ai*, Gk. has *αι*; and we at once recognise such examples as *πείθ-ω*, *πέ-ποιθ-α*, *ἔ-πιθ-ον*; and *λείπ-ω*, *λέ-λοιπ-α*, *ἔ-λιπ-ον*. See vol. i. § 134, p. 156. Gothic imitates the Greek spelling with *ei*, as in *dreib-an*, though the sound intended was that of long *i* (ii). A. S. correctly writes *ī* for the same. Again, in the second stem, Gothic has *draib*, but A. S. *drāf*, because the A. S. always has *ā* for Goth. *ai*. Hence we have, in A. S., the following scheme for the four stems, of which the 3rd and 4th are alike, and represent a zero-grade.

1. *drif-an*; 2. *drāf*; 3. *drif-ōn*; 4. *drif-én*. There is no more to be explained here.

THE VERB 'TO CHOOSE.'

If in the *e*-series, we subjoin to *e*, &c., the semi-vowel *w*, which easily passes into *u*, we get the following Teutonic gradation (cf. Gk. ἐ-λέυ-σομαι, perf. ἐ-λή-λουθ-α, 2 aor. ἤ-λυθον).

Prime, *eu*; middle, *au*; zero, *u*.

For *eu*, Goth. has *iu*; hence the Gothic gradation is:—

Prime, *iu*; middle, *au*; zero, *u* (both in the 3rd and 4th stems).

A. S. always has *eo*, answering to the Goth. *iu*, and *ēa*, answering to the Goth. *au*; as in A. S. *dēop*, Goth. *diups*, deep; A. S. *ēare*, Goth. *auso*, ear. Hence we have A. S. infin. *cēos-an*, pt. t. s. *cēas*. In the two zero-grades, we find the use of *u* in the 3rd stem, and of *o* in the 4th stem; that is, we find A. S. pt. t. pl. *cur-ōn*, pp. *cor-ēn*, with regular change of *s* (through *z*) to *r*, by Verner's Law. Gothic has pt. t. pl. *kus-um*, pp. *kus-ans*.

The reason for this fluctuation between *u* and *o* is that *u* became *o* when A. S. *e* (Goth. *a*) occurred in the last syllable. Hence we have, in A. S. the following scheme for the four stems, of which the 3rd and 4th represent the zero-grade:—

1. *cēos-an*; 2. *cēas*; 3. *cur-on*; 4. *cor-en*.

The only remaining A. S. peculiarity is the use of *ū* in the infinitive of a few words, as *būg-an*, *lūt-an*; see Sievers, O. E. Gr. § 385.

SUMMARY OF THE ABOVE.

From these remarks it now appears that all these *five* conjugations (of verbs like *give*, *bear*, *drink*, *drive*, *choose*) really belong to one and the same type, being all founded on the series *e, o, ē, 0*; where 0 represents the zero-grade. The five varieties resulted in this way. First, the series split into *two* by the use of *ē* in the 3rd stem of *give* and *bear*; whilst the rest do not use the *ē*-grade at all. *Give* differs from *bear* in not containing *r* (or *l*), which makes a difference in the form of the pp. Again, *drink* differs from *give* and *bear* in having a *double* consonant *nk*. This accounts for *three* varieties. Next, we have *drive*, from A. S. *drīfan* = **dreifan*, where *y* (*ī*) is subjoined to the stem-vowels, giving the stems *ei*, *ai*, *i*. And lastly, we have *choose*, from A. S. *cēosan* = **keusan*, where *w* (*u*) is subjoined to the stem-vowels, giving the stems *eu*, *au*, *u*. We may tabulate these results as follows.

Original (Teutonic) *e*-series : stem-vowels *é, a, ē, 0*.

First variety, with *ē* in stem 3 : *give* : *é, a (æ), ē, ē*.

Second variety, also with *ē* : *bear* : $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \acute{e}r, \text{ær}, \bar{e}r, \delta r. \\ \acute{e}l, \text{æl}, \bar{e}l, \delta l. \end{array} \right.$

Third variety, without *ē* : *drink* : $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \acute{e}n, \text{an}, \bar{u}n, \bar{u}n. \\ \acute{e}l, \text{eal}, \bar{u}l, \delta l. \\ \acute{e}or, \text{ear}, \bar{u}r, \delta r. \end{array} \right.$

Fourth variety, with added *y* : *drive* : *ī* (for *eī*), *ā* (for *aī*), *ī, ī*.

Fifth variety, with added *w* : *choose* : *ēo* (for *eu*), *ēa* (for *au*), *ū, ō* (both for *ū*).

Thus all these verbs are practically conjugated according to one and the same principle, the vowels being inevitably affected by the sounds *adjacent* to them ; and we can now easily perceive that a wonderfully symmetrical regularity is a peculiar characteristic of these so-called 'irregular' verbs. To call a verb 'irregular' because we do not understand it, is rather a confession of ignorance than a fair statement.

THE VERB 'TO SHAKE.'

This verb is founded upon a different gradation-series. The root-vowel is no longer *e* (*er, el, em, en, ei, eu*), but *a*. The series is called the *a*-series, of which Brugmann's scheme is as follows.

Weak grade.		Strong grade.	
<i>a</i> (unaccented) ; <i>ā</i> (secondary accented).		1.	2.
0	(<i>a</i>)	<i>á</i>	<i>ā</i>

Here the mark over *á* denotes accent only ; the vowel is really short.

We may rearrange this, for our present purpose, as follows :—

Prime, *á* ; middle, *ā* ; weak, *ā*.

The Aryan *ā* answers to A. S. *ō*, as in L. *māter*, A. S. *mōdor*, mother. In this conjugation, the A. S. verb has only *three* grades, the third stem being the same as the second. Hence the scheme is :

1. (inf.) *scāc-an* ; 2. (pt. s.) *scōc* ; 3. (pt. pl.) *scōc-on* ; 4. (pp.) *scāc-en*.

The verb *ache*, orig. signifying 'to drive,' appears in A. S. as : 1. *ac-an*, 2. *ōc*, 3. *ōc-on*, 4. *ac-en*. This we may compare with Lat. *ag-ere*, Gk. *ἀγ-ειν* ; the strong stem appears in Lat. *amb-āg-es*, Gk. *σπαρ-ηγ-ός*. For the Gk. *η*, cf. Gk. *μήτηρ* with Lat. *māter*.

This completes the A. S. verbs that exhibit gradation. The verb *to fall* only exhibits reduplication; see vol. i. § 137, p. 159.

THE SEVEN CONJUGATIONS.

The order of the conjugations is indifferent; hence I have given them in the order: 1. *fall*; 2. *shake*; 3. *bear*; 4. *give*; 5. *drink*; 6. *drive*; 7. *choose*. It may be noted, however, that the usual German arrangement is different, viz. as follows: 1. *drive*; 2. *choose*; 3. *drink*; 4. *bear*; 5. *give*; 6. *shake*; 7. *fall*. The following doggerel lines contain these words in due order.

Drive slowly; wisely *choose*; from *drink* for-bear;

Give freely; *shake* the tree, down *falls* the pear.

In this arrangement, the prime-grade vowels, &c., are respectively: 1. *i* (for *ei*); 2. *eo* (for *eu*); 3. *in* (for *en*); 4. *er*; 5. *e*; 6. *a*; with the reduplicating verbs at the end of all.

The following parallels with Gk. and Latin, several of which have been given above, are worthy of special notice.

1. *Drive*: A. S. *drif-an*, *drāf*, *drif-on*, *drif-en*. Cf. Gk. *λείπ-ω*, *λέ-λοιπ-α* (*λοιπ-ός*), *ἔ-λιπ-ον*. Also Lat. *fīd-us*, *fæd-us*, *fīd-es*. *Dīc-o*, *in-dīc-o*.

2. *Choose*: A. S. *cēos-an*, *cēas*, *cur-on*, *cor-en*. Cf. Gk. *ἐ-λεύ-σομαι*, *εἰ-λή-λουθ-α*, *ἦ-λύθ-ον*. Also *σπεύδ-ω*, whence *σπουδ-ή*. Also *φεύγ-ω*, 2 aor. *ἔ-φυγ-ον*. Lat. *dūc-o* (O. L. *douc-o*); *dux*, gen. *dūc-is*.

3. *Drink*: A. S. *drinc-an*, *dranc*, *drunc-on*, *drunc-en*. Cf. Gk. *τεν-ῶ*, fut. of *τείνω* (= *τέν-γω*); *τόν-ος*; *τέ-τᾱ-μαι* (for **τέ-τν-μαι*), and *τα-τός* (for **τν-τος*), 'that can be stretched.' Also *τέμ-νω*; *τομ-ή*; *ἔ-τᾱμ-ον* (for **ἔ-τμ-ον*, with vocalic *μ*). Also *δέρκ-ομαι*; *δέ-δορκ-α*; *ἔ-δρᾱκ-ον*. Lat. *men-s*; *mon-eo*; *me-min-i*.

4. *Bear*: A. S. *ber-an*, *bær*, *bær-on*, *bor-en*. Cf. Gk. *δέρ-ω*, I flay; *δορ-ά*, a hide; *δαρ-τός* or *δρα-τός*, flayed. Also *στέλ-λω*; *στολ-ή*; *ἐ-στάλ-ην*. Lat. *pel-lo*, pp. *pul-sus*.

5. *Give*: A. S. *giefan*, *geaf*, *gēaf-on*, *gif-en*. Cf. Gk. *πέρ-ομαι*; *ποτ-ή*; *ἐ-πτ-όμην*. Also *λέγ-ω*; *λόγ-ος*. Lat. *sēqu-or*; *sōc-ius*.

6. *Shake*: A. S. *scac-an*, *scōc*, *scōc-on*, *scac-en*. Cf. Gk. *ᾄγ-ω*; *στρατ-ηγ-ός*, *ἡγ-έομαι*. Lat. *ag-o*; *amb-āg-es*.

7. *Fall*: A. S. *fall-an*, *fēoll* (for **fē-fall*), *fall-en*. Cf. Lat. *cad-o*; *cē-cid-i*. Also *pel-lo*; *pē-pul-i*.

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